

Labor Omnia Vincit

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

FIFTY-SECOND ANNUAL
CONVENTION

OF

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

November 21st to December 2nd, Inclusive

1932



THE LAW REPORTER PRINTING COMPANY
WASHINGTON, D. C.
1932

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OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1933

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DELEGATES

TO THE

Fifty-second Annual Convention

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Air Line Pilots' Association.....	1	5	Duncan McCallum, 3145 West Sixty-third Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and.....	1	20	Joseph A. Mullaney, 41-32 Benham Street, Elmhurst, Long Island, N. Y.
		60	Andrew A. Myrup, 2719 Best Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.....	3	60	Peter Beisel, 153 Selma Street, Webster Grove, Missouri.
		59	J. Goldstone, 2445 Walton Avenue, New York, New York.
		80	James C. Shanessy, 1141 North Delaware Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		80	William C. Birthright, 1141 North Delaware Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Barbers' International Union, Journeyman.....	5		Anthony Merlino, 97 Dyer Street, New Haven, Connecticut.
		80	Charles T. Crane, Labor Temple, Portland, Oregon.
		79	Patrick H. Reagan, 509 Seward Street, Rochester, New York.
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of.....	2	25	Roy Horn, 2922 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		25	Wm. G. Powlesland, 29 James St., Apart. 7, Toronto, 9, Ontario, Canada.
Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	3	50	Joseph A. Franklin, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.
		50	William E. Walter, 637 North 25th Street, East St. Louis, Illinois.
		50	Jasper N. Davis, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.
		40	John B. Haggerty, 307 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....	3	30	J. B. Prewitt, 310 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		49	Mary Meehan, 473 State House, Boston, Massachusetts.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	1	170	John J. Mara, 246 Summer Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United.....	3	54	Joseph Obergfell, 2349 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		53	A. J. Kuzler, 56 Glenwood, Jersey City, New Jersey.
		53	John Sullivan, 2268 Hampden Place, New York, New York.
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America.....	2	284	William J. Bowen, 1417 K Street N. W., Washington, D. C.
		283	Walter V. Price, 255 Haven Avenue, New York, New York.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association.....	3	40	P. J. Morrin, 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Missouri.
		40	Wm. P. McGinn, 1261 Broadway, New York, New York.
		40	John Dempsey, 119 East Liberty Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		45	Jerry J. Horan, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Building Service Employees' International Union.....	4	45	Oscar F. Nelson, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		45	Chas. F. Wills, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		45	Wm. L. McFetridge, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		200	Martin F. Ryan, 400 Carmen's Building, 107 West Linwood Boulevard, Kansas City, Missouri.
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway.....	4	200	J. O. Holmgren, 11740 Wentworth Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		200	L. A. Beaudry, 1828 Desery Street, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.
		200	F. H. Knight, 402 Carmen's Building, 107 West Linwood Boulevard, Kansas City, Missouri.
		580	Wm. L. Hutcheson, Carpenters' Building, 222 E. Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of.....	5	580	Frank Duffy, Carpenters' Building, 222 E. Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		580	Thomas Flynn, 12 East Erie Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		580	Harry McLaughlin, 1355 Central Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
		580	Wm. J. Kelly, 6712 Thomas Boulevard, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Cigarmakers' International Union of America.....	3	52	I. M. Ornburn, 604 Carpenters' Building, Washington, D. C.
		52	G. W. Perkins, 720 North Ridgeland Avenue, Oak Park, Illinois.
		51	William Collins, 190 West Brookline Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
		72	Leo E. George, Room 210, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office.....	5	72	Thos. F. Flaherty, 300 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		72	Samuel A. Matlock, Post Office Clerk, Knoxville, Tennessee.
		72	John N. Bishop, 10326 107th Street, Richmond Hill, New York.
		72	John C. Sweeney, P. O. Box, 901, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		203	Geo. M. Harrison, Room 701, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks Building, Court and Vine Streets, Cincinnati, O.
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway.....	3	203	Robert Morgan, 704 Brotherhood Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		202	Hugh McTigue, 9 South Clinton Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail.....	2	44	John B. Schulte, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Indiana.
		43	C. C. Coulter, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Indiana.
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union.....	2	23	Max Zaritsky, 105 West 40th Street, New York, New York.
		23	Alex Rose, 30 West 37th Street, New York, New York.
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.....	1	21	J. E. Davis, 289 Pike Street, Milan, Indiana.
Coopers' International Union of North America.....	1	6	James J. Doyle, 615 South Street, Roslindale, Massachusetts.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and.....	1	10	C. L. Rosemund, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		280	H. H. Broach, 1200 15th Street N. W., Washington, D. C.
		280	G. M. Bugniazet, 1200 15th Street N. W., Washington, D. C.
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	5	280	E. D. Bieretz, 3208 Hayward Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland.
		280	C. M. Paulsen, 4919 North Cuyler Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		279	D. F. Cleary, 1123 North Shore Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....	3	34	Frank Feeney, Room 1505 Fox Building, 1612 Market Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
		34	John C. MacDonald, Room 10, 321 Tremont Street, Cor. Broadway, Boston, Massachusetts.
		34	Thos. O'Brien, 159 North State Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		69	John Posschl, 1003 K Street N. W., Washington, D. C.
Engineers, International Union of Operating.....	5	69	F. A. Fitzgerald, 1003 K Street N. W., Washington, D. C.
		69	Wm. E. Maloney, Room 716, 332 S. La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		69	Wm. P. Walsh, 9215 Clifton Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio.
		68	L. J. Nolan, 112 Odd Fellows' Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo.....	3	30	Edward J. Volz, Room 1110, 292 Madison Avenue, New York, New York.
		30	Matthew Woll, 1440 Broadway, New York, New York.
		29	Henry F. Schmal, 3138 South Grand Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.
Fire Fighters, International Association of.....	2	90	Fred W. Baer, 207-208 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		90	John P. Redmond, 1837 N. Austin Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of.....	3	31	John F. McNamara, 321 Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
		31	Joseph W. Morton, 2922 West Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		31	Otto Zoeklein, 7-8 Bavaria Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		92	T. A. Rickert, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		91	J. L. Wines, Room 621, Bible House, New York, New York.
Garment Workers of America, United	5	91	A. Adamski, 547 Doat Street, Buffalo, New York.
		91	F. Doyle, Room 210, 69 Canal Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
		91	D. A. Houck, Room 403 Western Mutual Life Building, Los Angeles, California.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.....	2	30	James Maloney, 1010 Colonial Building, 1237 Market Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
		30	William W. Campbell, 157 Sherwood Avenue, Rochester, New York.
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint Government Employes. American Federation of.....	1	39	Thomas F. Martin, 226 Putnam Street, Marietta, Ohio.
	1	1	David R. Glass, 1726 Pennsylvania Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.
		29	Michael F. Greene, 418 Bible House, New York, New York.
Hatters of North America, United.....	3	28	Martin Lawlor, 418 Bible House, New York, New York.
		28	Chas. W. Cullen, 418 Bible House, New York, New York.

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Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, Inter- national.....	6	150 150 150 150 150 150	Joseph V. Moreschi, 25 School Street, Quincy, Massachusetts. Joseph Marshall, 200 Guerrero Street, San Francisco, California. Herbert Rivers, Labor Temple, Kansas City, Missouri. Joseph B. Etchison, 230 East Pratt Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. A. C. D'Andrea, 814 West Harrison Street, Chicago, Illinois. Thomas R. Jones, Parkway and Liberty, care, Building Trades Council, Cin- cinnati, Ohio.
Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.....	3	95 94 94	Edward Flore, 426 Woodbridge Avenue, Buffalo, New York. Robt. B. Hesketh, 528 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio. Emanuel Koveleski, 40 Lockwood Street, Rochester, New York.
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amal- gamated Association of.....	1	50	M. F. Tighe, 500 South Main Street, W. E., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Jewelry Workers' Union, Interna- tional.....	1	8	Samuel E. Beardsley, Room 612, Bibie House, 45 Astor Place, New York, New York.
Lathers, International Union of Wood Wire and Metal.....	2	82 82	Wm. J. McSorley, 2605 Detroit Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio. Charles J. Case, 128 East 7th Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Laundry Workers' International Union.....	2	28 27	Frank J. Backalupi, 100 Vine Street, Reno, Nevada. Harry Dubecker, 3717 12th Avenue, Sacramento, California.
Letter Carriers, National Association of.....	5	110 110 110 110 110	Edward J. Gainer, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. Michael T. Finnan, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. William J. Gorman, 2429 Cornelia Street, Brooklyn, New York. Charles D. Duffy, 834 South Elmwood Avenue, Oak Park, Illinois. Luther E. Swartz, Stahlman Building, Nashville, Tennessee.
Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural.....	1	11	Lester W. Royer, Clayton, Ohio.
Lithographers' International Protec- tive and Beneficial Association of the Unites States and Canada.....	2	28 28	Andrew J. Kennedy, 205 West 14th Street, New York, New York. Robert Bruck, 1506 Jonquil Terrace, Chicago, Illinois.
Longshoremen's Association, Interna- tional.....	2	135 135	Joseph P. Ryan, 265 West 14th Street, New York, New York. Simon P. O'Brien, 87 Kingston Place, Buffalo, New York.
Machinists, International Association of.....	5	142 142 141 141 141 75 74	A. O. Wharton, Machinists Building, 9th and Mt. Vernon Place N. W. Wash- ington, D. C. Chas. W. Fry, 113 South Ashland Boule- vard, Chicago, Illinois. R. A. Henning, 2395 University Avenue, St. Paul, Minnesota. Daniel Haggerty, 936 Capp Street, San Francisco, California. N. P. Alfas, Room 303, Machinists Building, Washington, D. C. F. H. Fljozdal, 61 Putnam Avenue, Detroit, Michigan. E. E. Milliman, 61 Putnam Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.
Maintenance of Way Employes, Bro- therhood of.....	5	74 74 74 74	T. C. Carroll, 18 Cohen Building, 18 Pike Street, Covington, Kentucky. M. Duncan, 2415 Elgin Avenue, Musk- ogee, Oklahoma. F. Finnson, 61 Putnam Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.

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Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers and Terazzo Helpers, International Association of	2	39	William McCarthy, 206 Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
		38	Joseph McInerney, 206 Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated	2	57	Dennis Lane, 160 North La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		57	Michael J. Kelly, 128 N. Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		63	John J. Hynes, 642 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C.
Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet	4	63	James T. Moriarty, 7 Appleton Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
		62	James Close, 620 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		62	James J. Ryan, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		386	John L. Lewis, 1114 Merchants Bank Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		386	Philip Murray, 1117 Merchants Bank Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		386	Thomas Kennedy, 1107 Merchants Bank Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Mine Workers of America, United	8	386	William Green, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		386	Michael Hartnady, 305 American Bank Building, Hazleton, Pennsylvania.
		385	P. T. Fagan, 407 Columbia Bank Building, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
		385	John Boylan, 512 Miller Building Scranton, Pennsylvania.
		385	Mart F. Brennan, 508 Dimé Bank Building, Shamokin, Pennsylvania.
Molders' Union of North America, International	3	32	L. O'Keefe, Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		32	Robert T. McCoy, P. O. Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		31	Thomas Connelly, care, J. B. McMunn, 709 Aronson Building, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
		167	Jos. N. Weber, 1440 Broadway, New York, New York.
		167	Chas. L. Bagley, 403 California Building, Los Angeles, California.
Musicians, American Federation of	6	167	Chauncey A. Weaver, City Hall, Des Moines, Iowa.
		167	Edward Canavan, 210 East 86th Street, New York, New York.
		166	Harry J. Steeper, 570 39th Street, North Bergen, N. J.
		166	P. F. Petersen, Carbondale, Oklahoma.
		160	Lawrence P. Lindelof, Painters Building, Lafayette, Indiana.
		159	Clarence E. Swick, Painters Building, Lafayette, Indiana.
Painters, Decorators and Paper-hangers America, Brotherhood of	5	159	Christian M. Madsen, 3209 Evergreen Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		159	James Meehan, 54 Olive Avenue, Lawrence, Massachusetts.
		159	Harry Kaufman, 734 Canton Street, Elizabeth, New Jersey.
Pattern Makers' League of North America	1	70	James Wilson, Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, and Sheet Asphalt Pavers, International Union of	1	20	Edward I. Hannah, 819 Third Avenue, New York, New York.

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Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative.....	5	71 71 71 70 70 90 90	M. J. Collieran, 401 West 263rd Street, Riverdale, Bronx, New York. John E. Rooney, 15401 Grovewood Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio. T. A. Scully, 301-303 Castell Building, Middletown, Ohio. John H. Donlin, 5145 West 22nd Street, Cicero, Illinois. W. A. O'Keefe, 4031 Scanlon Place, St. Louis, Missouri. John Coefield, Machinists Building, Washington, D. C. Thomas E. Burke, Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of.....	5	90 90 90	Chas. M. Rau, 408 S. Leavitt Street, Chicago, Illinois. William Fallon, 583 Summitt Street, Jersey City, New Jersey. Chas. Anderson, 1901 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Polishers, Metal, International Union	1	23	W. W. Britton, 602, Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	2	26 26	James M. Duffy, Box 6 East Liverpool, Ohio. George Turner, R. F. D. No. 1, East Liverpool, Ohio.
Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate.....	1	11	Andrew J. Fallon, 409 Varnum Street N. W., Washington, D. C.
Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International.....	5	80 80 80 80 80	George L. Berry, Pressmen's Home, Tennessee. Henry Beesten, 1926 Kinney Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio. Edward Stier, 1-2 Bavaria Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. George Poll, 1-2 Bavaria Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. W. A. McKay, 15 Mesh Avenue, Bellevue, Kentucky.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of.....	2	25 25	John P. Burke, Fort Edward, N. Y. H. W. Sullivan, 88 Branton Road, Worcester, Massachusetts.
Quarry Workers' International Union of North America.....	1	26 164 164	Fred W. Sutor, Scamplini Building, Barre, Vermont. W. D. Mahon, 260 East Vernor Highway, Detroit, Michigan. Joseph J. Kehoe, 334 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
Railway Employes of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric.....	5	163 163 163 69 69	Harry H. Jones, Lyncrest Avenue, Warren Point, New Jersey. John H. Cookman, 412 Washington Loan and Trust Building, Washington, D. C. Wm. T. Egan, 2 Franklin Street, Natick, Massachusetts. W. M. Collins, 506 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. H. W. Strickland, 507 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Railway Mail Association.....	3	69 69	B. G. Burris, 6452 Lower River Road, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United State, Tile and Composition.....	2	20 20	George W. Jones, 155 N. Laverne Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. J. M. Gavlak, 3091 Coleridge Road Cleveland Heights, Ohio.
Seamen's Union of America, International.....	2	49 48	Andrew Furuseth, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. Victor A. Olander, 666 Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Illinois.

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Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical.....	4	60 60 60 60	William C. Elliott, 1450 Broadway, New York, New York. Fred J. Dempsey, 1450 Broadway, New York, New York. James F. Burke, 116 Broadway, Boston, Massachusetts. William H. Clendenning, 3625 Winchester Ave., Atlantic City, New Jersey.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International.....	2	41 40	Winfield T. Keegan, 78 Lincoln Street, Jersey City, New Jersey. Charles A. Sumner, 2645 East 28th Street, Kansas City, Missouri.
Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen.....	2	29 28	M. W. Mitchell, 8 East Market Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. P. J. Cullen, 180 West Adams Street, Room 412, Chicago, Illinois.
Stove Mounters' International Union	1	7	William Egan, 938 Monroe Street, Newport, Kentucky.
Switchmen's Union of North America	2	36 36	Thomas C. Cashen, 3 Linwood Avenue, Buffalo, New York. James B. Connors, 3 Linwood Avenue, Buffalo, New York.
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	1	28	Gust Soderberg, 6753 Stony Island Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Teachers, American Federation of.....	1	70	Florence Curtis Hanson, Room 526, 506 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of	6	137 137 137 136 136 74 74	Daniel J. Tobin, 222 E. Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. Thomas L. Hughes, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. John M. Gillespie, 222 E. Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. John McLaughlin, 536 Bryant Street, San Francisco, Cal. J. J. McKenna, 265 West 14th Street, New York, New York. L. G. Goudie, 220 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. E. J. Mantion, 3673 West Pine Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	5	74 74 74	H. B. Perham, 7167 Lyndover Place, Maplewood, Missouri. Frank J. Ellison, 1740 No. Avenue 53, Los Angeles, California. R. R. McInroy, Middlebury Center, Pennsylvania. R. M. Burr, 320 South 5th Avenue, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
Telegraphers Union of North America, The Commercial.....	1	35 69	Frank B. Powers, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. Thomas F. McMahon, Room 605 Bible House, Astor Place, New York, New York.
Textile Workers of America, United.....	4	69 69 68	James Starr, Room 605 Bible House, Astor Place, New York, New York. John P. O'Connell, P. O. Box 272, Salem, Massachusetts. Emil Rieve, 2530 North 4th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Tobacco Workers' International Union	1	25	E. Lewis Evans, Rooms 50-53, Our Home Life Insurance Building, Louisville, Kentucky.

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Typographical Union, International...	6	127	Charles P. Howard, Meridian at 28th Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		127	Frank Morrison, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		127	William E. Trotter, Box 428, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		127	John Simons, 423 West 120th Street, New York, New York.
		127	Frank X. Martel, Labor Temple, Detroit, Michigan.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America.....	2	126	Roy C. Cline, 2701 Pike Avenue, Birmingham, Alabama.
		33	James H. Hatch, 230 East 58th Street, New York, New York.
		32	George V. Fay, 230 East 58th Street, New York, New York.
Building Trades Department.....	1	1	M. J. McDonough, 505 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Metal Trades Department.....	1	1	James O'Connell, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Railroad Employes Department.....	1	1	B. M. Jewell, Room 402, 844 Rush Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Union Label Trades Department.....	1	1	John J. Manning, 202 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
California State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Paul Scharrenberg, 525 Market Street, San Francisco, California.
Colorado State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John E. Gross, Box 1408, Denver, Colorado.
Georgia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	W. B. Jarvis, 523 East Bolton Street, Savannah, Georgia.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois Mine Workers' Building, Springfield, Illinois.
Indiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	T. N. Taylor, 2421 South 7th Street, Terre Haute, Indiana.
Iowa State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. C. Lewis, 428 Iowa Building, Des Moines, Iowa.
Kentucky State Federation of Labor....	1	1	William E. Hulsbeck, 1721 Race Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Robert J. Watt, 11 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Geo. W. Lawson, Labor Temple, St. Paul, Minnesota.
Missouri State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Lawrence M. Raftery, 3546 Page Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.
Montana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James D. Graham, Box 1152, Helena, Montana.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas J. Donnelly, 320-322 Atlas Building, Columbus, Ohio.
Oklahoma State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Joe C. Campbell, 516 West California Street, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Oregon State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Joseph Reed, Labor Temple, Portland, Oregon.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John J. Kane, 238 Fourth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Porto Rico Free Federation of Work- ingmen.....	1	1	Santiago Iglesias, Box 270, San Juan, Porto Rico.
Tennessee State Federation of Labor..	1	1	Wm. Turnblazer, 204 Broad Street, Jellico, Tennessee.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Wallace C. Reilly, Box 897, Dallas, Texas.
Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	J. Fred Cherry, 709 West 28th Street, Norfolk, Virginia.
Washington State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James A. Taylor, 108 Labor Temple, Seattle, Washington.
West Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Freemont Davis, Lock Box 1197, Fairmont, West Virginia.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor....	1	1	Harry W. Fox, 909 Richardson Court, Cheyenne, Wyoming.

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Altoona, Pa., Blair County Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Charles Kutz, 1225 Jefferson Avenue, Altoona, Pennsylvania.
Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades.....	1	1	J. A. Harper, 936 Boulevard, Southeast, Atlanta, Georgia.
Balboa, Canal Zone, Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Charles F. Wahl, Pedro Miguel, Canal Zone.
Bridgeport, Conn. Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Karl Lang, 37 Lincoln Avenue, Bridgeport, Connecticut.
Buffalo, New York, Central Labor Council of Buffalo and Vicinity.....	1	1	Victor Altman, 58 Crestwood Avenue, Buffalo, New York.
Cambridge, O., Guernsey County Central Labor Union.....	1	1	David Watkins, General Delivery, Buffalo, Ohio.
Chattanooga, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Ben Williams, care 1101-1108 Merchants Bank Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	F. A. Ackerman, 315 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
Cincinnati, O., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	A. Kummer, 1311 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Columbus, O., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	H. T. Hamilton, Room 328 The Clinton Building, 8 East Chestnut Street, Columbus, Ohio.
Dallas, Texas, Central Labor Council.....	1	1	J. W. Parks, 2009½ Main Street, Dallas, Texas.
Detroit, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Louis Koenig, 607 Lawyers Building, Detroit, Michigan.
Flint, Mich., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Geo. W. Starkweather, 623 Buckham Street, Flint, Michigan.
Fresno, Calif., Labor Council.....	1	1	W. C. Brooks, 425 Divisadero Street, Fresno, California.
Hamilton, O., Co-Operative Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Milton Doll, Labor Temple, Hamilton, Ohio.
Hamilton, Ont., Can., District Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Humphrey Mitchell, 297 Houghton Avenue, South, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.
Hannibal, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	L. F. Becker, 207 Olive Street, Hannibal, Missouri.
Harrisburg, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	W. S. Kramer, 421 McClay Street, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.
Houston, Tex., Labor and Trades Council.....	1	1	Paul E. Friedrich, 301 Goldenrod, Houston, Texas.
Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Adolph Fritz, 208 Holliday Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Jacksonville, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Charles E. Souza, 580 Pine Street, Jacksonville, Illinois.
Joliet, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Council of Will County.....	1	1	Anthony Augustino, 110 Manor Court, Joliet, Illinois.
Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council.....	1	1	Steve Sumner, 310 Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
Lawrence, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Fred J. Graham, 91 Larchwood Road, Methuen, Massachusetts.
Louisville, Ky., United Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Sally Gates, care 2113 Eastview Avenue, Louisville, Kentucky.
Mansfield, O., Trades Council.....	1	1	Adam J. Myers, 67 Columbia Avenue, Mansfield, Ohio.
Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	James P. Sheehan, 536 West Juneau Avenue, Room 302, Milwaukee, Wis.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Missoula, Mont., Missoula County Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Sam H. Rivin, 425 South Second Street, W., Missoula, Montana.
Muncie, Ind., Trades Council.....	1	1	Arthur H. Pierson, care 301 East North Street, Muncie, Indiana.
Muskogee, Okla., Central Labor Union	1	1	M. Duncan, care 232 South C Street, Muskogee, Oklahoma.
Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council.....	1	1	Thomas V. Green, 703 Sanford Avenue, Newark, New Jersey.
Newport, Ky., Trades and Labor As- sembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties, Ky.....	1	1	Frank Hammer, 217 West 12th Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Newport News, Va., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	S. C. Newbill, 113 Ashe Avenue, New- port News, Virginia.
New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity.....	1	1	James C. Quinn, Room 201, 265 West 14th Street, New York, New York.
Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association.....	1	1	P. M. Draper, 172 McLaren Street, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.
Paterson, N. J., Central Labor Union of Passaic County.....	1	1	Charles Alexander, 212 13th Street, Hoboken, New Jersey.
Pensacola, Fla., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Philip Ickler, Lillian, Alabama.
Port Huron, Mich., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	John E. Uppler, 527 Ontario Street, Port Huron, Michigan.
Portsmouth, O., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Ed. Switalski, 816 Findlay Street, Ports- mouth, Ohio.
Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Coun- cil.....	1	1	A. P. Bower, 705 Walnut Street, Reading, Pennsylvania.
Richmond, Va., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	R. B. Greenway, 618 American Bank and Trust Company Building, Richmond, Virginia.
Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Richard H. Curran, 107 Hobart Street, Rochester, New York.
Rockford, Ill., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Axel Carlson, care 402 E. State Street, Rockford, Illinois.
St. Joseph, Mo., Central Labor Coun- cil.....	1	1	Warren S. Welsh, 610 N. 11th Street, St. Joseph, Missouri.
San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council.....	1	1	J. H. La Force, 150 Hansford Building San Francisco, California.
South Bend, Ind., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Mary L. Garner, 721 North Hill Street, South Bend, Indiana.
South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Frank E. Doyle, 7325 Coles Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. E. Woodmansee, 223½ South Sixth, Street, Springfield, Illinois.
Springfield, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	R. T. Wood, 1530 North Douglas Ave., Springfield, Mo.
Toledo, O., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John J. Quinlivan, 129 Michigan Street, Toledo, Ohio.
Toronto, Ont., Can., District Labor Council.....	1	1	Wm. P. Covert, 257 Brock Avenue, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
Tulsa, Okla., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Grafton J. Fox, 202½ South Main Street, Tulsa, Oklahoma.
Urbana-Champaign, Ill., Twin City Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Ollie Allen, 612½ W. Clark Street, Champaign, Illinois.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES
Washington, D. C. Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Clyde M. Mills, 423 G Street Northwest, Washington, D. C.
Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Wm. J. Kromelbein, 139 S. Main Street, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania.
Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John C. Saylor, 700 W. 22nd Street, Wilmington, Delaware.
Yakima, Wash., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Shaller Wells, Labor Temple, Yakima, Washington.
Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor of Westchester County.....	1	1	William J. McGeory, 307 Walnut Street, Yonkers, New York.
Bookkeepers, Stenographers, and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.....	1	3	Ernest Bohm, 3 West 16th Street, New York, New York.
City and County Public Service Employees' Union No. 17212, Atlanta, Ga.....	1	1	Louie P. Marquardt, 908 Juniper Street, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia.
Film Exchange Employees' Local No. 16169, St. Louis, Mo.....	1	1	John P. Nick, c/o 8112 South Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Freight Handlers' Union, No 17769 Kansas City, Kans.....	1	1	George Barnes, 1954 N. 4th Street, Kansas City, Kansas.
Gas Workers' Union No. 18007, Chicago, Ill.....	1	7	Patrick Gallagher, 7700 S. Laflin Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Newspaper Writers' Union No. 17662, Boston, Mass.....	1	1	Michael J. Flynn, Box 1646, Boston, Massachusetts.
Porters, Sleeping Car, No. 18068, New York, N. Y.....	1	1	A. Philip Randolph, 239 W. 136 Street, New York, N. Y.
Rope Splicers and Repairmen's Union, No. 16857, Chicago, Ill.....	1	1	Robert McElligott, 5513 Cortez Street, Chicago, Illinois.
State Public Service Employees' Association No. 17931, Columbus, O.....	1	1	George D. Richardson, 741 Oak Street, Columbus, Ohio.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.....	1	3	E. J. Tracy, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 16812, Detroit, Mich.....	1	1	John J. Scannell, 1586 Dickerson Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers, and Assistants' Union No. 17707, St. Louis, Mo.....	1	1	Julian Meyer, 4929 Oleatha Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri.
Textile Examiners and Finishers' Local No. 18205, New York, N. Y.....	1	2	Louis Lufano, 41 Union Square, New York, New York.
Watchmen's Union No. 13130, Cincinnati, Ohio.....	1	1	Henry Thoman, 1180 Kuhlman Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Wisconsin State Administrative Employees' Association No. 18213, Madison, Wisc.....	1	1	A. S. Zander, Westmoreland, Madison, Wisconsin.
British Trades Union Congress.....	2	1	W. Holmes, Headland House, 308 Gray's Inn Road, London, W. C. I. England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	1	1	Charles Dukes, J. P. Thorne House, 229 Wilmslow Road, Rusholme, Manchester, England.
			W. V. Turnbull, 7302 Sherbrooke Street, W., Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

Number of Unions	Name	Number of Delegates	Number of Votes
80	National and International.....	232	24,325
4	Departments.....	4	4
22	State Bodies.....	22	22
57	Central Labor Unions.....	57	57
15	Trades and Federal Labor Unions.....	15	27
2	Fraternal Organizations.....	3	3
180		333	24,438

List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions

1909 Samuel Gompers. 1911 James Duncan. 1913 George W. Perkins.
*1915. *1917.

To British Trades Union Congress

1895 Samuel Gompers.	1908 Andrew Furuseth.	1921 Wm. J. Spencer.
P. J. McGuire.	James J. Creamer.	James J. Forrester.
1896 J. W. Sullivan.	John P. Frey.	Benjamin Schlessinger.
Adolph Strasser.	1909 B. A. Langer.	E. J. McGivern.
Martin Fox.	W. B. Wilson.	Peter Shaughnessy.
1897 Geo. E. McNeill.	1910 T. V. O'Connor.	Anthony J. Chlopek.
James Duncan.	Wm. B. Macfarlane.	Peter J. Brady.
1898 Harry Lloyd.	1911 Daniel J. Tobin.	Edward J. Gainor.
James O'Connell.	George L. Berry.	A. Adamski.
1899 Thomas F. Tracy	John H. Walker.	Edw. J. Evans.
J. M. Hunter.	1912 Chas. L. Baine.	†Frank Farrington.
Sidney J. Kent.	1913 Louis Kemper.	Wm. L. Hutcheson.
1900 Daniel J. Keefe.	W. D. Mahon.	John Coefield.
Eugene F. O'Rourke.	*1914 Matthew Woll.	Michael Casey.
1901 Patrick Dolan.	W. D. Mahon.	Michael F. Greene.
Henry Blackmore.	***1915 Matthew Woll.	William B. Fitzgerald.
1902 Max S. Hayes.	1916 W. D. Mahon.	William J. Rooney.
Martin Lawlor.	Matthew Woll.	William P. Clarke.
1903 W. D. Ryan.	1917 John Golden.	John J. Manning.
D. D. Driscoll.	James Lord.	Thomas E. Maloy.
1904 John A. Moffitt.	J. A. Franklin.	Joseph P. Ryan.
James Wood.	1918 Wm. J. Bowen.	Joseph V. Moreschi.
1905 Frank K. Foster.	†Wm. L. Hutcheson.	Joseph A. Franklin.
James Wilson.	1919 John J. Hynes.	1932 E. E. Milliman.
John T. Dempsey.	1920 Timothy Healy.	
1907 W. E. Klapetzky.	Mrs. Sarah Conboy.	

From British Trades Union Congress

1894 John Burns.	1907 David J. Shackleton.	1920 J. W. Ogden.
David Holmes.	John Hodge.	J. Jones.
1895 Edward Cowey.	1908 John Wadsworth.	J. H. Thomas.
James Mawdsley.	H. Skinner.	James Walker.
1896 Sam Woods.	1909 A. H. Gill.	E. L. Poulton.
John Mallinson.	J. R. Clynes.	H. Smith.
Edward Harford.	1910 W. Braco.	R. B. Walker.
1897 J. Havelock Wilson.	Ben. Turner.	W. C. Robinson.
William Insidp.	G. H. Roberts.	C. T. Cramp.
1898 William Thorne.	1911 J. Crinlon.	A. B. Swales.
James Haslam.	1912 J. A. Seddon.	Ben Smith.
Alexander Wilkie.	R. Smillie.	A. A. Purcell.
1899 John Weir.	1913 I. H. Gwynne.	1926 J. Bromley.
Pete Curran.	T. Greenall.	G. Hicks.
1900 Frank Chandler.	***1914	1927 Arthur Pugh.
Ben Tillett.	C. G. Ammon.	W. Sherwood.
1901 M. Arrandale.	E. Bevin.	John Marchbank.
E. Edwards.	H. Gosling.	E. Edwards.
1902 William Mullin.	1916 W. Whitefield.	J. T. Brownlie.
James O'Grady.	John Hill.	J. Bell.
1903 William Abraham.	1917 Arthur Hayday.	A. A. H. Findlay.
James Wignall.	F. Hall.	A. Shaw.
1904 William Mosses.	***1918 Miss Margaret Bondfield	1930 F. Wolstencroft
David Gilmour.	S. Finney.	J. Beard
1905 Allen Gee.	1919 Miss Margaret Bondfield	W. Holmes.
J. N. Bell.		1932 Charles Dukes.

List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates—Continued

To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898 Thomas I. Kidd.	1910 John J. Manning.	1922 William E. Hulsbeck.
1899 James H. Sullivan.	1911 Wm. J. Tracy.	1923 Walter N. Reddick.
1900 W. D. Mahon.	1912 John T. Smith.	1924 Walter W. Britton.
1901 John R. O'Brien.	1913 Wm. J. McSorley.	1925 James Duncan.
1902 D. D. Driscoll.	1914 M. M. Donoghue.	1926 James B. Connors.
1903 John Coleman.	1915 H. J. Conway.	1927 Thos. J. McQuade.
1904 John H. Richards.	1916 Harry P. Corcoran.	1928 Joseph W. Morton.
1905 Frank Feeney.	1917 Emanuel Koveleski.	1929 John D. Haggerty.
1906 Thomas A. Rickert.	1918 Stuart H. Hayward.	1930 Adolph Kummer.
1907 Robert S. Maloney.	1919 Sam Griggs.	1931 Charles J. Case.
1908 Hugh Frayne.	1920 W. G. Shea.	1932 Frank B. Power
1909 Jerome Jones.	1921 John O'Hara.	

From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

1898 David A. Carey.	1910 R. P. Pettipiece.	1922 Ernest Robinson.
1899 David A. Carey.	1911 Wm. Glockling.	1923 James A. Sullivan
1900 David A. Carey.	1912 John W. Bruce.	1924 John Colbert.
1901 P. M. Draper.	1913 Gus Francq.	1925 Donald Dear.
1902 John H. Kennedy.	1914 R. A. Riggs.	1926 Richard Lynch.
1903 James Simpson.	1915 Fred Bancroft.	1927 Alfred Farmilo.
1904 John A. Flett.	1916 Thomas A. Stevenson.	1928 Wm. Varley.
1905 William V. Todd.	1917 Wm. Lodge.	1929 James A. Whitebone.
1906 Samuel L. Landers.	1918 Thos. Moore.	1930 William E. Stephenson.
1907 W. R. Trotter.	1919 J. M. Walsh.	1931 Colin McDonald.
1908 P. M. Draper.	1920 J. A. McClellan.	1932 W. V. Turnbull.
1909 F. Bancroft.	1921 M. U. F. Bush.	

From German Federation of Labor

1924 Peter Grassman.

From Mexican Federation of Labor

1924 { Jose W. Kelly.	1925 { Canuto A. Vargas.	1926 { Ricardo Trevino.
{ Roberto Haberman.	{ Roberto Haberman.	{ Jose F. Gutierrez.
		{ Salustrio Hernandez.

*No convention.

**No delegates.

***Delegates did not attend.

†Did not attend

Conventions of American Federation of Labor

Year	City and State	Date
1881	Pittsburgh, Pa.	December 15-18.
1882	Cleveland, Ohio.	November 21-24.
1883	New York, N. Y.	August 21-24.
1884	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-10.
1885	Washington, D. C.	December 8-11.
1886	Columbus, Ohio.	December 8-12.
1887	Baltimore, Md.	December 13-17.
1888	St. Louis, Mo.	December 11-15.
1889	Boston, Mass.	December 10-14.
1890	Detroit, Mich.	December 8-13.
1891	Birmingham, Ala.	December 14-19.
1892	Philadelphia, Pa.	December 12-17.
1893	Chicago, Ill.	December 11-19.
1894	Denver, Colo.	December 10-18.
1895	New York, N. Y.	December 9-17.
1896	Cincinnati, Ohio.	December 14-21.
1897	Nashville, Tenn.	December 13-21.
1898	Kansas City, Mo.	December 12-20.
1899	Detroit, Mich.	December 11-20.
1900	Louisville, Ky.	December 6-15.
1901	Scranton, Pa.	December 5-14.
1902	New Orleans, La.	November 13-22.
1903	Boston, Mass.	November 9-23.
1904	San Francisco, Calif.	November 14-26.
1905	Pittsburgh, Pa.	November 13-25.
1906	Minneapolis, Minn.	November 12-24.
1907	Norfolk, Va.	November 11-23.
1908	Denver, Colo.	November 9-21.
1909	Toronto, Ont., Can.	November 8-20.
1910	St. Louis, Mo.	November 14-26.
1911	Atlanta, Ga.	November 13-25.
1912	Rochester, N. Y.	November 11-23.
1913	Seattle, Wash.	November 10-22.
1914	Philadelphia, Pa.	November 9-21.
1915	San Francisco, Calif.	November 8-22.
1916	Baltimore, Md.	November 13-25.
1917	Buffalo, N. Y.	November 12-24.
1918	St. Paul, Minn.	June 10-20.
1919	Atlantic City, N. J.	June 9-23.
1920	Montreal, Que., Can.	June 7-19.
1921	Denver, Colo.	June 13-25.
1922	Cincinnati, Ohio.	June 12-24.
1923	Portland, Oreg.	October 1-12.
1924	El Paso, Tex.	November 17-25.
1925	Atlantic City, N. J.	October 5-16.
1926	Detroit, Michigan	October 4-14.
1927	Los Angeles, California.	October 3-14.
1928	New Orleans, La.	November 19-28.
1929	Toronto, Ont., Can.	October 7-18.
1930	Boston, Massachusetts.	October 6-17.
1931	Vancouver, B. C., Canada.	October 5-15.
1932	Cincinnati, Ohio.	Nov. 21-Dec. 2.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1932

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in Convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

SECTION 1.—The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other: to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

SECTION 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A. M., on the first Monday in October, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention, except during the years when a presidential election occurs, when the Convention in those years shall be held beginning the third Monday of November. If the proper Convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations can not be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting.

SEC. 2. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 3. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local and Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organizations; eleventh, Industrial Relations; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades); thirteenth, Legislation.

SEC. 4. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the Convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the Convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 5. Resolutions of any character or propositions for changes in this Constitution can not be introduced after the second day's session, except by unanimous consent.

SEC. 6. The Convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 7. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the Convention or to read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

SEC. 8. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 9. The rules and order of business governing the preceding Convention shall be

in force from the opening of any Convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the Convention.

Sec. 10. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a Convention.

Sec. 11. No grievance shall be considered by any Convention that has been decided by a previous Convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions. Only those persons whose Local Unions are affiliated with Central Bodies or with State Branches and who are delegates to said Central Bodies or State Branches shall be eligible to represent City Central Bodies or State Branches in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary of this body immediately after their election.

Sec. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the Convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

Sec. 4. The Secretary shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than August 31, preceding the annual Convention.

Sec. 5. No organization or person that has seceded or has been suspended, or expelled, by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation

or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

Sec. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, Eight Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and a Treasurer, to be elected by the convention on the last day of the session, unless otherwise determined by the convention, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

Sec. 2. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

Sec. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the thirty-first day of December succeeding the Convention.

Sec. 5. The President and Secretary shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

Sec. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the Annual Convention; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council.

Sec. 3. The President, if not a delegate shall have the casting vote in case of a tie but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary; and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services \$12,000 per annum, payable weekly.

Sec. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY.

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary shall be to take charge of all books, papers, and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to

furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the Annual Convention, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of secretaries and organizers.

Sec. 2. The Secretary shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the Annual Convention may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation and pay them to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor; provided, that he may retain in his hands a sum not exceeding \$2,000 for current expenses, which money shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

Sec. 3. The Secretary shall submit to the Auditing Committee, for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on August 31 of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly as a separate document and forward copy to all affiliated National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, City Central Bodies and directly affiliated local unions.

Sec. 4. The Secretary shall give a bond of \$2,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$10,000 per annum, payable weekly.

Sec. 5. The Secretary shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

Sec. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations, containing a statement of their membership in good standing, and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF TREASURER.

SECTION 1. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of all moneys, property, and securities of the Federation delivered to him by the Secretary or other officers of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council shall appoint three of its members as a Finance Committee and this Finance Committee, with the Treasurer shall be clothed with authority to invest the surplus funds of the Federation in sound securities or to deposit same in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit. All funds of the American Federation of Labor exceeding fifteen thousand dollars shall be invested in sound securities or shall be deposited by the Treasurer in bank, or banks, in interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor, as directed by the Finance Committee and must be covered by insurance, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Treasurer, the President or his authorized agent, and Secretary of the Federation or his authorized agent. The Treas-

urer shall collect the interest on all such certificates, interest-bearing securities, or other deposit at the expiration of each interest payment period and pay the same over to the Secretary. The Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks, in the name of the American Federation of Labor as Treasurer, all amounts in his possession not in certificates of deposit, or invested in interest-bearing securities, and before any money thus deposited can be drawn each check shall be signed by him as Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

Sec. 2. The Treasurer shall pay, through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn on him, signed by the President or his authorized agent, and countersigned by the Secretary or his authorized agent, as required by this Constitution, and none others.

Sec. 3. The Treasurer shall submit to the Annual Convention, through the report of the Executive Council, a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books, and papers of the Federation under his control; and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum as the Executive Council may determine. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be \$500.

ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

Sec. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the Convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

Sec. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

Sec. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

Sec. 7. The remuneration for organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be

\$10.00 per day as salary, actual railroad fare, and hotel expenses of \$8.00 per day when traveling away from their home city. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers, or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

SEC. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council, other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

SEC. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

SEC. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National, or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided, that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor by a roll-call vote.

ARTICLE X.—REVENUE.

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, thirty-five cents per member per month, twelve and one-half cents of which must be

set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than \$1; from Central and state bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

SEC. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the Annual Convention unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in section 1, Article X, has been paid in full to August 31 preceding the Convention.

SEC. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the Convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in section 2 of this Article.

ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES.

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from Locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next Convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. Where there are five or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

SEC. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, on strike, or to take a strike vote, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organizations have been consulted and agreed to such action. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the Executive Council to revoke the charter.

SEC. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

SEC. 7. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have authority or power to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies indorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm or corporation on an unfair list until the Local Union desiring the same has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation, and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement. Violation of this section shall forfeit charter.

SEC. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges, signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated Union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

SEC. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions, affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

SEC. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

SEC. 11. The representation of local unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; 100 members or less, 3 delegates; 250 members or less, 4 delegates; 500 members or less, 5 delegates; 1 additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

SEC. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

SECTION 1. Unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council the moneys of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

SEC. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such Union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such Union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the defense fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

SEC. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the President of the Local Union interested shall, within twenty-four hours, call a meeting of said Union, of which every member shall be regularly notified, to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute, what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

SEC. 4. No Local shall be entitled to benefit from the defense fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said defense fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

SEC. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to seven (\$7) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safe-keeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

SEC. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work

while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

Sec. 7. Any Union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

Sec. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

Sec. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

Sec. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off a special meeting of the Union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

Sec. 11. In the event of the defense fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of ten cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand (\$5,000) dollars in the defense fund.

Sec. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than one dollar (\$1.00) per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

Sec. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than five cents a month from each member.

Sec. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than \$2.00 nor more than \$15.00, and that 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union from each individual shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one (\$1.00) dollar, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary of the Federation. When dues are paid, the Financial Secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of one dollar (\$1.00) for reinstatement stamps.

Sec. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

Sec. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or central body or state branch, shall disband so long as seven members or five Local Unions desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution, the suspension or the revocation of the charter of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor, to be held in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and ready to confine its activities and actions to conform with recognized enforceable laws of the American Federation of Labor. It shall further be the duty of the officers of the Local Trade or Federal Labor Union or Central Body, or State Branch, which has been dissolved, or whose charter has been suspended or revoked, to deliver all funds and property to the President of the American Federation of Labor or a representative whom he may designate for that purpose.

ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council is authorized and empowered to charter Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, to determine their respective jurisdictions not in conflict with National and International Unions, to determine the minimum number of members required, qualifications for membership and to make rules and regulations relating to their conduct, activities and affairs from time to time and as in its judgment is warranted or deemed advisable.

Sec. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five (\$5) dollars, payable to the Secretary of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

Sec. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

Sec. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

Sec. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

SEC. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 3. To be entitled to representation in local councils, or railway system federations of departments, local unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Department, local councils, and railway system federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

SEC. 5. Each department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this in no instance shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately before or after the Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the Convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railway, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council of each department shall consist of not more than seven members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

SEC. 9. The officers of each department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each department.

SEC. 10. In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on roll-call be entitled to two votes. A roll-call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the conventions.

SEC. 11. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their department, and its general conditions.

SEC. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

SEC. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the department, each department to designate its officer to submit the report.

ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

Fifty-second Annual Convention OF THE American Federation of Labor 1932

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

First Day—Monday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio, November 21, 1932.

Pursuant to the law, the Fifty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order at 10:00 o'clock in the Hall of Mirrors of the Netherland Plaza Hotel, by Adolph Kummer, President of the Central Labor Council.

During the half hour preceding the opening of the convention an orchestra composed of members of Musicians' Union No. 1, of Cincinnati, directed by Mr. Oscar F. Hild, President, entertained the delegates and visitors, and after the officers and speakers had been seated on the platform the orchestra played the national anthem.

Chairman Kummer: I am informed that His Excellency, the Governor of Ohio, is at the rear of the hall, and I would like to ask Thomas J. Donnelly of Columbus, Secretary of the Ohio State Federation of Labor; Brother John Sullivan of New York, President of the New York State Federation of Labor, and Daniel J. Tobin, that staunch labor leader, to please escort the Governor to the stage.

In the meantime, Monsignor Wagner will give the invocation.

INVOCATION

(Very Rev. R. Marcellus Wagner, Director
Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese
of Cincinnati)

Almighty God, we ask Your generous blessing on this great National Convention of the American Federation of Labor. What a

challenge present-day conditions offer to the serious deliberations of these men! May we ask Your guidance that they may seek Your direction and approval. May they, in their individual daily lives, actualize the principles of justice and charity and continue to uphold noble American ideals and standards. Give them Your unfailing help that Thy will may be done on earth as it is in Heaven—Amen.

MR. ADOLF KUMMER

(Chairman, Arrangements Committee)

Mr. President, officers and delegates to the Fifty-Second Annual Convention, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen:

In behalf of organized labor of Cincinnati and vicinity, I bid you a most hearty, sincere welcome to our fair city. We are glad that you are with us, we feel honored by your presence in our midst. It was just ten years ago June 12 that I had the honor and the pleasure of welcoming the delegates to the Forty-Second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which then convened in our city. Among other words I said at that time, according to the first day's proceedings, were that "the local labor movement is most desirous of making your stay while in our city a pleasant one, so that when you leave you will feel like coming back." Have we succeeded in that wish? Your very presence today testifies that we have. Little did I think at that time that you were to take my word so seriously.

It is true that when we received word from Vancouver that you would again convene in our city we were somewhat surprised and the news was received with some feeling of uneasiness. But let me tell you this feeling was not the result of disrespect or disloyalty toward our leaders—rather it was the fear

that we would not be able to entertain you, to accommodate you in the way we would like to and the way we think you are deserving of, for the local labor movement knows full well that our leaders are men outstanding in the councils of men, men of rugged integrity and great ability. Our local labor movement is most loyal to its parent body and loyal to God and to country.

But, Mr. President and delegates, we, too, in this part of the country are suffering. We, too, have a great number of hungry, ill clothed and not very well housed men, women and children. We, too, have numberless victims of that great drama that has occupied the stage of life for the last three years. We, too, are witnessing a constant march from morning to night of men and women seeking employment, looking for work in order to be able to earn their daily bread. We, too, are witnesses of the falling by the wayside of formerly good, honest, hard working men, for nothing tends more to tear down human beings and throw them into the gutter than misery and poverty. Conditions as they exist at the present time in our country are generally caused by an act of nature, such as failure of crops, floods, insufficient moisture, or earthquakes. Such are not the causes of the present conditions in our country. Those conditions are man-made, the result of the action or inaction of mankind. When there is on one side of the fence too much wheat, too much corn, too much wool, too much cotton, in fact, too much of everything that is necessary to life, and on the other side hungry, starving people, people insufficiently clothed and badly housed, there is something radically wrong. Such conditions demand a readjustment of wealth and a reconditioning of society.

So I say to you, Mr. President and delegates, we are looking toward you with hope and confidence. We know that you will not play a minor part, but that you will be helpful and instrumental to a great extent in bringing about a better day, in restoring the standards of living to which the American people are accustomed.

I wish to leave one more thought with you. You have been with us twice during the lean years. You have been with us twice when it was impossible to extend hospitality to you in the way the citizens of Cincinnati would like to do. You have been with us twice during the time when it was a heinous crime and still is to take a drink of anything of more than one-half of 1 per cent alcoholic content. You have been with us during the time when men may have been able to get a palatable, unadulterated drink, but were forced to draw the shades and nail the door shut in order to keep the snoop away. I want you to come back to Cincinnati again when Volstead has departed through the back door. I want you to come back as soon as that noble experiment is only a terrible nightmare. I want you to come back as soon as the charter of the organization in which I hold membership is remodeled and renovated, so that it will simply read, "United Brewery Workers of America"—no more and no less. Come back to the city of Cincinnati, as I said, when

Volstead has departed, when an atmosphere of sociability is in order again.

In behalf of my fellow officers and members I wish to express our sincere appreciation and thanks to those who have been and still are helpful and instrumental in bringing about this desired change.

We hope and pray that your work and your deliberations will be crowned with success and that the results of this Convention will be of everlasting benefit not only to those you represent, but to the great masses of our beloved country.

We are honored this morning by the presence of one of the most outstanding citizens of Cincinnati. His reputation is known in almost every corner of this country. I feel honored and take great pleasure in introducing the Honorable Russell Wilson, Mayor of Cincinnati.

HONORABLE RUSSELL WILSON (Mayor of Cincinnati)

Mr. Kummer, Mr. President, Your Excellency, Monsignor, and delegates to the American Federation of Labor—I was very glad that my friend Mr. Kummer reserved for his eloquent peroration a subject so dear to his heart, and I, too, invite you to Cincinnati again when the facilities for hospitality will doubtless be greater. But you are very welcome now and I give to you the keys of the city, symbolizing the warm hospitality of the city. But the keys of the city are merely a metaphor, and I advise you also to get the keys of Mr. Adolf Kummer.

Now I appear before you with very proper humility. I realize that I am privileged to participate in what is going to be a great, historic occasion, because the American Federation of Labor, one of the great conservative forces of history in a liberal sense, is confronted by problems which demand solution, and I know of nobody that will contribute more to the solution of those pressing problems than ourselves.

I am an old newspaper man and I have worked upon the makeup of a newspaper frequently, and therefore I have had intimate and most pleasant associations with union labor, and some of my dearest friends are those by whose side I was privileged to work in my newspaper days. I believe that the American Federation of Labor is today one of the greatest factors in our civilization. I believe its history is one of the most inspiring afforded by any organization, and when the final assay of its efforts is made it will be realized by all factions, by all elements that it perhaps more, and certainly as much as any other force, has brought us through this period of depression.

Being privileged to speak before you I cannot refrain from eulogizing one of the greatest of Americans, Samuel Gompers. He tells us in his autobiography about the ten philosophers who met in a cigar maker's shop in New York, there germinating this movement which later succeeded the Knights of Labor, and the story of his thirty-seven years occupying the high executive position of your organization. That story is an inspiration, not only to this generation, but to

oncoming generations—a man who achieved immortality by serving his fellow men.

And I cannot let this occasion pass without paying my respects to President Green. I was a newspaper correspondent in Columbus, Ohio, in 1911, and President Green was a Senator, and I might say we went through that session together. That was the famous dictagraph of the Ohio Legislature, and we have many memories of that year. But even then Senator Green's reputation was great. His absolute probity was recognized and his ability gave the rich promise that has now been consummated. So I pay my tribute to him as a great American.

Then we have upon the stage today a Governor who ran for re-election. They told me it was going to be close. We are fellow Princetonians, so I worried a little bit about him and then he was elected by a plurality of 203,000 votes. That's the last time I am going to worry about him.

Gentlemen, you are very welcome. You dignify labor and you dignify Cincinnati by coming here for your deliberations. So take the city from me, and what is left of it give back to me so that I may hold it in trust for your coming the next time.

Chairman Kummer: Mr. President and delegates, the Mayor stole some of my thunder. However, I believe there is plenty left to introduce our next speaker, this great man of the State of Ohio. The Mayor has told you of the tremendous majority by which this gentleman was re-elected, a majority standing in the history of the state of Ohio, because no one of his predecessors, elected or defeated, ever carried the state of Ohio by such a tremendous figure. Thus it is self explanatory when I say that this gentleman must occupy a warm spot in the hearts of numerous citizens of Ohio. When we sent a wire to His Excellency inviting him to come to this Convention we received an answer that was most pleasing to us, for he said, "Delighted to come to Cincinnati and address the delegates to the American Federation of Labor."

I say that we are delighted that His Excellency is here this morning, and I do consider it a great honor to introduce the Governor of Ohio, Honorable George White.

HONORABLE GEORGE WHITE, (Governor of Ohio)

President Green, Mr. Mayor, honored guests, fraternal delegates from Canada and England, and delegates to the American Federation of Labor—I am very happy to journey down here for just a brief word of welcome to you on the opening of this great Convention of the American Federation of Labor. It seemed fitting that I should come, and I realized in welcoming you in the name of seven million people in the state that I cannot do so with the personal touch that the Mayor has, because he has the keys of the city, and he is ably assisted by Mr. Kummer, who has particular keys, although I may have indirect connection with that.

But you are very welcome and we are very proud of our state that you should have come back and made Cincinnati your meeting place for this really historical Convention.

And may I repeat the reference which our distinguished Mayor, Mr. Russell Wilson, made with regard to your President. I did know Mr. Gompers. In fact, in 1920, I worked with him when we were both defeated, when I was Chairman of the National Committee. But Billy Green has been my friend. I was in the Legislature—and of course the Mayor did not refer to me, because I was a rather inconspicuous member of the Legislature because I was in the Lower House when Senator Green was in the Senate. But we fought together and the friendship that was formed there has ripened and grown stronger in all the years. He has a record of courage—courage, as you remember, Mr. Mayor, to punish a man in his own party when he was unfaithful to public trust, as well as a man from the other party. I have watched his rise and just want to pay this small word of tribute to his distinguished record and of my personal friendship for him.

Of course it goes without saying that you are meeting in the face of a crisis. With my coat tails just slipping from the end of a strenuous campaign, I might slide off into a partisan speech, but I will not transcend your rules to that extent. It is sufficient to say that you have never met in a more serious time. You have been marked by leadership in the great trade-union movement and you have in the three years in which we have experienced this tragedy—and that is what it has been—remained steady.

I sometimes say that one of the tragedies of a depression or a panic is that the great masses of men and women whom you represent, the men who capitalize their two hands to toil, are those who really suffer in person. None of us are worth as much as we were three years ago, but our losses lie perhaps in reduced values of bonds and stocks or reduced values of income, but we have not had to worry for our wives and children, for food and proper clothing. Not many, I hope not any have starved, but there is that great worry, the mental anxiety of the toilers, and they are the great masses. You represent not only the workers, but you have been the advance guard to protect them from a selfish capitalism. It is anxiety that pulls a man down, worry over using up his savings, the loss of a job through no fault of his own, going home to his loved wife and children and worrying lest what he can provide may not be adequate. And finally he must go to some organized relief agency, and oh, for the average workman, because he has made America with his courage, his faith and his pride in his work, he must go with a sense of humiliation and ask for and accept alms. That, as I see it, is the tragedy that you know of this situation.

But you are here to plan, and I have said in our cities like Cleveland, Toledo and Cincinnati, the man who toils is deserving of great credit for having passed the soap-box orator. I know the sentiments of this great American Federation of Labor. They deserve from some of us who have not had to worry about food and clothing for our families great credit in resisting the poisonous political propaganda that comes from these soap boxes, the offer to solve these serious problems that confront us by Leninism and Bolshevism.

I know the position of the President, reflecting your sentiment on that question, and I whole-heartedly congratulate the man who has tightened his belt perhaps several times, who deserves more credit than I do in passing that orator. He has raised his head and walked by, willing and confident in the ability to work out this problem in the good old American way, confident from our past history that it can be worked out. Faithful to our traditions, this great body has won the admiration of the country in its steadfast adherence to those ideals and resistance to that propaganda.

You have many problems confronting your Convention. The fact that your meeting opens with tables and pads and pencils means work. You come here to toil, to use your brains in behalf of the millions of workers.

We have let the machine age slip up on us. Perhaps it is an indictment on our statesmanship, because it displaces hundreds and thousands and millions of men. It involves the question of the shorter day and fewer days per week, fewer hours in the day, some way to give a chance to those men who have been displaced by the merciless machine's grind. That must be done and I am confident that you will do it, because it is absolutely necessary for the social order, for stability in this nation we love, that that problem be worked out. I shall not enter into a discussion of it. You have men here better able to do that than I am.

There has been a shrinking of values and necessarily some lowering of compensation, but you stand as a bulwark, not against the average manufacturer or employer, who is honest and wants to give you a square deal, but rather against the greedy and selfish employer. I have always looked upon trade unionism as standing with a power to talk, and that means something—power to talk to those few who let selfishness cloud their eyes and grind down labor for self-aggrandizement. That is ever your function, to help and to benefit, to meet as a unit concentrated capital, if you please. And the objective, of course, is good pay, good work, good living—for these three constitute a national trinity for success and prosperity in this country. Not a living wage, no, but a saving wage—that is necessary.

I am an optimist. You know for the last two or three years they have said prosperity was just around the corner, but Will Rogers observed when you got there they were selling apples. But perhaps the apple cart has been removed at last. I believe there is a better psychology in the country today. Mr. Kummer, you remember the late Nicholas Longworth in his definition of an optimist. He used to say that an optimist was a bartender who continued to pay his union dues. Well, times have changed in the last five or six years, but we must be optimists. We read our history and we find we have had these problems, men have been serious and worried. I shall not take your time to go into that history now, but serious men and ultra-conservative men have shaken their heads and said, "This experiment of democracy will not work." These times the people have steadied up—and oh, how they have steadied this last year! They have been serious, they are serious, you are serious. You have steadied up and carried on as the American Federation of Labor

is carrying on, to the end that we may enjoy the benefits of this great, rich country that a Divine Providence has given us, that men and women should be happy and contented in these United States.

I thank you.

Chairman Kummer: I now hand you this gavel, Mr. President, and may you use it with dignity and wisdom. The Convention from now on is under your supervision.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM GREEN

Your Honor, Mayor Wilson, Your Excellency, Governor White, Monsignor, my fellow citizens and friends—In behalf of the officers, delegates and friends who are in attendance at this Fifty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, I express to these distinguished representatives of the city, of the state and of the church our sincere thanks for the very cordial welcome extended us. We feel very much at home in this great city and this great state, for we fully comprehend that in this city civic righteousness is a virtue, and in this great state democracy is the rule. These two cardinal virtues have always been emphasized by the men and women of labor. Mayor Wilson deserves very great credit for the excellent service rendered the people of this community, and indirectly the people of the nation, for far and near, here and there in the remote sections of the country this great Queen City, sitting here so majestically, is recognized as one of the outstanding and one of the best-governed cities in the United States.

We know that the Governor of this state is sincerely and earnestly endeavoring to give to the people of this commonwealth an honest, democratic, economic administration. The vote in the recent great election can only be interpreted as an evidence of the appreciation of the people of this state of the services rendered by this Governor. You know they vote in Ohio independently. This great state is made up of a citizenship who discriminate at the ballot box and it is the rule, not the exception, that men of both parties and of all parties are elected to office because they have taken politics seriously and no man who is a derelict and an incompetent person, incapable of rendering service, in the great state of Ohio can expect to be placed upon the ballot of some great political party and be carried into office merely because he is on the ticket. To me that is a very healthy sign. It is most encouraging, it shows that democracy is not a failure, it shows that the conscience of the people and the judgment and the opinion of the masses of the people, as well as others who make up this great commonwealth, find expression and that they are voting in accordance with their dictates and their consciences, and no party boss, let him be powerful as he may, can lash the voters of the state of Ohio to support a machine.

We are meeting at a time when every officer and delegate, as well as our sympathetic friends who are in attendance at this Convention, are bowed down with a deep sense of responsibility. We met at Boston two years ago and at Vancouver, British Columbia, one year ago. Unemployment prevailed in a most tragic way

throughout the United States and Canada when we met on these two occasions. But, my friends, we are meeting now when it seems that the fury and the stress of the storm has struck the organized labor movement with full severity. I know I am making no exaggerated statement when I say that labor in the year 1932 feels very keenly the accumulated distress and the fury of the economic disturbance now greater than ever. We have been hoping against hope, interpreting every favorable sign that we could discern that conditions are improving or would improve, but disappointments came, unemployment increased, suffering has become more intense, members of the great organized labor movement have been forced to walk the streets. Morale has been interfered with. Human deterioration has taken place. We are conscious of it as we meet in this great Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Now with that feeling of a deep sense of responsibility, with the facts stern as they are before us, this Convention must and will grapple with the problem of unemployment and unemployment relief, with the problem of economic conditions, with all the factors that enter into this distressing situation, and, at the close of this Convention, we will, as we have in the past, announce to the world our program and we will fearlessly make our recommendation of remedies which we will demand should be applied.

We occupy indeed a most peculiar and significant place in our national and social life. While the man in the counting room and the executive in the corporation's chamber, the man who owns and manages industry may be thinking about profits, stock dividends, interest charges, and all those things that represent material wealth, the American Federation of Labor is concerned and interested in something far more substantial. We are dealing with human values, human life, for our sole purpose is to do in a constructive way that which will promote human happiness, human betterment and human welfare. The success of the nation, the maintenance of American institutions, the development of a social life that makes for human welfare and human betterment depend upon the preservation—and I want to emphasize that—the preservation of precious human values. When we fight for wages we are fighting for human betterment, because the worker knows that through the receipt of decent wages he can establish a standard of living commensurate with the requirements of American life. When we fight for child betterment and child welfare we are fighting to promote the home, the community, and the welfare of the nation. When we fight to protect the women and mothers of the country we are fighting for the realization of a better manhood, a better womanhood and a happier childhood. We say, let the heavens fall, but let human values be preserved and protected.

The tragic feature of this great depression is the impairment, the destruction, if you please, of human values. Do you mean to tell me that ten or twelve million men can remain idle for three years and twenty million more idle part time without those intangible values that enter into human life being impaired and destroyed? Their faith is blurred, their confidence in our

institutions and in humanity itself is greatly shaken. They are compelled to surrender much of their manhood and their self-respect. And then comes the under-nourished, the underprivileged, the under-fed children, particularly in the mining camps and in the industrial and manufacturing centers of the nation—in the homes and communities of the masses of the people, appealing with their wan faces for food and for clothing. Oh, my friends, these are the questions that press home upon the hearts and the minds of the masses of the people, and we must respond to the appeal, to the hopes and aspirations of the masses whom we are to represent.

Our work will only be partially done, never complete, never will we be through until we have taken the children out of the workshops and factories and placed them in the school rooms and the homes. We will never be through until we make home the American home, where happiness and comfort prevail. We must bring to the man who is willing and anxious to work the opportunity to work and earn a decent living. And that we are determined to do. That is our great objective.

The American Federation of Labor is committed to the realization of that task, and come what may, we are going to realize it for the workers of the nation.

I want to dwell for a moment, if you please, upon the question of wages and economic adjustments. Labor has long recommended what we believe to be practical constructive remedies. Early in the development of the mechanization of industry we sounded a note of warning. We then declared to the owners and management of industry that if men were to be displaced through the introduction of machinery, adjustments in the working periods must be made in order to take up the slack of unemployment. But it seems that the whole thought and attention of industrial management was centered upon voluminous economic production. The laboratories of every corporation were equipped for the consideration of that one purpose, and we have beheld a period of industrial revolution, during which working men, human beings, have been thrown out on the streets and machines installed to do the work formerly performed by human hands. That was a serious question. Industrial management has accepted every invention, every scientific development and applied it. They have sought the new in production, but have followed the old insofar as it affected labor. Is there any reasonable, sensible-minded man who can believe we could equip industry with machinery and provide six days per week and eight hours per day in a highly developed mechanized industry for every man and woman willing to work? It is impossible, and the facts have come home to us in a most stern and convincing way during this depression.

Now we must get back, and I am proud to observe that many outstanding representatives of industry are accepting the economic philosophy of the American Federation of Labor, that the one great reform now needed in order to inspire hope and faith and confidence, and in order to put men and women back to work is to establish in a universal way the five-day working week and the six-hour day. That would

be a step in the right direction. The great benefit of such an economic reform could not come home to us with full force and effect if it is done in isolated instances, a corporation here and there, forward-looking, progressive men in this city and in other cities, but inasmuch as we are a national unit and industry is national in scope, shipping its goods into all sections of the country, it must be applied in a universal way. I am one of those who believe that it would serve to electrify this whole economic situation if this great reform, which must ultimately be accepted and put into effect, was accepted and applied immediately.

Then I want to refer to the question of wages. We have always upheld the high-wage policy enunciated by the American Federation of Labor in the beginning. We hold that industry cannot manufacture and sell goods, even in a limited way, unless it develops along with the production a market where goods can be bought and used. And in this wage-cutting policy, stupid, indefensible, that has been pursued by short-sighted business management, industry has not only borne heavily upon labor, but it has destroyed its own market.

In 1929 there were a large number idle. It was impossible then to find a market for all the goods which industry produced, but the buying power of the people had reached its highest level. Since that time the purchasing power of the masses of the people has been reduced many, many billions of dollars. Now, how is it possible in 1932 to buy and consume goods in the same volume as they were bought and consumed in 1929 when the buying power of the market is thirty billions less? It seems to me that it is indeed contradictory.

I know the answer will be made by some that there has been a decline in commodity prices, there has been a decline in the cost of living, but the facts show, as they have always shown, that the decline in the cost of living is not comparative with the decline in buying power. We can philosophize, we can theorize, we can temporize, but prosperity will never return to our fair nation or to this Queen City until they place back in the hands of the people the power to buy the goods which industry produces.

During all this depression the American Federation of Labor has kept the faith. We have redeemed every pledge we made to the Chief Executive of the nation, as well as to our associates with whom we deal in industry. Our record is consistent. We have followed a constructive course, because the men and women of labor are thinking men and women. We have endeavored to preserve intact our great organized labor movement because happy days will come again, and when they come this great movement, with all its machinery intact, will be ready to move back and force from reluctant employers the wages they took from us during these periods of depression.

There have been those among us who were impatient, who were governed more by feeling than by judgment, men who would have had our great movement embark upon a spectacular course, following some visionary policy that would have led us to ruin and destruction. But we have listened neither to

the voice of the visionary on the right or to the appeal of those who sought to use our movement for ulterior purposes. Our course has been shaped by the men and women of labor as we shape it in our own Convention. We have followed it consistently, and while all around us we can see the wrecks of organizations and institutions, swept by the storm and stress of this great economic upheaval, we bring to Cincinnati the great American labor movement intact, strong, virile, ready for the future, able to serve the workers of the nation.

And along other lines we have pursued a consistent, traditional trade-union course. We are happy to report to this Convention substantial progress in many lines, and particularly along legislative lines. We are happy because during the recent election labor in many states and in many localities exercised a tremendous influence. I am glad indeed, as I survey the reports, that practically every United States Senator who a few years ago refused to listen to our appeal and voted for the confirmation of Judge Parker as a member of the Supreme Court of the United States has been defeated and eliminated from public office. It mattered not to us whether it was a Democratic Senator from the South, or a Republican or a Democratic Senator from New England, the Far West, or the Middle states, we pursued a non-partisan political policy. This to me is most gratifying, because it ought to be a lesson that the nation would understand, that they cannot force labor to accept some one to serve in such an exalted position as a member of the Supreme Court of the United States in whom labor has no confidence whatsoever.

Then again, after years of disappointment and struggle and effort, the Executive Council is reporting to this Convention the enactment of what I believe will prove to be a constructive, practical injunction relief measure which, in operation, will tend to make labor free. Even though economic and legislative conditions have been unfavorable we can note with feelings of satisfaction this great forward step which we have taken. And I believe that there are a great many men and women connected with our movement who, while they realize that in the days gone by we did make great progress and we secured the enactment of legislation sorely needed by labor and earnestly desired by them, we can almost regard the enactment of the Norris-LaGuardia Injunction Relief Bill as one of the outstanding achievements of the organized labor movement of the United States.

Now we are not thinking alone about wages and hours and conditions of employment. These are questions that are uppermost in our minds, of course, because they come close to our homes and our families and our firesides. We are thinking about the good life for all, the free life, the happy life, the happy home. We want to see the burdens of taxation taken from the backs of the people. We want to lighten these burdens through co-operation with groups who believe in the same way, and in addition to that we want to secure the enactment of

legislation which will, after all, express fully and clearly the dominating thought of the nation, and we want to see social justice legislation enacted that will bring some happiness and some help and some relief to the masses of the people.

The Executive Council is reporting to this Convention upon the question of unemployment insurance legislation. This is a most advanced step. We have gone into it thoroughly, and after the Convention has acted, approving as we believe it will approve the principle of unemployment legislation, it is our purpose and intention to go out and develop public opinion in support of this legislation and to call upon the legislatures of the different states and the nation to enact this form of social justice legislation into law.

My friends, I have referred to a number of matters here this morning because it seems pertinent and appropriate to do so, but we are here for serious thought and for the transaction of serious business. We want to make this Convention and the action of this Convention an outstanding development in the history of the organized labor movement of the nation. The eyes of the masses of the people are upon us and we are not going to be diverted from the consideration of our problems by extraneous influences, let them be whatever they may. We are here to work for the workers. They have confidence in the American Federation of Labor. It is really the voice of labor in the nation. They expect us to speak for them, and we hope and trust that we will make, through our constructive action taken at this Convention, a valuable contribution toward the restoration of our impaired capitalistic structure. We want those who represent the nation, those who serve in positions of public trust, those who manage industry, to understand that we are sincere, that we are in earnest, and that we will not be denied in our efforts to advance, promote and protect the highest and best interests of the masses of the people.

I thank you.

I now declare the Fifty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor open for the transaction of business.

A number of outstanding distinguished public men have accepted invitations to visit with us and address the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention while we are assembled here. Secretary of Labor Doak accepted an invitation to come and be with us this morning. Unfortunately, he was prevented from being here. He called me by telephone and expressed regret, and advised me that he would come at a later date.

Senator Davis of Pennsylvania, formerly Secretary of Labor, is here, and will address the convention tomorrow morning at 10:30 o'clock. I hope we will all keep that in mind, lay aside any engagements we may have made, and come here at 10:30, when Senator Davis will be prepared to deliver an address.

The Chair now recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials.

Chairman George, of the Committee, announced that Secretary Haggerty, of the Machinists, would read the report.

Secretary Haggerty read the following report:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Cincinnati, Ohio,
November 21, 1932.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials, consisting of three duly elected delegates, who, in accordance with our laws, were appointed by their respective International Presidents at the request of President Green, herewith submit the following partial report:

We have examined the credentials of 327 delegates, representing 78 International and National Unions, 4 Departments, 21 State Branches, 52 Central Bodies, 13 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 3 Fraternal Delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullaney, 20 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—Andrew A. Myrup, Peter Beisel, J. Goldstone, 179 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen—James C. Shanessy, William C. Birthright, Anthony Merlino, Charles T. Crane, Patrick H. Reagan, 399 votes.

Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of—Roy Horn, Wm. G. Powlesland, 50 votes.

Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Joseph A. Franklin, William E. Walter, Jasper N. Davis, 150 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—John B. Haggerty, J. B. Prewitt, Mary Meehan, 119 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—John J. Mara, 170 votes.

Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United—Joseph Obergfell, A. J. Kugler, John Sullivan, 160 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America—William J. Bowen, Walter V. Price, 567 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association—P. J. Morrin, Wm. P. McGinn, John Dempsey, 120 votes.

Building Service Employees' International Union—Jerry J. Horan, Oscar F. Nelson, Chas. F. Wills, Wm. L. McFetridge, 180 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway—Martin F. Ryan, J. O. Holmgren, L. A. Beaudry, F. H. Knight, 800 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—Wm. L. Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, Thomas Flynn, Harry McLaughlin, Wm. J. Kelly, 2,900 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—I. M. Ornburn, G. W. Perkins, William Collins, 155 votes.

Clerks, National Federation of Post Office—Leo E. George, Thos. F. Flaherty, Samuel A. Matlock, John N. Bishop, John C. Sweeney, 360 votes.

Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway—Geo. M. Harrison, Robert Morgan, Hugh McTigue, 608 votes.

Clerks, International Protective Association. Retail—John B. Schulte, C. C. Coulter, 87 votes.

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union—Max Zaritsky, Alex. Rose, 46 votes.

Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car—J. E. Davis, 21 votes.

Coopers' International Union of North America—James J. Doyle, 6 votes.

Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and—C. L. Rosemund, 10 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—H. H. Broach, G. M. Bugniet, E. D. Bieretz, C. M. Paulsen, D. F. Cleary, 1,399 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Frank Feeney, John C. MacDonald, Thos. O'Brien, 102 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Operating—John Posschl, F. A. Fitzgerald, Wm. E. Maloney, Wm. P. Walsh, L. J. Nolan, 344 votes.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo—Edward J. Volz, Matthew Wolf, Henry F. Schmal, 89 votes.

Fire Fighters, International Association of—Fred W. Baer, John P. Redmond, 180 votes.

Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of—John F. McNamara, Joseph W. Morton, Otto Zoelcklein, 93 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—T. A. Rickert, J. L. Wines, A. Adamski, F. Doyle, D. A. Houck, 456 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—James Maloney, William W. Campbell, 60 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint—Thomas F. Martin, 39 votes.

Government Employees, American Federation of—David R. Glass, 1 vote.

Hatters of North America, United—Michael F. Greene, Martin Lawlor, Chas. W. Cullen, 85 votes.

Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, Herbert Rivers, Joseph B. Etchison, A. C. D'Andrea, Thomas R. Jones, 900 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance—Edward Flore, Robt. B. Hesketh, Emanuel Koveleski, 283 votes.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of—M. F. Tighe, 50 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—Wm. J. McSorley, Harry J. Hagan, George T. Moore, Charles J. Case, 165 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—Frank J. Bacigalupi, Harry Dubecker, 55 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Association of—Edward J. Gaimor, Michael T. Finnan, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, 550 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural—Lester W. Royer, 11 votes.

Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—Andrew J. Kennedy, Robert Bruck, 56 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—Joseph P. Ryan, Simon P. O'Brien, 270 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—A. O. Wharton, Chas. W. Fry, R. A. Henning, Daniel Haggerty, N. P. Alifas, 707 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of—F. H. Fljozdal, E. E. Milliman, T. C. Carroll, M. Duncan, F. Finnson, 371 votes.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of—William McCarthy, Joseph McInerney, 77 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—Patrick E. Gorman, Dennis Lane, Michael J. Kelly, 114 votes.

Metal Workers' International Association. Sheet—John J. Hynes, James T. Moriarty, James Close, James J. Ryan, 250 votes.

Mine Workers of America, United—John L. Lewis, Philip Murray, Thomas Kennedy, William Green, Michael Hartneady, P. T. Fagan, John Boylan, Mart F. Brennan, 3,085 votes.

Molders' Union of North America, International—L. O'Keefe, Robert T. McCoy, Thomas Connelly, 95 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—Jos. N. Weber, Chas. L. Bagley, Chauncey A. Weaver, Edward Canavan, Harry J. Steeper, P. F. Petersen, 1,000 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—Lawrence P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, Christian M. Madsen, James Mehan, Harry Kaufman, 796 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—James Wilson, 70 votes.

Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, and Sheet Asphalt Pavers, International Union of—Edward I. Hannah, 20 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—M. J. Collieran, John E. Rooney, T. A. Scully, John H. Donlin, W. A. O'Keefe, 353 votes.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of—John Coefield, Thomas E. Burke, Chas. M. Rau, William Fallon, Chas. Anderson, 450 votes.

Polishers, Metal, International Union—W. W. Britton, 23 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—James M. Duffy, George Turner, 52 votes.

Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate—Andrew J. Fallon, 11 votes.

Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International—George L. Berry, Henry Beesten, Edward Stier, George Poll, W. A. McKay, 400 votes.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—John P. Burke, H. W. Sullivan, 50 votes.

Railway Employes of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—W. D. Mahon, Joseph J. Kehoe, Harry H. Jones, John H. Cookman, Wm. T. Egan, 817 votes.

Quarry Workers' International Union of North America—Fred W. Suito, 26 votes.

Railway Mail Association—W. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, B. G. Burris, 207 votes.

Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United State, Tile and Composition—George W. Jones, J. M. Gavlak, 40 votes.

Seamen's Union of America, International—Andrew Furuseth, Victor A. Olander, 97 votes.

Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical—William C. Elliott, Fred J. Dempsey, James F. Burke, William H. Clendenning, 240 votes.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—Winfield T. Keegan, Charles A. Sumner, 81 votes.

Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—M. W. Mitchell, P. J. Cullen, 57 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union—William Egan, 7 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—Thomas C. Cashen, James B. Connors, 72 votes.

Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen—Gust Soderberg, 28 votes.

Teachers, American Federation of—Florence Curtis Hanson, 70 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, John M. Gillespie, John McLaughlin, J. J. McKenna, L. G. Goudie, 820 votes.

Telegraphers, Order of Railroad—E. J. Manion, H. B. Perham, Frank J. Ellison, R. R. McInroy, R. M. Burr, 370 votes.

Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial—Frank B. Powers, 35 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United—Thomas F. McMahon, James Starr, John P. O'Connell, Emil Rieve, 275 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—E. Lewis Evans, 25 votes.

Typographical Union, International—Charles P. Howard, Frank Morrison, William R. Trotter, John Simons, Frank X. Martel, Roy C. Cline, 761 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America—James H. Hatch, George V. Fay, 65 votes.

Building Trades Department—M. J. McDonough, 1 vote.

Metal Trades Department—James O'Connell, 1 vote.

Railroad Employes' Department—B. M. Jewell, 1 vote.

Union Label Trades Department—John J. Manning, 1 vote.

California State Federation of Labor—Paul Scharrenberg, 1 vote.

Colorado State Federation of Labor—John E. Gross, 1 vote.

Georgia State Federation of Labor—W. B. Jarvis, 1 vote.

Illinois State Federation of Labor—R. G. Soderstrom, 1 vote.

Indiana State Federation of Labor—T. N. Taylor, 1 vote.

Iowa State Federation of Labor—J. C. Lewis, 1 vote.

Kentucky State Federation of Labor—William E. Hulsbeck, 1 vote.

Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—Robert J. Watt, 1 vote.

Minnesota State Federation of Labor—Geo. W. Lawson, 1 vote.

Missouri State Federation of Labor—Lawrence M. Raftery, 1 vote.

Montana State Federation of Labor—James D. Graham, 1 vote.

Ohio State Federation of Labor—Thomas J. Donnelly, 1 vote.

Oklahoma State Federation of Labor—Joe C. Campbell, 1 vote.

Oregon State Federation of Labor—Joseph Reed, 1 vote.

Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—John J. Kane, 1 vote.

Porto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen—Santiago Iglesias, 1 vote.

Tennessee State Federation of Labor—Wm. Turnbull, 1 vote.

Texas State Federation of Labor—Wallace C. Reilly, 1 vote.

Virginia State Federation of Labor—J. Fred Cherry, 1 vote.

Washington State Federation of Labor—James A. Taylor, 1 vote.

West Virginia State Federation of Labor—Freemont Davis, 1 vote.

Wyoming State Federation of Labor—Harry W. Fox, 1 vote.

Altoona, Pa., Blair County Central Labor Union—Charles Kutz, 1 vote.

Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—J. A. Harper, 1 vote.

Balboa Canal Zone, Central Labor Union—Charles F. Wahl, 1 vote.

Bridgeport, Conn., Central Labor Union—Karl Lang, 1 vote.

Buffalo, N. Y., Central Labor Council of Buffalo and Vicinity—Victor Altman, 1 vote.

Cambridge, O., Guernsey County Central Labor Union—David Watkins, 1 vote.

Chattanooga, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council—Ben Williams, 1 vote.

Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—F. A. Ackerman, 1 vote.

Cincinnati, O., Central Labor Council—A. Kummer, 1 vote.

Columbus, O., Federation of Labor—H. T. Hamilton, 1 vote.

Dallas, Tex., Central Labor Council—J. W. Parks, 1 vote.

Detroit, Mich., Federation of Labor—Louis Koenig, 1 vote.

Flint, Mich., Federation of Labor—Geo. W. Starkweather, 1 vote.

Fresno, Calif., Labor Council—W. C. Brooks, 1 vote.

Hamilton, O., Co-Operative Trades and Labor Council—Milton Doll, 1 vote.

Hamilton, Ont., Can., District Trades and Labor Council—Humphrey Mitchell, 1 vote.

Hannibal, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly—L. F. Becker, 1 vote.

Harrisburg, Pa., Central Labor Union—W. S. Kramer, 1 vote.

Houston, Tex., Labor and Trades Council—Paul E. Friedrich, 1 vote.

Indianapolis, Ind., Central Labor Union—Adolph Fritz, 1 vote.

Jacksonville, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Charles E. Souza, 1 vote.

Joliet, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Council of Will County—Anthony Augustino, 1 vote.

Lawrence, Mass., Central Labor Union—Fred J. Graham, 1 vote.

Louisville, Ky., United Trades and Labor Assembly—Sally Gates, 1 vote.

Mansfield, O., Trades Council—Adam J. Myers, 1 vote.

Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council—James P. Sheehan, 1 vote.

Missoula, Mont., Missoula County Central Trades and Labor Council—Sam H. Rivin, 1 vote.

Muskogee, Okla., Central Labor Union—M. Duncan, 1 vote.

Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council—Thomas V. Green, 1 vote.

Newport, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties—Frank Hammer, 1 vote.

Newport News, Va., Central Labor Union—S. C. Newbill, 1 vote.

New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity—James C. Quinn, 1 vote.

Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association—P. M. Draper, 1 vote.

Pensacola, Fla., Central Labor Union—Philip Ickler, 1 vote.

Port Huron, Mich., Trades and Labor Council—John E. Uppleger, 1 vote.

Portsmouth, O., Central Labor Union—Ed. Switalski, 1 vote.

Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council—A. P. Bower, 1 vote.

Richmond, Va., Central Trades and Labor Council—R. B. Greenway, 1 vote.

Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council—Richard H. Curran, 1 vote.

Rockford, Ill., Central Labor Union—Axel Carlson, 1 vote.

St. Joseph, Mo., Central Labor Council—Warren S. Welsh, 1 vote.

San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council—J. H. La Force, 1 vote.

South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Frank E. Doyle, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—R. E. Woodmansee, 1 vote.

Springfield, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—R. T. Wood, 1 vote.

Toronto, Ont., Can., District Labor Council—Wm. P. Covert, 1 vote.

Tulsa, Okla., Federation of Labor—Grafton J. Fox, 1 vote.

Urbana-Champaign, Ill., Twin City Federation of Labor—Ollie Allen, 1 vote.

Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—Clyde M. Mills, 1 vote.

Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Central Labor Union—Wm. J. Kromelbein, 1 vote.

Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union—John C. Saylor, 1 vote.

Yakima, Wash., Central Labor Union—Shaller Wells, 1 vote.

Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York, N. Y.—Ernest Bohm, 3 votes.

City and County Public Service Employees' Union No. 17212, Atlanta, Ga.—Louie P. Marquardt, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 17769, Kansas City, Kans.—George Barnes, 1 vote.

Gas Workers' Union No. 18007, Chicago, Ill.—Patrick Gallagher, 7 votes.

Newspaper Writers' Union No. 17662, Boston, Mass.—Michael J. Flynn, 1 vote.

Rope Splicers and Repairmen's Union No. 16857, Chicago, Ill.—Robert McElligott, 1 vote.

State Public Service Employees' Association No. 17931, Columbus, O.—George D. Richardson, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.—E. J. Tracey, 3 votes.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 16812, Detroit, Mich.—John J. Scannell, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 17707, St. Louis, Mo.—Julian Meyer, 1 vote.

Textile Examiners' and Finishers' Union No. 18205, New York, N. Y.—Louis Lufrano, 2 votes.

Watchmen's Union No. 13130, Cincinnati, O.—Henry Thoman, 1 vote.

Wisconsin State Administrative Employees' Association No. 18213, Madison, Wis.—A. S. Zander, 1 vote.

British Trades Union Congress—W. Holmes, Charles Dukes, 2 votes.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—W. V. Turnbull, 1 vote.

Respectfully submitted,
LEO E. GEORGE, Chairman,
WM. J. GORMAN,
DANIEL P. HAGGERTY, Secretary.

President Green: You have heard the reading of the report of the Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: Our International Union protested against the seating of the delegate of the Laundry Workers' International Union. In a conference an agreement was reached, by which agreement the protest was withdrawn. We want to ask that the agreement as reached and signed by the parties interested be made a part of the Committee's report.

President Green: It will be incorporated in the report of today's proceedings.

Delegate Tobin: I think it ought to be included in the report.

President Green: Are there any objections to that? Hearing none, it is so ordered.

Following is the agreement Delegate Tobin requested to be inserted in the proceedings:

Netherland Plaza Hotel,
Cincinnati, Ohio, November 20, 1932.

Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary,
American Federation of Labor,
Netherland Plaza Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dear Sir and Brother:

I hereby agree that when I leave the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, to open in Cincinnati tomorrow, November 21, 1932, to return to Reno, I will withdraw from the Laundry Workers' Union and join the Teamsters' Local Union, affiliated with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers on or before January 1, 1933.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) FRANK J. BACIGALUPI,

Delegate,
Laundry Workers' International Union.

Attest:

(Signed) H. H. DUBECKER,

Delegate, Laundry Workers' Int.
FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary, A. F. of L.

The report of the Credentials Committee was then adopted, with the above agreement included.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

The Chairman then announced the following appointments:

Mr. L. S. French, member of Typographical Union No. 3, Cincinnati, Ohio, as Assistant Secretary of the Convention.

Mr. Harry Kruck, member of Iron Molders' Union No. 4, Cincinnati, Ohio, Sergeant-at-Arms.

Mr. Albert Otte, member of United Garment Workers' Union No. 224, Cincinnati, Ohio, as Messenger of the Convention.

President Green: I want the delegates to become acquainted with our fraternal delegates, those who have come such a long distance across the sea to be in attendance on this Convention, and our brother who represents the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. We want you to know them and become acquainted with them, because they will be among you.

First of all we have our Brother Charles Dukes, J. P., a member of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers, and member of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress.

Then we have with us Brother William Holmes, General Secretary, National Union of Agriculture, and member General Council British Trades Union Congress.

Then we have one whom we consider as really part of us, Brother W. V. Turnbull, Fraternal Delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, and Vice-President of Maintenance of Way Employees.

Now we have a treat for you following that, because the good wives of our British Trades Union friends are with them, and I am glad they came. I want to introduce Mrs. Dukes and Mrs. Holmes so you will remember them.

The fraternal delegates will transmit to you the messages they have brought here at some later date that will be mutually convenient and satisfactory.

The Chairman announced that a Committee on Rules and Order had been appointed, and Secretary Morrison read the following list of members of the Committee:

Rules and Order of Business—John Sullivan, James Hatch, Daisy A. Houck, Wm. P. Mc-

Ginn, J. J. McKenna, E. Lewis Evans, Charles T. Crane, Thomas O'Brien, John E. Rooney, M. F. Brennan, Charles W. Cullen, J. E. Davis, H. W. Sullivan, E. E. Milliman, N. P. Alifas and Geo. W. Jones.

Delegate Hanson, American Federation of Teachers, asked to have the following telegram read:

New York, N. Y., November 19, 1932.

Mrs. Florence C. Hanson,
Netherland Plaza Hotel, Cincinnati.

The American Federation of Teachers calls upon its affiliated body, the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, to warn the government and the bankers of the city of Chicago against the continuance of the disastrous policy of denying to the schools of that city adequate resources for their proper functioning. The unexampled tacit conspiracy in which bankers, politicians and tax-dodgers shift responsibility and do nothing in the school situation in the second largest city in the country is a standing menace to the education of our children throughout the land.

HENRY R. LINVILLE.

President, American Federation of Teachers.

The telegram was received and made part of the proceedings of the Convention.

Secretary Morrison read the following:

San Francisco, Calif.,
November 19, 1932.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
Netherland Plaza Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio.

San Francisco Labor Council sends fraternal greetings. May your deliberations result in adopting a program that will bring the captains of industry to a realization that they will recede from their ruinous policy of reducing wages and creating unemployment. Prepare legislation that will do away with the noble experiment.

JOHN A. O'CONNELL.

Secretary, San Francisco Labor Council.

The telegram was received and made part of the proceedings of the Convention.

President Green: I wish to announce that Commander Louis A. Johnson, of the American Legion, will meet with us this afternoon at three o'clock and bring to us a message of greeting from the Legion. We have maintained fraternal relations with the Legion since it was formed.

At 12:30 o'clock the Convention was adjourned to 2:00 o'clock p. m.

First Day—Monday Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees: Mullaney (J. A.), Horn, Powlesland, Bowen, Price, Dempsey (J.), Horgan, Nelson, Wills, McFetridge, Hutcheson, Matlock, Sweeney, Harrison, Schulte, Coulter, MacDonald, O'Brien (T.), Dubinsky, Oretsky, Katoisky, Kaplan, Wasilevsky, Tighe, Hagan, Moore (G. T.), Royer, Ryan (J. P.), O'Brien (S. P.), Fry, Close, Ryan (J. J.), Connolly, Hannah, Britton, Berry, Smythe, Burke, (J. P.), Sullivan, (H. W.), Mahon, Kehoe, Jones, Gavlak, Soderberg, Starr, Hatch, Fay, Jewell, Scharrenberg, Jarvis, Soderstrom, Taylor, (T. N.), Reed, Iglesias, Turnblazer, Reilly, Cherry, Davis (F.), Fox (H. W.), Kutz, Patterson, Harper, Lang, Watkins, Williams, Parks, Starkweather, Brooks, Mitchell (H.), Becker, Graham, Friedrich, Fritz, Souza, Augustino, Gates, Myers, Rigby, Rivin, Hammer, Newbill, Quinn, Draper, Uppleger, Switalski, Bower, Greenway, Curran, Carlson, Wood (R. T.), Allen, Miles, Kromelbein, Wells, Bohn, McElliott, Richardson, Scannell, Meyer, Lufano, Thoman, Zandor.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

Salt Lake City, Utah, November 21, 1932.
American Federation of Labor,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

The Utah State Federation of Labor extends fraternal greetings and best wishes for a progressive and constructive Convention.

M. I. THOMPSON, President.
GEO. A. YAGER, Secretary.

Memphis, Tenn., November 14, 1932.
American Federation of Labor Convention,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Local 96, National Federation Post Office Clerks, Memphis, Tenn., extend sincere greetings to the Convention. May labor's ideals be realized and all your aims accomplished is our wish.

Fraternally, A. A. UTLEY, President.

William Hamilton, General Manager, Ambassador Hotel, Atlantic City, N. J., telegraphed an invitation to the Convention to hold the next annual Convention at that place.

A similar request was telegraphed from E. H. Beemer, Clerk, Board County Commissioners, Reno, Nev.

The Smith-Kasson Company invited the wives of the delegates to attend a reception Tuesday afternoon at four o'clock at their establishment, and also to view an informal fashion showing on the third floor of their store.

J. S. Richardson, Secretary, B. P. O. E., extended an invitation to the delegates to use the lodge and clubrooms of that organization while in Cincinnati.

The Committee on Credentials submitted the following supplemental report:

Your Committee has examined credentials and recommends the seating of the following:

Air Line Pilots' Association, International—Duncan McCallum, 5 votes.

Muncie, Ind., Trades Council—Arthur H. Pierson, 1 vote.

The report was adopted and the delegates seated.

President Green: I desire to announce the appointment of a committee composed of Delegates David Beck, Michael J. Colleran and Fred Dempsey to call upon Commander Johnson and escort him to the platform when he is ready to deliver his address at three o'clock this afternoon.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

Delegate John Sullivan, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

Cincinnati, Ohio,
November, 21, 1932.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-second Convention of the A. F. of L.

Greetings: In conformity with the instructions of your President and this Convention, we, your Committee on Rules and Order of Business of the Fifty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, convened in the City of Cincinnati, Ohio, November 21, 1932, beg leave to make the following report for your approval and adoption:

Rule 1. The Convention shall be called to order at 9:30 A. M. and remain in session until 12:30 P. M. Reconvene at 2:30 P. M., and remain in session until 5:30 P. M., on the following days: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday. Thursday, November 24th, being Thanksgiving Day, this Convention will not meet in session, but in lieu thereof will meet in session on Saturday morning at the regular hour and remain in session until 12:30. This Convention, however, will meet on Saturday of next week, if its business has not been completed.

Rule 2. If a delegate while speaking be called to order, he shall at the request of the Chair take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 3. Should two or more delegates rise

to speak at the same time, the Chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 4. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak have had an opportunity to do so.

Rule 5. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except it be to raise a point of order.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak more than twice on the same question without permission from the Convention.

Rule 7. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by a vote of the Convention.

Rule 8. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair.

Rule 9. At the request of five members the mover of a motion shall be required to reduce it to writing.

Rule 10. When a question is pending before the Convention, no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall have precedence in the order named.

Rule 11. Motion to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Roberts' Rules of Order.

Rule 12. Motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted with the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 13. The reports of Committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 14. Any delegate failing to present his card within 30 minutes after the Convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence, he may so report to the Secretary and be marked present.

Rule 15. It shall require at least 30 delegates to move the previous question.

Rule 16. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he or she represents and shall be submitted in duplicate form.

Rule 17. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak on it if he or she so desires.

Rule 18. When a roll call has been taken and all delegates present have had an opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 19. When a roll call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 20. Roberts' Rules of Order shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided for.

Order of Business

1. Reading of Minutes of previous session shall be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Reports of Committee on Credentials.
3. Reports of officers.

4. Reports of regular committees.
5. Reports of special committees.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.
8. Election of officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN SULLIVAN, Chairman,
WM. P. MCGINN, Secretary.
JAMES HATCH.
DAISY A. HOUCK.
J. J. MCKENNA.
E. LEWIS EVANS.
CHARLES T. CRANE.
THOMAS O'BRIEN.
JOHN E. ROONEY.
M. F. BRENNAN.
CHARLES W. CULLEN.
J. E. DAVIS.
H. W. SULLIVAN.
E. E. MILLIMAN.
N. P. ALIFAS.
GEO. W. JONES.

Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Chairman Sullivan moved the adoption of the report of the Committee.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen, moved as an amendment that the report provide for two sessions on Saturday.

The motion to amend was lost, and the motion to adopt the report was carried.

SUMMARY, EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

President Green: The reports of the Executive Council will be distributed to the delegates. While the distribution is taking place, First Vice-President Duffy will submit a condensed report of the Executive Council. The Chair now recognizes Vice-President Duffy.

Vice-President Duffy read the following condensed report:

SYNOPSIS—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT

We begin our 1932 report by pointing out the responsibility for labor leadership in this great crisis, and present a discussion of the most urgent and immediate problem—unemployment.

Unemployment

In the first nine months of this year unemployment averaged 10,826,000. Reports from trade unions showed an average of 21 per cent of membership working part time. Part time increased from January to September. We estimate that nearly 60,000,000—nearly half our population—are living below minimum standards.

We include an estimate of unemployment by months.

Loss in Workers' Incomes

Workers' incomes are scarcely half those received in 1929—a total loss of \$48,380,000,000. We include a table giving figures in dollars and real income. Because production has been curtailed, as a consequence the sources of income to producing workers have been cut. We point out that good living for all depends upon equitable distribution of income at its source, and give figures showing that dividend payments have regularly increased more rapidly than wages and salaries. The result has been concentration of wealth—the rich growing richer.

Workers' incomes between 1922 and 1929 increased 45 per cent, while dividends increased 143 per cent; incomes over \$100,000 increased 389 per cent. In 1929, while over 20,000,000 were living below minimum standards of health and efficiency, 14,800 persons had incomes over \$100,000, and 513 over \$1,000,000 each.

Our report points out that excess income went into investments resulting in overexpansion of plants and equipment and in speculation. In addition to huge dividends, corporations accumulated large surpluses. Corporations having surplus funds loaned to brokers at high interest rates. The speculative use of industrial funds increased 515 per cent between 1926 and 1929; new capital increased 213 per cent, while wages and salaries increased 45 per cent.

Uses of Excess Income

Large incomes for the wealthy do not provide proportionate buyers for retail goods—incomes in excess of living expenses go into investment. Between 1922-1929 wages and salaries increased the least, dividends next, then amounts going to new capital with a spectacular increase in amounts for speculation. Even after paying 45 per cent increase in wages, 213 per cent increase in dividends, and paying \$8,600,000,000 in stock dividends, corporations had an average yearly surplus of approximately \$2,500,000,000. We estimate that at the top of the stock boom industry was contributing \$3,600,000,000 to increase speculation. Upon new investments and stock dividends, the industries must earn additional dividends.

We show the result of permitting a privileged group to skim the cream from industries, in the growing deficit in wage-earner incomes. By 1929 expenditures exceeded wage-earner incomes by \$4,440,000,000. In the long run low wages mean low profits. Business follows the pay envelopes. In July, 1932, workers' incomes had fallen 50 per cent below 1929 and business activity 51 per cent. The need now is to restore buying power.

Workweek

Technical progress has made it possible to do the nation's work in less time than formerly. The 48- and 44-hour weeks are outgrown schedules. We recommend the 5-day-40-hour week and 6-hour day 30-hour week as standards applicable to normal times under present industrial conditions.

Worker Security

To promote greater security for workers, we recommend (1) a system of state employment

services under federal co-ordination, (2) organization of workers into unions, (3) distribution of man-hours with reference to total number of workers seeking employment, (4) distribution of national income to supply consumer buying power, (5) vocational counsel and retraining, (6) national economic planning.

Planning Our Lives

We plan as individuals and when our living is concerned with group activities we must find collective agencies to co-ordinate group planning. By planning to direct national developments, we believe better-balanced progress is possible.

As elements in central planning the Federation recommends: (1) Steeply graduated income and inheritance taxes. (2) Constructive control of credit to finance production. (3) Recognition of the equities of workers in the industries in which they work and at least protection equal to that given financial investments. (4) Federal Agency to collect and collate data on man-hours and wage-earner income, necessary to appraise producing workers' participation in industrial progress. Such an agency would provide the standard for determining economic balance. (5) Federal licenses for corporations operating on an interstate scope, with specific requirements as to accounting. (6) All accounts available to those interested, and protective service for investors. (7) Organization of wage-earners to advance their interests intelligently within industry and other relationships.

Relief

To relieve the unemployed we recommend two policies for providing work: Advance planning of public works and use of national credit for self-liquidating projects, building homes for workers and small-income groups, for slum reclamation and similar undertakings.

The failure of our economic system to provide work for all, must be met by relief funds. Although relief payments have grown tremendously they have not been adequate to maintain standards of living. The relief this year will amount to \$400,000,000 to \$500,000,000—about 76 per cent more than last year. But as compared with worker and small-salary losses (\$25,000,000,000) the relief total indicates the lowering in standards of living. We urge adequate public relief and a force of trained workers to distribute it. Public relief must be supplemented by generous private contributions.

Unemployment Insurance

Upon this subject the Executive Council recommends that because of the failure of employers to assume responsibility for providing work for all, state unemployment insurance be sought. We recommend principles to be incorporated in state draft measures and a provision to protect the right to membership in trade unions.

The Secretary's Report

This report shows total revenues of \$837,192.25, consisting of a balance on hand August 31, 1931, of \$370,842.07 and receipts of \$466,350.18. Total expenses for the year amounted to \$468,747.28.

Of the balance on hand \$368,444.97, \$33,949.88 is in the General Fund and \$334,495.09 in the General Defense Fund.

Under membership we report 106 national and international unions, 49 state federations, 619 city central bodies, 4 departments, 604 local departmental councils, 26,362 local unions, 307 local trade and federal labor unions—a total membership of 2,532,261.

The Treasurer's report shows income by months, warrants paid, investment of Federation funds and sums on deposit.

The report of the Trustees of the American Federation of Labor building shows on August 31, 1932, a balance on hand of \$55,593.89.

National Legislation

We report the following enacted into law:

Anti-injunction law.

Vocational Rehabilitation Act extended.

Five-day workweek with ten-elevenths of the wages and salaries that had been received for five and a half days for all per diem and many salaried employees of the government.

Providing for incorporation of credit unions. Forbidding immigration of musicians other than those of outstanding talent.

Prohibiting counterfeiting of union label in the District of Columbia.

The greatest single labor achievement was the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction law. The public policy which this measure established is a clear-cut acceptance of the right to union membership and the exercise of union functions. We include the text of the law in our report and we urge the enactment of state laws along similar lines.

Confusion in public thinking was reflected in the policies and proposals considered by Congress. Labor had to oppose ill-considered so-called economy proposals to save money and balance the budget.

The Executive Council supported the LaFollette-Costigan bill to appropriate \$375,000,000 to relieve the unemployed—which was defeated. We then endorsed the LaFollette bill to appropriate \$5,500,000,000 to relieve unemployment, and the Wagner bill providing \$375,000,000 to be loaned or advanced to states to relieve distress. Inadequate funds for relief were included in the bill providing \$2,122,000,000 for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, including money to be loaned to states and municipalities for direct relief, money for self-liquidating public works and public building. Of especial importance to Labor is that part of the bill which provides that in the construction of relief projects convict labor cannot be used and that no individual employed

shall be permitted to work more than thirty hours in any one week.

We propose that the growing need for relief be brought to the attention of Congress in December.

Economy Law

We report our efforts against decreasing the pay of federal employees. The act as finally enacted crippled the work of government, deprived workers of pay, chance of promotion, and valuable standards and flexible use of vacation time. Our purpose is to aid government employees in preventing an extension of this legislation.

Personnel Classification

We endorse the principles of classification and its application to government and field workers, exclusive of workers whose wages are fixed by wage boards or those who wish exclusion—and recommend extension of classification procedure to field service by joint resolution.

We report on bills to limit immigration—the measure placing musicians under contract labor provisions—to establish the five-day week for government employees—old-age security bill for the District of Columbia.

We have consistently opposed sales tax measures and urge vigilance against this method of meeting governmental deficits.

We report that sixteen states have ratified the lame-duck amendment designating January 20 as inaugural day.

We urge the immediate repeal of the Volstead Act and the enactment of state convict labor measures taking advantage of the Hawes-Cooper Act to protect free labor.

Under the title, Anti-Trust Legislation, we warn against repeal of anti-trust law without providing a constructive policy to prevent exploitation.

We discuss the growth of governmental agencies and changing functions as an explanation of growing costs of government. Our tables show the distribution of the costs between federal, state and local agencies over intervals beginning with 1890. We are paying more for more governmental service. Taxes in the United States are smaller than in the important European countries.

We urge more effective laws to regulate child labor and to enforce compulsory school attendance. Those measures should be put foremost on state legislative programs.

We report plans for the completion of the

Samuel Gompers Memorial by October 1, 1933.

We discuss labor problems in two key industries whose problems involve the enactment of legislation, viz., bituminous coal and the railway industries.

We commend the work of the Legal Information Bureau in making important legal decisions available for use of union officials and quote from the opinion of Justice Brandeis in the New State Ice Company. This opinion is an important interpretation of the need for economic control.

Jurisdictional Problems

We report conferences upon issues in dispute between the Printing Pressmen, Photo Engravers and Lithographers, the Engineers and Firemen. Conferences will be held between the Structural Iron Workers and the Pulp and Sulphite Workers, the Pavers and Hod Carriers, the Flint Glass Workers and Glass Bottle Blowers. We report a tentative agreement between the Machinists and Carpenters.

American Federation of Government Employees

In this section we report the situations that led to the chartering of this organization.

Benefit Services of National and International Unions

This section includes our usual table which shows an increase in benefits paid in 1931 of

over \$3,000,000. There was a decrease in sick, death and miscellaneous benefits and an increase in old age, disability and unemployment benefits.

We urge the observance of Labor Day, Labor Sunday and Labor's Memorial Day in the spirit of each institution.

We report on the "American Federationist," the A. F. of L. Weekly News Service, the Monthly Survey of Business, and the Labor Press.

A section entitled "Our Public School System" reviews the expansion of educational services through public schools during recent years and calls attention to specific retrenchments that result in lowered educational standards. We urge economies but warn against ill-advised retrenchments that bring less prepared citizens to carry on our democracy. We urge educational planning extending over a period of years with the necessary financial provisions.

We report on the labor institutes and radio programs of the Workers' Education Bureau.

Our report covers a summary of labor developments in Puerto Rico.

We recount difficulties that have prevented a convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and urge co-ordination of efforts to develop fraternal relations between the workers of North and South.

We end our report by urging a revival of organization activities.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

CINCINNATI, OHIO, November 21, 1932.

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-Second Annual Convention of the
American Federation of Labor, Greetings:*

INTRODUCTION

The 52nd convention of the American Federation of Labor comes at the beginning of the fourth winter of unemployment. These years have carried the consequences of business depression into practically every household. The years of unemployment have swept away incomes, savings, investments, securities, leaving distress and despair in their wake. Standards of living have fallen with declining incomes. Wage reductions and unemployment have forced business contractions.

With 11,000,000 unemployed, a breakdown in our business structure, millions unemployed in other countries and world trade at low ebb, American Labor meets to decide policies for the coming year.

Beyond the boundaries of this continent unemployment burdens many countries, with unrest that threatens existing institutions. In our own country there is a deep feeling of revolt against a situation that denies workers a chance to earn a living. The coming winter will bring very serious days. Labor must be ready for constructive leadership in the difficulties ahead. Responsibility will fall upon the organized labor movement for knowing what to do and how to do. At no other time in the nation's history—not even excepting the World War—has our nation needed the loyalty and the intelligence of the organized labor movement as in this emergency. We continue to offer that service and to urge its acceptance. Our responsibilities call for a new consecration and devotion to the cause of humanity.

The crisis in our economic order calls for reconsideration of those essential principles which are its cornerstones. In the revisions which shall constitute the policies of the future, Labor will be responsible for getting incorporated understanding of the equities which a producing worker has in his job and proportionate consideration of social values involved.

The immediate and urgent problem is unemployment. Upon this, as well as upon other matters, we submit recommendations.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Estimates based on government figures show that unemployment this year averaged 10,826,000 persons in the first nine months, and that in June, July and August the number out of work passed the 11,000,000 mark.

Nearly one-third of all our non-agricultural wage and small salaried workers have been unable to earn their livelihood this year, and in the summer months more than one-third have been without income.* This is the general average, but in many industries the situation is far worse. In October, union reports show 65% out of work in building, 46% in metal trades, 42% in manufacturing, 38% in water transport, 31% in theatres, and 50% among musicians and other professionals. During the summer unemployment in clothing and textile industries reached 51%. Some cities report conditions even worse than this. In October, building trades report that in Cleveland 76% of their membership were out of work and in addition 14% on part time so that only 10% had full employment; in Buffalo 70% were out of work and only 13% had full employment; in Birmingham, Detroit, Pittsburgh, San Antonio, Seattle, conditions are similar or even worse. Metal trades report that in Los Angeles only 1% of their membership were on full time in October, 66% out of work; in Cleveland only 4% on full time, 63% out of work. Similar reports could be listed indefinitely for other trades.

In addition to those entirely without work, millions more have only part time employment. A number of industries, especially in manufacturing and mining, report that more than half those at work are on short schedule; in manufacturing, those on part time average less than three-quarters of their full pay, and many are receiving less than half pay.†

Reports from trade unions show that an average of nearly 21% of the membership have been working part time this year (first 9 months) and that part time work increased from 19% in January to 22% in September.

With these losses, due to full or part unemployment, and with curtailment of wages in addition, millions of workers' families are living far below the minimum standard for health and efficiency. We estimate that, counting all workers and those dependent upon them, at least 60,000,000 persons are now living below minimum standards—nearly half our entire population. Forty millions of them have been dragged into poverty by depression; twenty million more are in industries where living conditions even in normal times are below standard.

Could there be a more serious indictment of our present economic order? We are denying one-third of our wage and small salaried workers the right to work; we are slowly starving nearly half our population.

Because the effects of unemployment are lived out silently, in millions of homes, our nation is not yet fully conscious of its significance or its influence on our future. Slow starvation means that gradually physical vitality is being sapped, anxiety and despair are creating a spirit of suspicion, fear and rebellion. Families are burdened with debts which will last long after depression is over, millions are driven into dependency. Skills for work are lost and even the desire to work, many will never again be able to earn their living. People cannot go on for two or more years without work or income and keep normal. The futility of it destroys their self-respect. Resentment and despair

* We estimate the total number of those working or seeking work as wage and small salaried workers in industry (excluding agriculture) in 1932 at 33,739,000.

† From Labor Department Reports.

may replace that fine spirit of independence and responsibility which has characterized our people. In short, millions are losing the capacity to live constructively and contribute in a creative way to our national life.

That we should allow this national deterioration when we have in our farms and industries a wealth of resources to supply every need, is sheer stupidity. Our productive capacity has not failed, but our planning to use and distribute the product. If as a nation we are alive to the problem and turn our combined intelligence to meet it, as we turned every resource to win the world war, we can check this wholesale destruction of human personalities. Our energies must be redirected to restore sanity and balance in economic life.

The Federation estimates of unemployment in the United States, based on government figures, show that this year nearly 8,000,000 more persons have been out of work than in April 1930. Unemployment this year increased steadily till September. Although normally employment improves during the spring and there are more jobs in summer than in winter, this year over 1,200,000 persons were thrown out of work from January to August; only 560,000 of them found even temporary work in September.

Trade union figures show a smaller percentage of unemployment than that of workers as a whole. The per cent of trade union members out of work this year has averaged 23.7, while the average for the country as a whole was 31.8% (nine months). This is striking evidence of the protection unions have given their members.

Unemployment in the United States

	A. F. of L. Estimate* of Total Unemployment	Trade Union Unemployment	
		Per cent out of work†	Per cent working part time
1930			
April	2,964,000	13.3
1932			
January	10,304,000	23.1	19
February	10,533,000	23.0	20
March	10,477,000	22.5	20
April	10,496,000	22.8	21
May	10,818,000	22.8	22
June	11,023,000	23.6	21
July	11,420,000	25.4	21
August	11,460,000	25.1	21
September (Prelim.)	10,900,000	24.9	22
Average 9 months, 1932	10,826,000	23.7	20.8

* Based on unemployment census, April, 1930, and U. S. government employment indexes.

† Weighted figures.

Workers' Income Loss—Due to unemployment and wage reductions, workers' income-at present is scarcely more than half that of 1929; their loss this year alone will probably be at least \$25,000,000,000. By the end of its third year the depression will have cost workers more than \$48,000,000,000 in wage and salary losses alone.

	Earned Income of all Wage and Salaried Workers		Loss from 1929 Millions of dollars
	Millions of Dollars	Index	
1929	53,252*	100	-----
1930	45,503	85.4	7,749
1931	37,741	70.9	15,511
1932†	28,232	53.0	25,020
Total			48,280

* Estimate of Business Week.

† Estimate based on 9 months.

NOTE—The estimate is based on figures and indexes of Department of Labor, Federal Reserve Board and Interstate Commerce Commission, covering more than half of all wage and small salaried workers in the United States.

Unquestionably, workers have borne the brunt of depression. Their loss is far greater than that of any other group, far more devastating in its consequences. This \$48,000,000,000 of lost income exceeds the entire cost of the world war to the United States (slightly over \$40,000,000,000 to date). Although living costs have declined somewhat the relief afforded by lower prices has been slight compared to total losses.

Index of Workers' Real Income

	Money Income	Cost of Living	Income in Goods
1929	100	100	100
1930	85.4	95.8	89.1
1931	70.9	86.7	81.8
1932*	53.0	80.5	65.8

* Estimate based on 9 months.

Even when income is considered in terms of the goods it will buy, workers can buy this year less than two-thirds of what they bought in 1929.

Failure of Buying Power—Work is the source of our wealth. [In agriculture, industry, transportation, construction, work transforms raw materials into goods that have value. The value created is the stream of wealth which supplies income to every family, whether worker, manager or millionaire; the force which creates it is the skill, intelligence and devotion invested by workers and management, coupled with capital furnished by stockholders or other investors. Those who invest the work of their hands and minds have a right to claim a good living from the proceeds of their investment; this is their only source of income. Time was when industry could not produce enough to provide a good living for all; production was limited to what men could make

by their hands with simple tools. But today machinery has made it possible to produce more than enough to fill every need for all our people and add many so-called luxuries as well. There is no excuse for anyone to go hungry or do without any of the necessities for a good life.

Whether all shall have a good living depends on the distribution of income at its source. That is, the payment in right proportion of wages, salaries and dividends by each individual operating unit. The proportion of this distribution is vital to our national life. Not only does it determine whether men and women shall live in comfort, or be deprived of the very essentials of life; it also helps to determine whether our economic life as a whole shall go forward with balance in continued growth and prosperity, or be wrecked periodically by business depression.

During our recent years of prosperity the natural flow of wealth was distorted. Income was distributed in such a way as to benefit the high income groups at the expense of workers and to encourage expansion of producing capacity without providing for the consumption of an increased volume of goods.

Income distribution—Graph 1 shows that from 1922 to 1929 industry increased its dividend payments far more rapidly than its payments of wages and salaries; wages and salaries increased 45.5%; dividends 143.1%, or more than three times as much. (These figures cover all industry.) During the first year of depression, dividend payments actually increased 5% while wage and salary payments declined 15%. Each year from 1924 to 1930 more than \$5,000,000,000 has been paid by industry in dividends to stockholders and in 1930 dividends exceeded \$8,500,000,000.

Income Distribution

	Millions of Dollars			Indexes		
	Wages and Salaries	Dividends	Incomes over \$100,000	Wages and Salaries	Dividends	Incomes over \$100,000
1922	36,603	3,437	893	100	100	100.
1923	41,847	4,169	913	114.3	121.3	102.3
1924	43,251	4,339	1,238	118.2	126.2	138.7
1925	45,770	5,189	2,318	125.0	151.0	259.6
1926	48,595	5,945	2,384	132.8	173.0	267.1
1927	50,132	6,423	2,833	137.0	186.9	317.4
1928	50,058	7,074	4,451	136.8	205.8	498.6
1929	53,252	8,356	4,368	145.5	243.1	489.3
1930	45,503	8,790	1,576	124.3	255.7	176.5
1931	37,741	7,211	103.1	209.8
1932*	28,232	4,521	77.1	131.5

* 1932—Estimate based on figures for 9 months.

Sources:

Wages and Salaries—1922-8, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1929 estimate by Business Week, 1930-2 estimate by A. F. of L. from government figures.

Dividends—U. S. Income tax reports to 1929. 1930-2 estimated from Moody's figures for 600 firms.

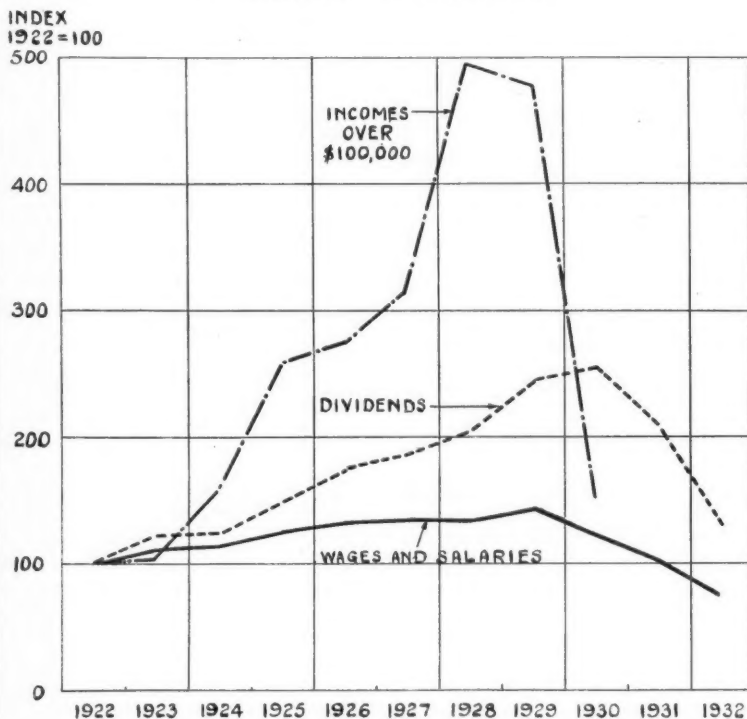
Incomes over \$100,000—U. S. income tax reports to 1929; 1930 estimate based on preliminary income tax report.

Payment of huge sums in dividends helped to swell the incomes of the very rich. Only a small portion of the dividends paid in this country go to families of moderate income. In 1929 86.5% of all dividends were paid to persons who had an investment of at least \$100,000. Other factors also piled up income for the wealthy—speculation on the stock exchange, and bonuses, fees, special privileges given by industry to those it favors.

Thus, while workers' income increased by only 45.5% from 1922 to 1929, incomes over \$100,000 increased 389.3%. In 1929, when some 20,000,000 of our citizens were living below minimum standards for health and efficiency, 14,800 persons received incomes of more than \$100,000, and 513 received \$1,000,000 each.

OUR GROWING INCOME

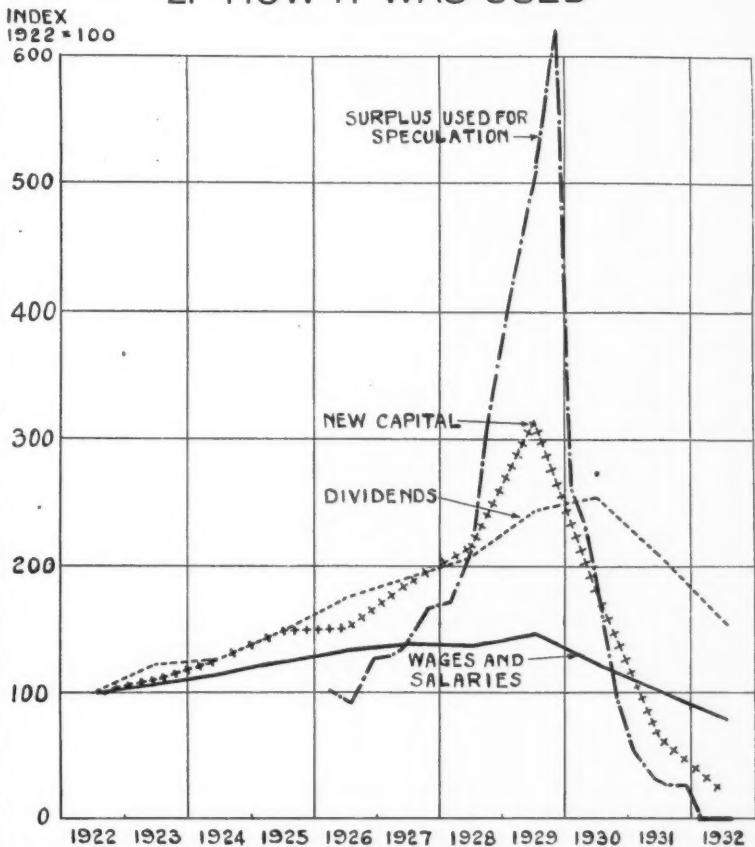
1. HOW IT WAS DIVIDED



Uses of Excess Income—What was the result of piling up excess income in the hands of a few while workers' share fell away? Graph 2 answers this question.

Since a man who has over \$100,000 income cannot possibly spend it all for the necessities of living, he reinvests a large portion. Piling up riches, therefore, greatly increased the volume of money available for investment in industry. New corporate capital issues—that is, stocks and bonds issued to furnish capital to industry—increased rapidly and much of this new capital went to build new industrial plants and equipment.

2. HOW IT WAS USED



From 1922 to 1929, new capital issues increased 213% compared to 45.5% increase in wages and salaries. Thus, our producing capacity increased rapidly, without corresponding growth in buying power.

In addition to its huge dividend payments, as shown above, industry was piling up large surplus funds each year. For profits were so great that even after dividends and taxes had been paid, the surplus amounted to nearly \$2,500,000,000 each year (average). In the stock market boom plants were tempted to invest their surplus in brokers' loans where it would draw from 9% to 12% interest, with small risk to them. Thus, at the peak of the stock boom, industry was contributing \$3,600,000,000 to increase speculation. From January 1926 to the 1929 peak this speculative use of industrial funds increased 515.7%. A considerable portion of the income paid to the very rich also helped to increase speculation.

Funds Used to Increase Producing Capacity and Speculation

New Corporate Capital Issues in the U. S.			Industrial Surplus Used for Speculation ¹					
Year	Millions of Dollars	Index	Year and Month	Millions of Dollars	Index	Year and Month	Millions of Dollars	Index
1922	2,556	100.0	1926			1929		
			Jan.	585	100.0	July	2992	511.5
1923	2,973	116.3	April	528	90.3	Oct.	3602	615.7
			July	646	110.4			
1924	3,208	125.5	Oct.	726	124.1	1930		
						Jan.	1644	281.0
1925	3,773	147.6	1927			April	1376	235.2
			Jan.	741	126.7	July	846	144.6
1926	3,845	150.4	April	806	137.8	Oct.	557	95.2
			July	877	149.9			
1927	4,744	185.6	Oct.	962	164.4	1931		
						Jan.	337	57.6
1928	5,410	211.7	1928			April	231	39.5
			Jan.	990	169.2	July	168	28.7
1929	8,002	313.1	April	1262	215.7	Oct.	157	26.8
			July	1760	300.9			
1930	4,570	178.8	Oct.	2048	350.1	1932		
						Jan.	6	.002
1931	1,625	63.6	1929			April	7	.003
			Jan.	2434	416.1	July	8	.003
1932	586	22.9	April	2893	494.5			

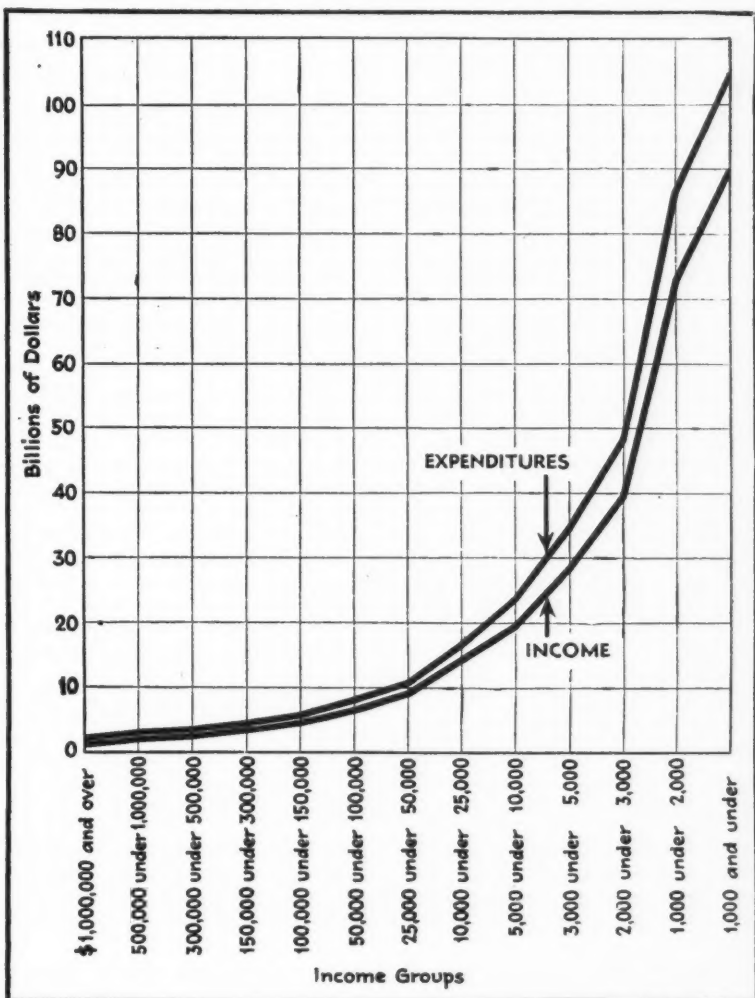
Sources—Federal Reserve Board.

¹Brokers' loans for the account of "others."

Summing up: The wealth created by industry was so distributed that new capital increased 213%, industrial surplus used for speculation increased 515%, while wages and salaries increased only 45.5%. Producing capacity was increased beyond the capacity of consumers to buy; speculation became more profitable than normal business activity.

Increased capitalization is a continued charge on industry. Every new issue of stock means a claim for more dividends. Beside these new stock issues, industry paid \$8,600,000,000 to its stock holders in stock dividends in these 8 years—another increase in the claim of stock holders over its income. A large part of the growth in dividend payments was due to this increase in capitalization and multiplication of shares of stock. On Chart 2, the line for dividend payments follows closely on that for new capital until 1928.

3. WORKERS' DEFICIT



The Business Week

1929 figures show the smaller incomes are the most important, and the smaller they run the greater the excess of expenditures over income

Deficit in Buying Power—The result of unbalance in distributing the income of our industries is shown on Graph 3, in another aspect. The chart indicates two important facts:

1. The largest part of the money which buys goods and services sold to consumers is spent by the low income groups. Those who earn less than \$5,000 a year spend 83% of it.
2. The lines for expenditure and income spread apart in the lower income groups showing a deficit—i. e., an excess of spending over income. This deficit amounted in 1929 to \$4,400,000,000.

There is definite shortage of buying power among wage and small-salaried worker. Since they buy 83% of all goods sold to consumers, their buying power is vital to our national welfare. Industry depends on it. The shortage of workers' income was the brake which checked our economic progress in 1929. Engineers estimate that in that year of peak activity our industries were equipped to produce 50% more than could be consumed. Even the goods that were produced could not all be paid for. The deficit in buying power in 1929 was probably made up by selling goods below cost to those who otherwise could not buy. This represents a huge loss to industry.

Low Wages Mean Low Profits—If industry does not provide consumers with sufficient income to buy its product, it cannot sell enough to cover overhead and earn profits. Unquestionably, the "profitless prosperity" which thousands of business concerns experienced before 1930 was due to the shortage of consumer buying power. Paying money to increase dividends when wages and worker's buying power are not increased proportionately, is only cutting away industry's power to earn dividends. Consumer buying power must come out of industrial income; if it is not given at first in the form of wages, it will be taken later in the form of bad debts. And when the disproportion becomes too great, depression is the drastic cure, with its widespread and unnecessary business wreckage. A consistent policy of increasing wages as rapidly as possible would in the long run bring greater and more general profit to all.

The effect of workers' income losses on business in general has been strikingly shown during the depression. When workers could not buy, retail trade took losses almost equal to the decline in workers' income.

Losses From 1929

(In Millions of Dollars)

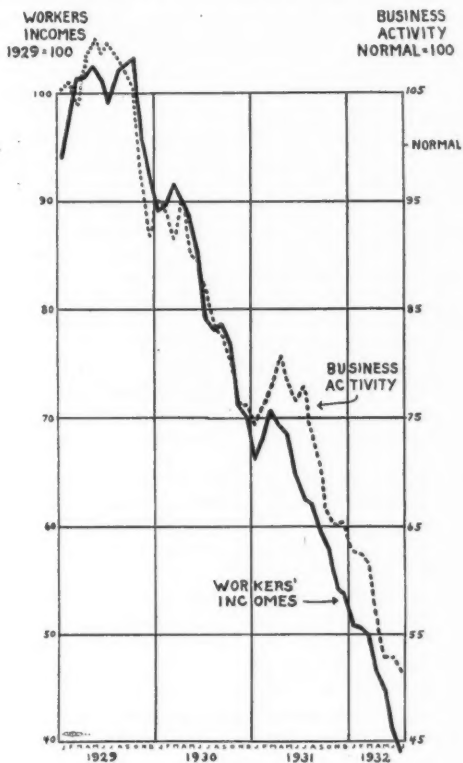
	Workers' Incomes	Retail Sales
1930.....	7,749	6,000
1931.....	15,511	12,500
1932.....	25,020	20,000

Since all industry depends ultimately on retail trade as the outlet for its products these losses were reflected through our entire industrial system. Factories and mines found their orders cut; railroads have been in serious straits through loss of traffic; no industry has escaped. The market for over one-third of our consumer product has been cut away.

Graph 4 shows that consistently throughout depression, business activity has followed the pay envelope. In July 1932 workers' incomes were 50% below 1929 and the index of business activity had fallen 51%.*

* This graph gives workers' real incomes in railroads and factories. Our calculations show that these figures represent income trends for all workers. Figures weighted for cost of living.

4. BUSINESS FOLLOWS THE PAY ENVELOPE



Industry cannot possibly recover until workers' buying power is restored. The income loss from unemployment has been very great, and millions of dollars have also been cut from worker's pay envelopes by wage reductions. Failure of workers' income was a primary cause of depression; we cannot hope to get out of depression by the same means which brought us in.

Cooperation Essential to Balance Wages and Production—It is not realistic to talk of the need for keeping balance between producing and consuming power without recognizing that our industrial system in its crude form operates constantly to destroy that balance. A system based on competition between individuals without mechanisms for cooperation, must of necessity lead to developments which check progress for society as a whole. The individual business firm, striving to pay dividends as high as possible, keeps wages down, because it believes that this will reduce costs and increase profits. Millions of firms following the same policy eventually bring on business depression.

The process of raising wages must be carried on cooperatively throughout industry, with the realization that such a policy will accomplish the greatest good for all in the long run. Measures to bring about this kind of cooperation are discussed in the section on "Economic Planning".

After three years of depression, many elements which were inflated have been brought back nearer normal. Money flowing to high income groups has been reduced; new capital issues are scarcely enough even to supply industry's need; reserves created by past surplus have been needed for current operation and their use in speculation has ceased. But in the process of making these adjustments, wages and salaries which were not inflated, have been drastically cut away, with the result that industry has no demand for its product, no basis for increasing activity.

The need now is to restore lost buying power. Industry is not making a real effort to do this. Dividend payments are still above the 1924 level while wages have fallen below 1922 (see chart 1). There is no general movement to increase wages. To delay the rebuilding of buying power is to prolong depression.

Our Outgrown Work-Week—In May, 1932, the Labor Department gathered figures showing actual man hours worked in 25,000 firms, covering 103 industries. The actual hours of work done by the average employed worker was 41.1 per week. This figure covers 2,440,000 workers, or slightly over one-tenth of all industrial wage and salaried workers at work in May in the United States.

Assuming that the Labor Department survey represents the situation in industry generally, clearly the actual amount of work to be done in the United States will not furnish employment for all who want work at even 30 hours a week. In May, 1932, there were roughly 11,000,000 unemployed and 23,000,000 wage and salaried workers at work outside of agriculture. An average week of 41 hours worked by 23,000,000 persons represents a total of 943,000,000 man-hours' work to be done per week. If this work is to furnish employment for all, the 34,000,000 who want work will have less than 28 hours each per week. These are rough figures, but they indicate the problem we have to face.

When this is the situation, is it wise to run our industries on even a 41 hour schedule and keep 11,000,000 without work and without income? In some industries, hours still average over 50 a week—oil producing and hotels—and hundreds of individual plants employing thousands are working a 60 hour week and more in other industries.

To reduce these extremes would create employment for thousands, and this should be a first move. But the 48 and even the 44-hour week are outgrown schedules now, and we must recognize that a change is essential.

In the period from 1919 to 1929 labor saving machinery and devices made sweeping reductions in human labor needed in industry, but work-hours were not adjusted. Factories turned out 42% more product with 241,000 fewer workers; railroads carried more freight, but dropped 362,000 workers; coal mines laid off 122,000; agriculture, 800,000. With industry operating at peak activity in 1929, 2,400,000 were unemployed. In factories, work-time needed for the same work was reduced from 52 to 34 hours a week by technical improvements in this decade, but the actual work-week declined only from 52 to 50 hours.

The average work-week in all industry in 1929 was about 49 hours. If the unemployed had been put to work there would not have been over 45 hours a week for each worker. Trade union standards average 44.8 hours a week at that time. Since 1929, depression has forced still greater use of labor saving devices. The return of normal times could not provide even 44 hours' work a week for all now.

The 5-day 40-hour week and the 6-hour day with a 36-hour week, represent standards applicable to normal times at present. But in the emergency of this fall and winter, hours must be reduced even below this standard to provide work for the unemployed and prevent starvation.

Worker Security—What every worker wants is a job and the sense of security that comes from having a dependable source of income. We want to earn our way and to have commensurate reward that will enable us to participate in those activities that will bring us opportunities for development. We want security so as to lay the fear of loss of job which haunts every wage-earner. Fear is not the best stimulus to the highest quality of production.

As steps toward worker security we propose the following:

(1) Organization of the job market through a system of state employment services under federal coordination. Workers should be supplied with information of existing jobs for which they may be fitted and helped to make contacts with employers in need of workers.

The employment agency is indispensable to various proposals for wage-earner betterment and would supply indexes to unemployment, shifting vocational trends, seasonal industries, etc.

The strengthening of the state employment agency should be primary in every program for wage-earner protection.

(2) Wage-earners should be organized into unions of their own choosing and under their own control. No individual or group that is not looking after its own interests intelligently need expect to make the greatest possible progress. Only a wage-earner organization can supply experience and opinion representing the needs and aims of this group. Labor organizations are necessary to supply the contributions that will give balance in industrial planning and distribution of returns from joint production. Unions are essential to industry and society as well as to wage-earners.

(3) Distribution of man-hours so that all may have an opportunity to earn a living. When workers have been added to the producing staff, none should be laid off until the hours for all have been reduced at least to 30 per week. Management should

not be allowed to shift the costs of irregular production upon wage-earners. As technical progress makes it possible to do our work in less time, a commensurate benefit for increased productivity should go to Labor in the form of shorter work-week and more leisure. Unemployment and a lack of purchasing power are causes of depression.

(4) Higher wages. Consumer buying power should expand proportionately to increases in production and services available to raise standards of living. This is essential to prevention of depression. Wage-earners and small salaried persons constitute 83% of retail buyers. When their incomes are not large enough to supply an adequate retail market, business contracts.

(5) Vocational counsel and retraining. Every boy and girl should have the best counsel in finding the kind of work for which he or she is best fitted. This kind of assistance should be continued during adult years through employment services, to help them make adjustments to changes in industry. Vocational counsel should be connected with opportunities for retraining when necessary.

(6) The larger aspects of unemployment prevention through national economic planning we cover in the following section.

Planning Our Lives—For generations we have gone on the assumption that national prosperity is the sum total of prosperity of individual citizens and that the way toward national well-being lies in assuring opportunity for individual initiative accompanied by individual responsibility. These were the philosophy and practice of our social organization as we conquered the New World, which have continued to shape our thinking, our rules of conduct, and our industrial relationships. More sweeping changes affecting social relations and the environment in which we live and work have occurred in the past hundred years than in the previous two thousand. Fundamental changes in the technique of work and living have eliminated time and space as barriers to human intercourse and have placed the limiting factor in production outside the individual producing ability.

Technical progress in the past century has completely revolutionized the whole of living. In the early days of this Republic, individual families could maintain themselves, exchanging products and services and buying or selling in the locality. Now, the financial policies of France may jeopardize our banking system; a drouth in Russia may enable a Kansas farmer to pay off his mortgage; new cotton mills in India may lay off workers in a Carolina mill. The voices of government leaders may be carried round the world; the deliberations of a convention are carried to every individual represented there. The radio and the moving picture have radically expanded educational possibilities.

The basis of organization for activity in various fields must be shifted from the individual to the groups through which the individual functions. The group now supplies opportunities for the individual to achieve his purposes and desires. A major problem of this day is to learn the principles of working together in groups and how groups should work together. In many cases principles which applied to the individual can be carried over to the group problem. Every individual knows he has to plan in order to accomplish anything. The greater part of that planning goes on within his own mind, but when a group plans the thinking must be externalized by discussion and records so that all participate. There must be agreement on what is to be done, order of doing, and methods.

Progress in methods of communication and transportation has made business in all countries closely dependent on world markets. Developments in any one country are reflected in all the others. On a smaller scale, the same relationships exist within each country and between countries and their major customers. The causes of the present world-wide depression are not within the responsibility of any individual, corporation, industry, or nation, but they lie in the field of finance, international economic arrangement, disruption of foreign markets, in addition to industrial causes at home. In order that interdependent relationships shall bring mutual progress there must be some agreement upon direction and purpose of economic undertakings and plans for business and commerce.

We are facing the consequences of two fundamental economic changes: the economic consequences of electric power production as shown in surplus production, and the interdependence which is the warp of our economic and social fabrics.

The economic collapse through which we are now struggling discloses the intolerable shortcomings of our existing economic institutions and practices and brings into question the organization that precipitated the disaster. We find that the profits accruing from the work of productive workers have served to increase the wealth of the few in places of strategic control at the expense of the producers. There has been a marked trend toward the concentration of wealth in the hands of a small number corporate owners. The business men directing these institutions have had great power in directing developments.

In 1927 there were approximately 450,000 corporations filing income returns. Of the 150,000 financial corporations, it is estimated that less than 100 control over 50% of the total wealth of this class of corporations. The men who control these corporations control the credit and investment policies for the country. Upon them rests primary responsibility for human welfare—a responsibility assumed without the consent of the persons concerned. Financial corporations exert influence that practically amounts to control over the non-financial corporations. A study of non-financial corporations shows that 200 control at least 50% of the wealth represented by that field. Furthermore, it is believed that the process of concentration has been given stronger impetus by this depression. Yet, while management of these strongholds of wealth affects the lives and prosperity of millions, practically no planning has been directed toward the prevention of unemployment, equitable distribution of returns from joint production, the recognition of equities accruing from the investment of labor in production, or to secure that balance in progress necessary to stable prosperity.

In the nature of business development has come a trend for central banking control. There has always been some degree of banking control over investments, credit, prices, employment, etc., but the degree and scope of existing control constitute practically a new function. With proposals to recognize this trend and hold the banking system responsible for its influence on prices and the business curve, comes a program for coordination of banking agencies into a unified system and its conversion into a social service agency.

This depression has shown us how definitely separate private banks are bound by their obligations to stockholders and depositors, so that they are contracting credit though national need calls for expansion. In order to conserve investments and values, as well as prevent financial panics, our federal government has had to underwrite our

financial institutions. Since it is obvious that our monetary system is managed, it is essential that credit policies should be based on a program of national welfare, not profit for private institutions.

Bankers in the United States have fallen into serious disrepute for their obvious failure to understand the relation of finance to the rest of our business machine as a unified operating structure. Responsibility for this failure lies partly with our banking system and partly with the purposes of those directing our banks. Bankers have a serious obligation for the maintenance of sound financial institutions quite in conflict with the encouragement they have extended to speculation and the sale of unsound securities.

Labor believes that our financial system should serve to protect the holders of sound equities such as home owners, farmers, etc., in times of emergency which endanger their investments about which their lives are organized.

The mistakes of management in large corporate enterprises affect the community and the whole nation. No management has a right to assume the responsibility involved unless it is exercised in the light of accumulated records and in furtherance of the best interests of all concerned. Need for planning to avoid the weaknesses that brought the present breakdown of our economic organization is self-evident. We need to be able to use our full productive powers. We need to raise the standard of living of all groups to the level which our producing industries can sustain. We need to stop the necessity for destroying a too-bountiful harvest in order that the farmer may get adequate pay for his work. We need to stop laying off workers because their wages are not adequate to buy products on the retail market and services provided for human comfort and development.

There are millions of persons whose standard of living is below the minimum for health and comfort. If these persons could receive adequate incomes our factories and mills could operate at capacity. We cannot raise and stabilize the incomes of the wage-earners without stabilizing industries and making them more productive. We cannot plan for these industries and wage-earners within them unless we include plans for money, credit, investment, wholesale and retail trade, the stock market, etc. The immediate problem is coordinated planning and how to get it. There are various organized groups with specialized data and experience. The problem is to coordinate these and other groups to plan toward a determined goal, outlining immediate next steps. Though we may not be able now to select the methods and agencies, we can apply to our national problems present best practices in planning in limited fields. We have, for example, in our federal government a number of valuable statistical services. These, for the most part, operate independently and without thought of application to coordinated activities, thereby minimizing their usefulness.

Under former economic organization we have in the past assumed that if each person were free to seek his own best interests and profit, the well-being of the whole would follow automatically. This is no longer a practical policy. The chance of many to achieve their best interests may be completely destroyed if one or more persons in strategic positions take privileges for themselves. Unlimited competition does not work, but each is dependent on the situation as a whole. We must take hold of the whole problem and concertedly advance.

Planning in itself is not new. Wherever two or more persons work or live together there must be some degree of planning. But the kind and method of planning differ

with the degree of inter-relationship existing between the persons concerned. During the periods when individualism is dominant, the scope of any planning is limited, separate, and generally competitive. When, however, the social and economic structures which constitute our environment are dominant, the basis and the method of planning must become inclusive, cooperative, balanced.

Unless our planning methods change with our environment and problems, we quickly come to grief, for planning is essential to getting any place. With coordinated planning we may endeavor to make the things people want, assure distribution by planning for adequate consuming power, thereby making it possible for all to enjoy the benefits of social progress. With coordinated planning it would not be necessary to destroy crops for farmers to get prices commensurate with services; increases in production would not be a catastrophe; labor saving devices would not mean poverty and misery of being "scrapped" to workers who have invested heavily in skilled trades.

Business has not demonstrated its capacity to manage itself or to conform to the larger social purposes. We can expect little progress in sustained welfare for all until all business unites in planning to that end. It is obvious that no one corporation or industry can assure the desired results without cooperation from all agencies that affect the economic situation.

While all existing machinery for planning can be used for national economic planning, none is adequate without the addition of the spirit and method of coordination and authority to administer policies. While trade associations, large corporate organizations, may be competent for their distinctive jurisdictions, they are but part of the national structure which they influence and which in turn conditions their opportunities. No one institution or industry is able to maintain or restore prosperity. The central coordinating authority which can serve this function may avoid the evils of bureaucracy by providing responsibility for functional authority, decentralized to the greatest degree possible, and securing coordination through functional representation in deciding policies and methods.

A fundamental difficulty with our present economic situation is lack of equal sharing in the benefits of social progress. In the stage of technical development when it was not possible to produce adequately enough to give all the things needed for highest standards of living, inequities in the distribution of national income were not so catastrophic in consequences as under our present ability to produce surpluses. In manufacturing, agriculture, mining, facilities for transportation, services, recreation facilities, there has been unparalleled expansion. At present, the limits to production are the incomes of consumers. Where incomes of the masses are kept at starvation levels, mass production industries will also be kept starved. The only secure source of income for producing workers is the job where they can be paid for the values produced. There may be various economic bridges to transfer workers from one job to another, but regular income financed out of the creation of wealth is the basis of any economically sound structure.

We have not deliberately planned for the prosperity of producing workers. Labor displacing machines created unemployment for more than a million at the time of highest prosperity. Accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few exceeded the needs of productive investment and led to speculation and inflated security levels. Despite the fact that we have made unparalleled progress in capacity to produce, we have not found out how to pay our producing workers or how to know when we have increased

purchasing adequately paralleling increases in production. As a consequence, workers laid off, with no opportunity to earn a living, can turn only to alms. Workers invest a lifetime in producing occupations and with the coming of old age cannot satisfy their primary needs. An economic order that rewards the speculator and the crafty and makes no provision for producers cannot justify itself. If capitalism is to continue, it must pay the price of economic security for the producers. Until all the various units and groups in business work together in carrying through a coordinated plan, we can make little headway in making social welfare the objective of all our various activities.

Drainage of wealth from purchasing power, at first disguised by the development of installment buying, finally contributed to the inevitable collapse. Complementing the forces for unbalance in this country were the disruption of international markets, maldistribution of gold due to war debts, unpayable debts resulting from price declines and policies of inflation and deflation, the impoverishment of whole nations.

The determining factor in guiding production has been profits. Because it is necessary for industry to pay its way as a going concern, we believe that equitable distribution of income so that all may share in the profits is essential to balance for mass production in our highly interdependent economic structure. Balance is our hope for mitigating the severity of business depressions and attendant unemployment. Plans for maintaining economic balance must grow out of a unified basic philosophy and coordinated procedure to advance human well being. As integral parts of such a central plan, the Federation urges the following:

- (1) Steeply graduated income and inheritance taxes.
- (2) Constructive control of credit to finance production.
- (3) Recognition of the equities of workers in the industries in which they work and at least protection equal to that given financial investments.
- (4) Federal agency to collect and collate data on man-hours and wage-earner income, necessary to appraise producing workers participation in industrial progress. Such an agency would provide the standards for determining economic balance.
- (5) Federal licenses for corporations operating on an interstate scope, with specific requirements as to accounting.
- (6) All accounts available to those interested, and protective service for investors.
- (7) Organization of wage-earners to advance their interests intelligently within industry and other relationships.

We believe that national economic planning should aim at raising standards of living for lagging groups and not at a program of limitation of production with price fixing. We need to find out how best to use our capacity to produce.

In the past we boasted of technical efficiency and the accumulations of captains of industry; but now our nation is arriving at manhood we must consider the social implications of economic policies. Our economic institutions and order should provide all our citizens with the material things needed to maintain life and make a good life possible for all. When our economic machinery is used to enable a few to control the lives of others it is subverted to lower purposes. Unless there is collective effort to put higher purposes into our national life, it is impossible for individuals to conduct their business decisions upon a higher plane. Unless there is authority to administer a plan that meets the approval of the group the way is left open to individuals to profit by acting contrary to the group. There will be no freedom for the group to carry through

a concerted policy, collectively determined, unless there is authority to hold irresponsible individuals in line.

Though we cannot foresee the development or the agencies for national economic planning, we can see the necessary first steps. As essential to that end, we urge the calling of a representative national economic conference to outline the initial steps. In such a conference Labor should be represented as a producing partner in industry and as a major social group. National planning can advance intelligently only in the light of understanding of international relationships and economic and social interdependence. As Labor well realizes, cooperation is the essential method and attitude of mind for any collective enterprise.

But our economic planning will be vain unless we remember that technical progress, economic efficiency and balance are to provide opportunities for the development of the moral, intellectual and spiritual capacities of all our citizens. Men and women must be morally and spiritually prepared to make good use of the mechanisms they create.

Principles of Relief—It is unreasonable to expect that any program for stabilization will prevent all unemployment in the immediate future. Whatever degree of benefits we may derive from stabilization we shall need to be prepared to relieve the unemployed for years to come. Since we know that the unemployed will be in want through no fault of theirs, it is negligent and unstatesmanlike not to have advance federal as well as local programs which can promptly be made effective.

(1) Advance planning of public works.

Although the proposal to provide advance planning of public works against cyclical unemployment has been under discussion for years and met with general approval, we were just as unprepared in the present emergency as in all previous crises. The federal agency to collect information on public works has not long been operative, but such information as was available was not promptly made the basis for action. The government has not yet developed the way to reduce the time-gap between authorization and actual construction which provides jobs. This was true even of the emergency program authorized in the last session of Congress. Although big problems are involved in getting construction projects under way, the administrative branch of the government should have the capacity and efficiency to make such public works programs to serve the purposes of relief promptly. Men, women, and children have suffered from hunger and been forced to ask charity while projects providing work were delayed.

The lessons of this experience should be put to service by fixing the responsibility and development of the machinery for a program of public works to future periods of depression.

(2) Use of national credit for self-liquidating projects, for building homes for workers and other small income groups, for slum reclamation and similar undertakings. The federal government responsible for promoting national welfare should develop a program for borrowing on the national credit to finance such undertakings to provide jobs for those without sources of income, while at the same time increasing national wealth by providing the means for higher standards of living in the less advanced groups.

Planning the expansion and contraction of national credit should be a part of the whole undertaking of economic planning, based upon a reliable standard of economic and social soundness. The type of undertakings to be financed and details of construc-

tion work should be worked out in advance so as to further in balanced proportions the promotion of national welfare.

The only cure for unemployment is employment. Every relief plan gains in soundness as it approximates normal conditions of incomes from the creation of wealth needed by society. When industry breaks down, emergency construction undertakings will stimulate recovery.

Unemployment Relief Funds—To meet the tragedy of unemployment in any way but giving work is failure. But in this, the greatest human crisis of our time organized society has failed miserably to meet human needs. No payments of relief can fill man's need for creative work or maintain the self-respect that comes from meeting one's own responsibilities. But if work cannot be provided, relief payments can at least ward off starvation.

In the crisis of the last two years, however, relief, whether public or private, has been totally inadequate to meet the unprecedented need—even to ward off starvation. Millions have been plunged into poverty and despair, and our cities and counties have not provided enough to keep them in health and prevent physical deterioration.

Reports of the Children's Bureau, showing relief given in 125 cities, indicate that in August, 1931, the average relief grant per family was \$17.49 per month and in August, 1932, \$19.19. Even the higher 1932 amount provides less than \$4.80 a week. This falls far short of the minimum allowance necessary for food alone. The U. S. Departments of Labor and Agriculture, after careful study, give \$7.50 to \$10 a week for a family of 5 (the average family) as the minimum emergency allowance for food which will preserve health; they note that even this emergency budget can only be continued for short periods without grave danger.

Our relief payments in the last year have provided on the average scarcely half this minimum allowance for food, leaving nothing whatever for clothing, rent, heat, carfare, or any other essentials. Thousands of families have lived on this pittance for long periods, often more than a year.

Slow starvation is gradually undermining physical and mental soundness among millions of families upon whom we have counted as the backbone of our citizenry. Medical authorities assert that we have not yet begun to see the human wreckage from this depression; we will feel it for years to come.

We do not minimize the effort made by thousands of our citizens to secure money for relief, both public and private. Many have given generously of time, money, energy. In the first 8 months this year, public and private relief amounted to \$187,983,000 and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation added \$35,000,000 in loans to states up to September 30. This year's relief bill will probably be at least \$400,000,000 to \$500,000,000. The amount given this year was 76% above last year. In both years public agencies have furnished over two-thirds of the relief, the proportion for both years being 69% public, 31% private (first 8 months).

Workers' wage and salary loss this year has been \$25,000,000,000. Compared to this sum \$500,000,000 of relief (one fiftieth) seems small indeed.

The lesson of the present depression shows us that we must establish adequate relief machinery. This includes a program to keep work-hours adjusted to work-time needed, measures to prevent wage-losses, measures to create additional work, unemployment insurance, adequate public relief, including a force of trained persons to distribute it. We have made much progress in our relief machinery since 1929, but this year we have a more difficult and serious situation.

It is obvious that an increasing proportion of relief funds must come from governmental appropriations. In view of the demands for reductions in governmental expenditures, it will take strong presentation of the social consequences involved and persistent and concerted pressure upon state legislatures and Congress to secure adequate appropriations. We urge union groups everywhere to take the initiative in pressing demands for the necessary relief appropriations. Appropriations should be generous in recognition of the rights of the persons concerned, and administration of the funds should be economical and intelligent, under local unified control in the hands of a trained personnel.

However generous public appropriations may be, they do not relieve private individuals from contributions in proportion to their resources. Over \$100,000,000 came from private contributions this year—an equal or larger amount is needed this coming winter and next year to relieve need. Those who have large fortunes which could not have been accumulated except under the conditions which this nation provides, should give generously as a debt due to the nation and as an investment for the maintenance of our present institutions.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

In reporting to the last convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held at Vancouver, British Columbia, beginning October 5, a year ago, the Executive Council in dealing with the subject of unemployment insurance stated:

There are just two approaches to this problem: Prevention and relief. Either we must make employment secure or provide an income for the unemployed.

In another section of its report to the Vancouver convention the Executive Council made the following direct and positive reference to this social justice problem:

Working men have arrived at the point where they are firmly of the belief that they are as much entitled to work security, to enjoy the opportunity to work, as the owners of capital are to returns from their investments. Labor demands that these principles be recognized and accepted by the employers of Labor. Obviously, the owners and management of industry must decide as to whether working men and women shall enjoy the opportunity to work, or, whether as a result of the denial of this opportunity to work, industry shall have fastened upon it compulsory unemployment insurance legislation. It must be work or unemployment insurance. Working people must be privileged to earn a living or be accorded relief. If compulsory unemployment insurance is fastened upon our industrial, political and economic life, it will be because industrial ownership and management have failed to provide and preserve work opportunities for working men and women.

The experience which working men and women have been forced to face and undergo during the past year, has been most bitter and disappointing. They can not be expected to maintain faith in an economic order which has failed them so completely. They charge industrial management with failure to stabilize employment. The facts are that the management of industry has not provided work security or created work opportunities for those who are able, willing and eager to work. Unemployment has increased; there are more workers idle now than there were one year ago; approximately 11,000,000 are out of work, seeking employment, unable to find it.

The American Federation of Labor has always emphasized both the necessity and importance of supplying work for all. Working people and their families depend upon wages earned for a livelihood. Life and living, in the full meaning of that term, are inseparably associated with employment, wages, work security, the possession of a job and the exercise of the right to work.

The Executive Council has given most careful, painstaking and serious consideration to the problem of unemployment and to the application of the principle of unemployment insurance. The Council would much prefer that working people be privileged to work and be accorded job security than to see them forced to accept relief because of unemployment. The extension and enjoyment of the opportunity to work at decent wages, so that working men and women may earn a decent living, is the real objective of the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council urges work first and relief second, but it must be clear that working people must be permitted to earn a living or be supplied relief. They must earn their living or be supported. They can not earn their living unless jobs are provided and work opportunities accorded them.

Obviously, the owners and management of industry have failed to provide work for all and thus make it possible for all to earn a livelihood. Their failure is reflected in the fact that during the past three years unemployment has steadily increased and that at the present time about 11,000,000 people are idle. The Executive Council believes that the owners of industry and industrial management must have known that the creation of an army of 11,000,000 unemployed, forced to shift for themselves, to become dependent upon local, state and federal relief agencies, would create an intolerable economic situation fraught with most serious consequences.

The economic facts arising out of the unemployment situation, the continued displacement of millions of working men through the mechanization of industry and the substitution of power for human service, make it absolutely necessary, in the opinion of the Executive Council, to develop and put into operation through the enactment of appropriate legislation, an unemployment insurance plan which will provide for the payment of weekly benefits to working men and women who are forced to suffer from unemployment.

The Council holds that because the ownership and management of industry have failed to provide and maintain work opportunities for working men and women, unemployment insurance legislation is made imperatively necessary. The responsibility for this state of affairs rests squarely upon industry and industrial management. They control industry; consequently, they control jobs. Labor can not wait longer; it must now act. Industry must be compelled to do what it has thus far failed to do. Work or relief must be provided. If industrial management fails to provide work, it must be compelled to assume the burden of supplying relief.

Having all these facts in mind, the Executive Council at a meeting held July 12-22, 1932, directed the President of the American Federation of Labor to draft and present to a subsequent meeting a plan of unemployment insurance legislation. These instructions were complied with. As a result of a detailed survey and careful study of the subject, the President of the American Federation of Labor submitted to a meeting of the Executive Council held October 18-27, 1932, a report which embodied within it a plan of unemployment insurance legislation.

The Executive Council has always endeavored to guard jealously the organization structure of the American Federation of Labor. For that reason the Council was apprehensive over the effect which compulsory unemployment insurance legislation might have upon the exercise of the right of working men and women not only to join but to maintain membership in trade unions. In the drafting of an unemployment insurance measure, the Council has constantly kept three very distinct fundamental principles in mind.

First, it has endeavored to provide in the plan which it submits to the convention a full measure of protection to the membership of the American Federation of Labor, and the preservation of the right to become a member and to continue membership in a trade union.

Second, that the payment of relief shall be made a fixed charge upon industry. Relief funds should be created out of the earnings of industry. The Council does not believe it is fair or just that any part of the money out of which relief would be paid during periods of unemployment should be collected from employees.

Third, that unemployment insurance should be compulsory and that the execution and administration of unemployment insurance laws should come wholly within the control and administration of federal and state governments.

The Executive Council submits the following plan for the consideration and approval of the convention. This plan embodies within it the fundamental principles just enunciated and represents the best thought and judgment of the members of the Executive Council and of the trained experts upon social justice legislation who rendered valuable assistance in the preparation of the plan. The Council recommends this plan of unemployment insurance legislation for the favorable consideration and acceptance of the officers and members in attendance at the convention.

Principles Recommended for Unemployment Insurance Measures—It would be desirable, were it possible, to press for the enactment of one uniform measure for unemployment insurance applicable throughout the United States. But, due to the provisions and limitations of the United States constitution as interpreted by the courts, since the regulation of manufacture and industry lies primarily within the province of state rather than federal activity, it is practically impossible to enact constitutional federal legislation adequately providing for unemployment insurance covering employees engaged in work in the different states. The American Federation of Labor, therefore, advocates the passage of unemployment insurance legislation in each separate state, and the supplementing of such state legislation by federal enactments; such for instance, as bills covering employees engaged in interstate commerce or employed in the District of Columbia or in federal territories, or such as the bill recently introduced into Congress by Senator Wagner, allowing corporations substantial income tax credit on their federal income taxes for such payments as they have made under state laws toward the creation of unemployment reserves.

It is evident that the local conditions of each state vary to such a marked degree that it would be unwise, even were it possible at the present time, to frame a single model bill to be enacted in every state. It is possible, nevertheless, to set forth certain general fundamental principles and standards to which such state legislation should conform. The American Federation of Labor, after mature consideration and discussion, has formulated the following principles which should guide in the framing of state unemployment insurance bills:

1. *Protection of Union Standards*—Every unemployment insurance act should contain specific provisions to protect union members from being obliged to accept work contrary to the rules and regulations of their organizations or employment under conditions such as tend to depress wages or working conditions.

2. *Underlying Object of Unemployment Insurance*—Unemployment insurance legislation in this country should be carefully devised to promote its two primary

objectives: (a) the stimulation of more regular employment, insofar as possible, and (b) the payment of unemployment compensation to those who are temporarily out of work through industry's failure to provide steady employment for its working forces.

3. *Voluntary vs. Compulsory Schemes of Insurance*—The American Federation of Labor advocates a scheme of unemployment compensation made compulsory by law. Voluntary schemes are unlikely to pervade industry generally, and are frequently open to other serious objections. Only by compulsory legislation can workers be adequately protected.

4. *How and From Whom Contributions Should Be Made*—Since unemployment is, to a certain extent, one of the inevitable incidents of production and must, therefore, be regarded as part of the inescapable cost of industry, it, like other costs of industry should be paid by industry itself. It, therefore, follows that, as a matter of principle, no part of the contributions to support unemployment insurance should be paid out of the wages of labor, but the whole should be paid by management as part of the cost of production. The necessary funds should be raised as a charge on industry.

The amount of such contribution must depend upon the local conditions in each state. A minimum contribution must be required sufficient to cover (a) the building up of adequate reserves, (b) the cost of the benefits to be paid under the act, and (c) the costs of administration. To cover these costs the American Federation of Labor believes that the contribution rate should be not less than 3% of the total pay roll. The exact percentage, however, must vary in different states, and will come to depend upon various actuarial data, which must be carefully collected as a basis for such determination from the experience gained both before and after the passage of the act. The absence of complete data should not, however, prevent the passage of a law, since the liability of the fund is limited to the amount of the income provided by law. As experience is accumulated it will be possible to determine the income necessary to provide the benefits decided upon in the law.

5. *Reserve vs. Insurance Systems*—At this time the American Federation of Labor deems it inadvisable to take an irrevocable stand as between the plant reserves system or unemployment insurance embodied in the Wisconsin law and an insurance system such as is under consideration in Ohio and in operation in many European countries. Whatever plan is adopted, whether based on plant reserves or on a broader basis, we believe that it should be administered by the state and all reserve funds held and invested by the state. We are unalterably opposed to company-controlled unemployment reserves and believe that without state administration plant reserves will prove but another "company union" device. We are also of the opinion that, at least at the outset, it is advisable to have but a single unemployment insurance fund (with, if a plant reserves system is adopted, separate accounts for separate employers) and a flat rate of contributions by employers regardless of the industry in which they may be engaged. Later on, after more accurate data are obtained, the contributions in each industry, occupation, or enterprise may be scaled according to the hazard of unemployment, but sufficient data are not now available to warrant such classifications at this time.

6. *Exclusion of Private Insurance Companies*—Sound public policy requires that no insurance company in this country be allowed to invade this new field of unemployment compensation. No insurance company is allowed under present state laws to

write this class of insurance. The Federation believes that this policy is wise and should in no case be abandoned.

7. *Investment of Funds*—All funds should be invested in federal securities or in the bonds of state or municipalities such as have never defaulted in the payment of principal or interest.

8. *Eligibility for Benefits*—Insurance in general should cover temporary and involuntary unemployment. Unemployment means the conditions caused by the inability of an employee who is capable of and available for employment to obtain work in his usual employment or in another for which he is reasonably fitted. Nothing in the unemployment compensation act should require an employee to accept employment, nor should any employee forfeit his right to benefits under the act by refusing to accept employment under any or all of the following conditions:

- (a) In a situation vacant directly in consequence of a stoppage of work due to a trade dispute;
- (b) If the wages, hours and conditions offered are less favorable to the employee than those prevailing for similar work in the locality, or are such as tend to depress wages and working conditions;
- (c) If acceptance of such employment would abridge or limit the right of the employee either (1) to refrain from joining a labor organization or association of workmen, or (2) to retain membership in and observe the rules of any such organization or association.
- (d) Workers who quit work without good cause or who are discharged for misconduct shall not thereby forfeit benefits beyond a reasonable period.

9. *Scope or Coverage*—The coverage should be as wide as possible. It should include clerical as well as manual workers: There are, however, certain classes of employment which it may be necessary to exclude from the general operation of the act, and these classes will vary according to local conditions. It would seem that the legislation should approximate, insofar as practicable, the coverage of state workmen's compensation acts. As time goes on the scope or coverage of the act may well be broadened.

10. *Payment of Benefits*—The claim of employees to receive unemployment compensation as provided under the act should be clearly recognized as a legal right earned by previous employment within the state. Receipt of unemployment benefits shall in no way entail loss of suffrage or other civil rights. Persons not legal residents of the state and those not citizens of the United States shall not by reason of that fact be disqualified from receiving benefits.

The amount of benefits to be paid and the number of weeks during which they shall be paid must depend upon the local conditions in each state and upon the amount of contributions paid into the fund. We are informed, for instance, that under the conditions prevailing in Ohio, a contribution of 3% of the total payroll makes it possible after a waiting period of three weeks per year to pay benefits for a maximum period of 16 weeks in a year based upon 50% of the normal weekly wages, but not to exceed \$15.00 a week.

It seems advisable to restrict the payment of benefits to unemployment occurring after a specified waiting period. The length of this waiting period will materially affect the amount of the benefits which can be paid and the length of time during which they can be paid.

Workers who are partially unemployed should receive unemployment compensation at a reduced rate. The exact amount of the reduction will presumably vary in different states. We suggest that a fair principle would be to pay for partial unemployment the amount of the benefit which would be payable in case of total unemployment reduced by subtracting one-half of the amount of the wages actually received.

11. *Administration*—(a) Nature of Commission.

The administration of the scheme of unemployment compensation and the responsibility for the keeping and investment of the unemployment funds should be in the hands of a state commission. This should be either a special commission created for the specific purpose, or an already existing state commission or department of labor.

(b) Both Labor and management should have a voice in the administration of unemployment insurance. Advisory committees composed of an equal number of representatives of Labor and management will prove very useful and, in some states, local appeal boards similarly constituted will be found desirable. It should be recognized, however, that workmen can have genuine representation only through labor organizations. Unless Labor can, in effect, through its organization select its own representatives, pretended representation is but a farce.

(c) Cost of Administration.

The cost of the administration of unemployment compensation should be met out of the unemployment fund itself.

(d) Employment Exchanges.

The operation of employment exchanges is closely and vitally connected with the administration of unemployment insurance. The commission should take over, supervise and expand public employment exchanges in states where these already exist, or in states where none exists should create and operate such exchanges.

(e) Procedure for Obtaining Benefits.

The administration regulating the payment of benefits should be decentralized as far as possible. Payments should be made upon claims presented through local agencies, established and supervised by the commission and acting in close cooperation with the public employment offices. Appeals should be allowed to a central authority.

12. *Regularization of Employment*—The whole scheme should be so construed as to induce and stimulate so far as possible the regularization and stabilization of employment. This may be affected in various possible ways; as for instance, by basing the amount of contributions payable upon some merit-rating scheme, or in states not adopting an exclusive state fund, by the establishment of separate industry or separate plant funds.

This statement embodies within it certain standards and principles that we believe should be incorporated in unemployment insurance legislation. We suggest, however, that a flexible policy be pursued in all the states, and that unemployment insurance legislation be secured which will maintain the above standards, so far as possible, and yet which will accommodate itself to the varying circumstances and conditions in each state. It is essential that the protection of the rights of citizenship and of union membership be maintained in all acts.

Pending the adoption of compulsory state insurance, voluntary unemployment compensation schemes should be subject to state regulation. We, therefore, believe it vital that suitable legislation be enacted to provide for state supervision of all such plans, including as a minimum the deposit of benefit funds in separate trust accounts, whether or not such funds include payments made from employers.

SECRETARY MORRISON'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates to the Fifty-Second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

GREETINGS: I have the honor to submit the report of the receipts and expenses for the past twelve months, beginning September 1, 1931, and ending August 31, 1932.

At the close of the fiscal year there was a balance on hand of \$368,444.97. Of this total, \$334,495.09 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions, to be used to pay benefits in case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions and the balance, \$33,949.88, is in the general fund.

The total receipts from all sources, \$466,350.18, the total expenses, \$468,747.28, amount of expenses over receipts, \$2,397.10.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1932.

RECEIPTS	
Balance on hand, August 31, 1931.....	\$370,842.07
Per Capita Tax.....	\$312,809.17
American Federationist.....	94,284.97
Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions:	
Per capita tax from locals.....	17,048.90
Initiation fees.....	3,659.95
Reinstatement fees.....	159.50
Supplies.....	3,905.03
Interest.....	12,011.13
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.....	5,014.89
Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts.....	2,381.64
Dividend No. 1 Union Labor Life Stock.....	75.00
A. F. of L. Bldg. Fund.....	15,000.00
Total receipts.....	466,350.18
Grand total.....	\$837,192.25

EXPENSES	
General.....	\$391,832.87
American Federationist.....	71,871.04
Defense Fund:	
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions.....	868.00
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	4,175.37
Total expenses.....	468,747.28
Balance of funds on hand, August 31, 1932.....	\$368,444.97

RECAPITULATION	
In General Fund.....	\$ 33,949.88
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	334,495.09
Balance on hand, August 31, 1932.....	\$368,444.97

EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1932:

Rent.....	\$14,667.00
Refund, C. & O., I. F., and Proceedings.....	47.00
Premiums:	
Bonds, local unions.....	4,175.37
Secretary's bond.....	15.00
Treasurer's bond.....	187.50
Insurance.....	319.79
Expressage, freight and drayage.....	308.14
Legislative expenses, including salaries and traveling expenses of legislative committeemen.....	12,635.18
Postage stamps.....	11,904.67
Newspapers, Magazines and Books (Library).....	2,159.24
Printing Bound Proceedings of Vancouver convention.....	2,745.35
Supplies and Printing.....	19,015.65
Supplies for Resale.....	1,737.47
Miscellaneous expenses.....	5,524.09
Paper supply for addressograph and envelopes (Mailing Department).....	2,894.88
Mailing Equipment.....	374.62
Office furniture and fixtures.....	692.40
Official stenographers, Vancouver convention.....	1,850.57
Telegrams and telephones.....	5,062.91
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Great Britain.....	187.10
Expenses of fraternal delegates to British Trades and Union Congress and Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	2,223.90
Vancouver Convention:	
Messenger, sergeant-at-arms and assistant secretary.....	440.00
Printing roll-call.....	63.82
Printing Daily Proceedings.....	3,196.09
Printing, envelopes and supplies.....	337.47
Stenographers.....	7,256.52
Rental of office furniture.....	103.50
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, sending out Daily Proceedings.....	508.77
Auditing and Credential Committee.....	481.00
Salaries:	
President.....	12,000.00
Secretary.....	10,000.00
Treasurer.....	500.00
Office employees.....	116,284.86
Expenses:	
Executive Council meetings.....	11,166.56
Committee rooms, baggage, telegrams, typewriter rental, etc., E. C. Meetings.....	122.08
Stenographers' expenses attending E. C. Meetings.....	504.42
President and Secretary traveling.....	9,062.21
Defense Fund:	
Strike and lockout benefits.....	868.00
Per capita tax for directly affiliated local unions:	
Metal Trades Department.....	19.32
Union Label Trades Department.....	22.97
Per capita tax for directly affiliated unions to Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.....	26.80
Organizers' salaries and organizing expenses.....	112,076.39
Printing and publishing <i>American Federationist</i>	71,871.04

Printing, and publishing A. F. of L. Weekly News Letter.....	\$6,651.50
Pan-American Federation of Labor.....	4,584.00
Delegates, guest, committee and officers' badges, Vancouver convention.....	462.33
Expenses, special committees and conferences.....	3,682.10
Legal Expenses.....	1,950.00
Expenses, Southern Organizing Campaign, Headquarters Office.....	5,777.70
Total.....	\$468,747.28

DIRECTLY CHARTERED LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

On August 31, 1932, we had 307 local trade and federal labor unions with an average membership for the fiscal year of 11,368, and a defense fund of \$334,495.09, to protect the members of the 307 local trade and federal labor unions in case of strike or lockout.

The Federation has 1468 general and district organizers, as well as 18 paid organizers and the officers of the 619 city central bodies that are ready at all times to respond to a call to assist the members of directly affiliated unions in the case of strike or lockout.

There was received a total per capita tax for defense fund purposes from the local unions during the year of \$17,048.90, initiation fees, \$3,659.95, and reinstatement fees, \$159.50.

Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions

The following is a statement of the amounts received from and paid to our local trade and federal labor unions, giving average membership, number of weeks benefit and the amount received for the past twelve months, beginning September 1, 1931, and ending August 31, 1932:

RECEIPTS			
Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for the Defense Fund.....			\$17,048.90
EXPENSES			
Union and Location	Average Membership	Weeks	Amount
Slate Workers No. 15159, Granville, N. Y.....	8+	14	\$868.00
Total expenses.....			\$868.00
RECAPITULATION			
Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1931..			\$318,314.19
Receipts for twelve months ending August 31, 1932.....			17,048.90
Total.....			\$335,363.09
Paid out of defense fund.....			868.00
Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, August 31, 1932..			\$334,495.09

Charters Revoked, Suspended, Surrendered, Disbanded, Merged, Amalgamated, Joined International Unions and Reinstated

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS: Affiliation withdrawn, 1; National Federation of Federal Employees.

CENTRAL BODIES: Disbanded, 97; Suspended, 6; reinstated, 11.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS: Disbanded, 13; suspended, 36; joined national and international organizations, 1; reinstated, 4.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS: Disbanded, 3; suspended, 10; reinstated, 1.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

GOMPERS MEMORIAL FUND

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including August 31, 1932.....	\$115,964.23
Interest on fund investments.....	12,101.39
Total receipts.....	\$128,065.62
Expenses, January 12, 1929 to and including August 31, 1932.....	29,865.50
Balance on hand August 31, 1932.....	\$98,200.12
Funds deposited and invested as follows:	
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 3½%.....	\$95,000.00
Premium on U. S. Treasury Bonds.....	1,425.00
Total of investment in U. S. Treasury Bonds.....	\$96,425.00
Mt. Vernon Savings Bank checking account.....	1,775.12
Balance on hand August 31, 1932.....	\$98,200.12

WOODROW WILSON MEMORIAL FUND

On August 1, 1925, an appeal was issued in accordance with instructions of the El Paso Convention, to all affiliated organizations, for financial contributions to be used for the construction of a suitable building on the grounds of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial College to be used for such educational development as may be determined upon by the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and that the same shall be in memory of the late President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson.

It developed that this project was abandoned. Consequently, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, at its August, 1931, meeting, authorized the return of the money paid in to the original contributors.

RECEIPTS

Total contributions, August 1, 1925, to December 31, 1931.....	\$1,558.91
Interest.....	179.45
Total receipts.....	\$1,738.36

EXPENDITURES

Contributions refunded to original contributors.....	\$1,536.91
Amounts contributed by directly affiliated unions; transferred to general account of the American Federation of Labor, due to said unions being out of existence at time transfer was made.....	22.00
Accumulated interest; transferred to general account of American Federation of Labor.....	179.45
Total.....	\$1,738.36

RECAPITULATION

Total amount received (contributions and interest).....	\$1,738.36
Total amount expended (refunds and transfers).....	1,738.36

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid has been mailed to each contributor.

CHARTERS ISSUED

During the twelve months ending August 31, 1932, there have been issued 33 Charters to National, Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions. Of this number two were granted to the following Nationals: Sheep Shearers Union of North America; American Federation of Government Employees. Central Bodies as follows:

Canada	Mississippi	New York
Moncton, N. B.	Jackson	Hion and vicinity
Massachusetts	New Jersey	Pennsylvania
Norwood and vicinity	Passaic County	Hazleton and vicinity

The following is a statement showing the number of charters issued during the twelve months of this fiscal year.

	1931-1932
National Unions.....	2
Central Labor Unions.....	6
Local Trade Unions.....	22
Federal Labor Unions.....	3
Total.....	33

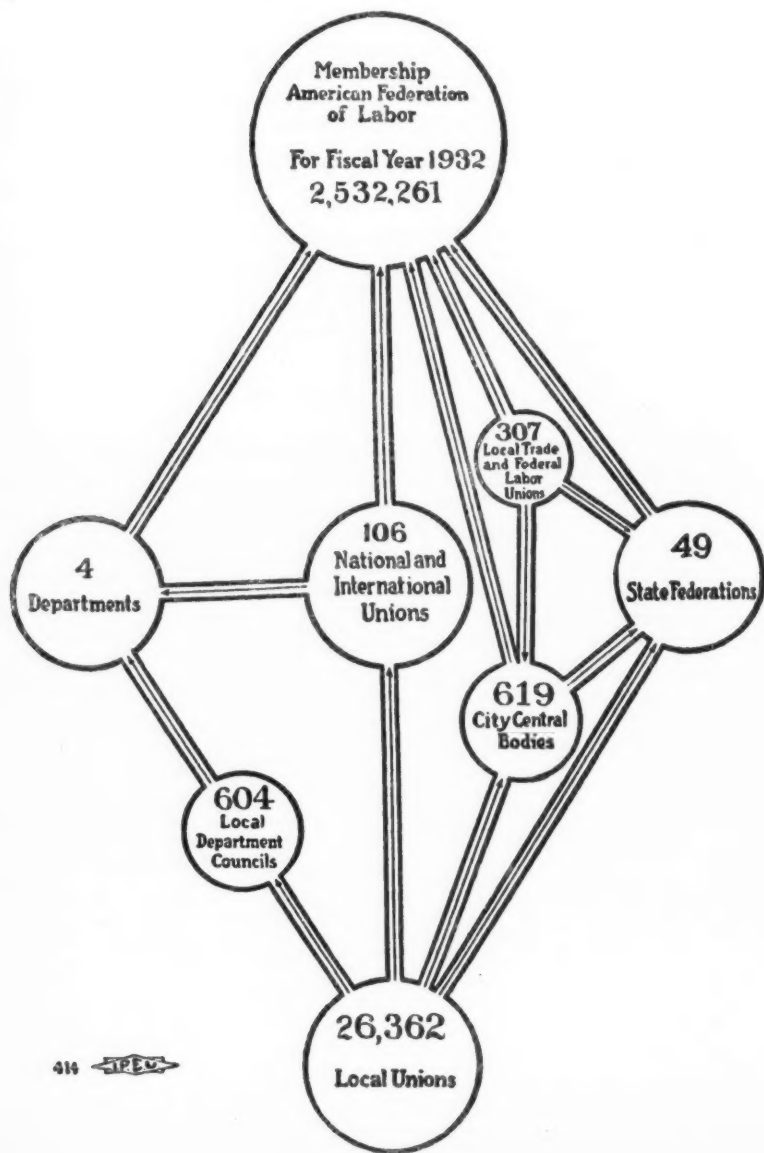
TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF AFFILIATED UNIONS

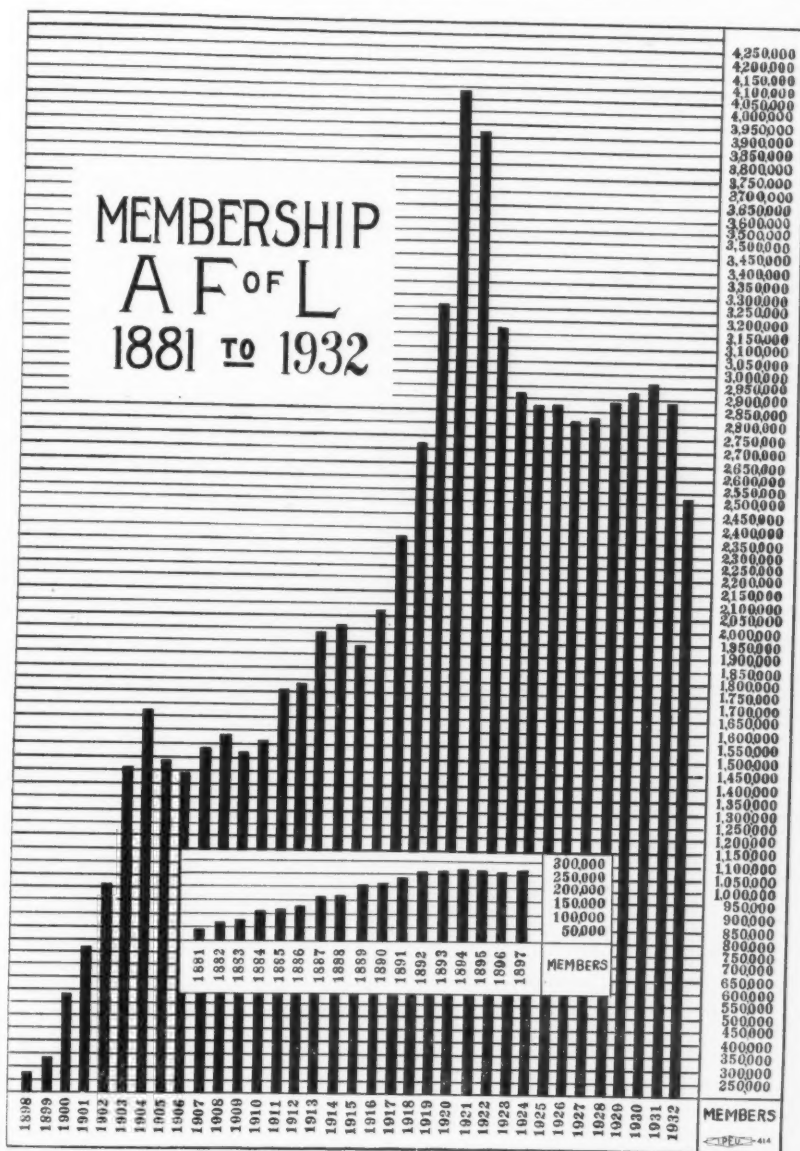
The membership of affiliated union for the year ending August 31, 1932, is 2,532,261, a decrease of 357,289 members over the membership last year. National and International organizations are required to pay the per capita tax upon their full paid-up membership, and therefore, the membership does not include all the members who were unemployed during the fiscal year.

A survey of the membership of the national and international organizations and the unions directly affiliated with the A. F. of L. indicates that the decrease in membership is due almost entirely to the unemployment of members of National & International Unions and Directly Affiliated Local Unions. The following is the membership for the past thirty-six years:

Year	Membership	Year	Membership	Year	Membership	Year	Membership
1897.....	264,825	1906.....	1,454,200	1915.....	1,946,347	1924.....	2,865,799
1898.....	278,016	1907.....	1,538,970	1916.....	2,072,702	1925.....	2,877,297
1899.....	349,422	1908.....	1,586,885	1917.....	2,371,434	1926.....	2,803,966
1900.....	548,321	1909.....	1,482,872	1918.....	2,726,478	1927.....	2,812,526
1901.....	787,537	1910.....	1,562,112	1919.....	3,260,068	1928.....	2,896,063
1902.....	1,024,399	1911.....	1,761,835	1920.....	4,078,740	1929.....	2,933,545
1903.....	1,465,800	1912.....	1,770,145	1921.....	3,906,528	1930.....	2,961,096
1904.....	1,676,200	1913.....	1,996,004	1922.....	3,195,635	1931.....	2,889,550
1905.....	1,494,300	1914.....	2,020,671	1923.....	2,926,468	1932.....	2,532,261

So that the delegates and membership at large may at a glance note the total membership of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, a chart follows on the next page indicating the membership for each year since 1881, up to and including 1932—fifty-two years. In addition, another chart has been prepared showing clearly the manner in which the American Federation of Labor is organized, commencing with the local unions of the international organization as the source from which all funds are secured to carry on every activity in the labor movement. Local unions of the national and international organizations and the local unions affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor, constitute the state and city central bodies as well as department councils. The chart shows that there are 26,362 local unions in the 106 national and international unions with a membership of 2,520,893 and 397 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor with a membership of 11,368.





VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1924 up to and including 1932. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor.

ORGANIZATIONS	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932
Actors, Associated, & Artists of A.	74	101	104	103	103	115	112	83	45
Asbestos Workers' Intl. Assn. of Heat and Frost Insulators.	22	24	25	26	27	29	33	41	20
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs. I. U. of A.	222	218	216	219	216	212	200	201	179
Barbers' International Union, Jour.	453	480	512	545	541	522	512	461	399
Bill Posters.	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of.	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders.	175	171	145	148	171	172	193	170	150
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.	372	362	369	350	326	324	322	275	170
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of.	134	136	129	135	135	136	139	137	119
Brewery Workmen, International Union.	160	160	160	160	160	160	160	160	160
Brick and Clay Workers, etc.	48	50	50	50	50	50	42	33	20
Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers' I. U. A.	700	700	700	837	900	900	900	900	567
Bridge & Struc. Iron Wkrs. Intl. Assn.	177	163	191	213	207	204	209	175	120
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.	7	7	6	5	5	5	5	4	3
Building Service Employees' Intl. Union.	62	62	62	62	69	92	162	180	180
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of.	3,155	3,170	3,197	3,220	3,220	3,220	3,032	3,620	2,900
Carmen of A. Bro. Railway.	1,375	1,250	887	800	800	800	800	800	800
Carvers' Union, International Wood.	10	10	11	12	13	12	12	11	9
Cigarmakers' International Union.	277	235	200	183	175	170	155	155	155
*Clerks, Bro. of Railway.	884	912	w	w	320	969	970	753	608
Clerks, Intl. Protective Assn. Retail.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	87
*Cloth Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers International Union.	m	78	87	102	82	69	60	58	46
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.	23	23	23	23	23	23	23	23	21
Coopers' International Union.	15	13	11	10	9	8	7	7	6
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A.	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3
Draftsmen's Union, Intl.	6	6	7	16	19	15	12	17	10
Electrical Workers, International Bro.	1,420	1,420	1,420	1,420	1,420	1,420	1,420	1,420	1,399
Elevator Constructors.	81	81	95	102	102	102	102	102	102
Engineers, Intl. Union of Operating.	250	253	270	302	320	330	340	340	344
Engravers, Steel and Copper Plate.	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Engravers Intl. Union, Metal.	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	5	5
Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Photo.	68	72	77	79	83	86	89	90	89
Federal Employees, National Fed. of.	208	202	179	200	226	305	335	381	c
Fire Fighters, International Assn. of.	150	160	160	160	160	168	180	180	180
Firemen, Intl. Bro. of Stationary.	90	100	80	90	83	95	90	91	93
Foundry Employees, Intl. Bro. of.	36	35	35	35	35	35	28	10	7
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. & C. Intl.	89	114	78	72	42	28	70	80	38
Garment Workers of America, United.	475	475	475	475	475	475	472	463	456
Glass Cutters League of A. Window.						3	9	10	9
Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U. S. & C.	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60
Glass Cutters and Flatteners Assn. of A. Window.			3	4	3	3	b	b	b
Glass Workers, American Flint.	61	53	53	52	51	52	49	46	39
Glass Workers, National Window.	40	20	20	20	11	11	11	11	11
Glove Workers.	2	3	5	6	7	8	8	5	3
Government Employees Am. Fed. of.									
Granite Cutters' Intl. Assn. of A., Tne.	86	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	62
Hatters of North America, United.	115	115	115	115	115	115	115	93	85
Hodecarriers and Common Laborers.	490	615	665	700	753	917	1,027	1,150	900
Horseshoers of United States and Canada.	20	20	15	12	9	9	7	4	2
Hotel and Restaurant Employees, etc.	385	385	386	398	385	378	365	337	283
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Amal. Assn.	111	114	100	99	90	89	79	58	50
Jewelry Workers' International.	12	8	7	6	9	8	8	8	8
Ladies' Garment Workers, International.	910	900	801	800	303	323	508	475	400
Lathers, Intl. Union of W. W. & Metal.	80	89	160	175	165	165	165	165	165
Laundry Workers, International Union.	55	55	55	55	55	55	55	55	55
Leather Workers' Intl. Union, United.	20	20	17	10	10	50	50	50	10
Letter Carriers, National Assn. of.	325	325	400	400	404	450	508	550	550
Letter Carriers, Nat. Fed. of Rural.	3	3	5	6	8	8	8	8	11
Lithographers' Intl. P. & B. Assn.	55	53	54	57	61	58	56	57	56
Longshoremen's Association, Intl.	205	318	301	347	371	377	347	299	270
Machinists, International Association of.	779	714	714	723	745	770	780	776	707
Maintenance of Way Employees, I. B. of.	383	374	291	282	350	322	401	418	371
Marble, etc., International Assn. of.	30	32	42	49	56	64	77	77	77
Masters, Mates and Pilots.	41	39	34	31	31	30	30	30	30

VOTING STRENGTH—Continued

ORGANIZATIONS	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.....	115	122	122	117	118	118	125	113	114
Metal Workers' Intl. Association, Sheet.....	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250	250
Mine Workers of America, United.....	4,027	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	3,083
Mine, Mill and Smelter Wkrs., I. U. of.....	91	85	81	40	45	40	40	40	21
Molders' Union of North America, Intl.....	336	275	284	265	232	237	218	152	95
Musicians, American Federation of.....	771	800	800	800	967	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Oil Field, etc., Workers.....	22	12	7	10	10	16	11	9	4
Painters of America, Brotherhood of.....	1,033	1,076	1,114	1,129	1,103	1,081	1,062	964	796
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of.....	62	50	46	40	40	40	40	40	40
Patternmakers' League of N. A.....	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70
Pavers & Rammermen, Intl. Union of.....	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. & C.....	24	24	24	24	23	23	24	24	22
Piano & Organ Wkrs. Union of A., Intl.....	6	6	6	5	5	5	5	4	3
Pilots Assn., Air Line, (Intl.).....								1	5
Plasterers' Intl. Assn. of U. S. & C., Oper.....	300	300	322	390	392	392	382	377	353
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.....	350	392	450	450	450	450	450	450	450
Polishers, Intl. Union Metal.....	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	58	23
Post Office Clerks, Natl. Federation of.....	200	237	279	300	300	320	352	360	360
Potters, National Bro. of Operative.....	83	81	78	72	69	66	58	54	52
Powder and High Explosive Workers.....	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1
Printing Pressmen, International.....	387	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400
Printers', Die Stammers' & Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Plate.....	12	12	12	12	12	12	11	12	11
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Wkrs.....	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50
Quarry Workers, International.....	29	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	26
Railway Employes' Amal. Assn., S. & E.....	1,000	1,010	1,010	1,012	1,013	997	972	914	817
Railway Mail Association.....	179	191	195	194	197	198	198	198	207
Roofers, Damp & Waterproof Wkrs. Assn. United Slate, Tile and Composition.....	30	30	30	40	40	40	40	40	40
Seamen's Union of America, Intl.....	180	160	150	150	150	150	150	150	97
Sheep Shearers' Union of N. A.....									1
Sidographers, Intl. Assn. of.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Signalmen, Bro. R. R.....	80	80	80	80	80				
Stage Employes, Intl. Alliance Theatrical.....	200	200	220	231	232	233	240	240	240
Stereotypers & Electrotypes' U. of A.....	65	68	69	73	74	77	78	82	81
Stonecutters' Association, Journeymen.....	50	51	57	58	58	58	58	58	57
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	16	16	16	16	16	14	10	8	7
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	93	89	87	89	91	93	92	82	72
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	100	93	83	77	72	68	67	58	28
Teachers, Am. Fed. of.....	37	35	35	35	38	42	52	63	70
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of.....	750	789	820	865	894	955	988	920	820
Telegraphers, Commercial.....	37	41	42	39	38	38	38	38	35
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	433	392	350	350	350	390	410	410	370
Textile Workers of America, United.....	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	275
Tobacco Workers' Intl. Union of America.....	15	14	14	14	32	42	24	24	25
Tunnel & Subway Constructors, I. U.....	30	30	37	40	40	a	a	a	a
Typographical Union, International.....	688	710	733	749	758	764	776	775	761
Upholsterers, International Union of.....	75	76	86	102	107	107	107	101	65
United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A.....	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	5
Weavers, Elastic, Goring.....	1	1	1	††	††	††	††	††	††
Wire Weavers' Protective, American.....	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3
Centrals.....	855	850	833	794	792	803	804	728	619
State Branches.....	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49
Directly affiliated local unions.....	514	504	455	467	485	468	397	376	339
Total vote of Unions.....	29,847	29,958	28,790	29,191	29,385	30,406	30,678	29,906	26,092

†Suspended. ††Disbanded. mSuspended for failure to comply with decision of convention. (Amalgamation of National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the U. S. with National Print Cutters Association of America, and change of title to United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A. rMerged with International Plate Printers and Die Stammers. *Reinstated Oct. 14, 1924. nSuspended for failure to comply with decision of Atlantic City Convention. **Reinstated May 17, 1928. aAmalgamated with Hod Carriers. bAmalgamated with Window Glass Cutters League of America. cWthdrew affiliation.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

UNION LABELS

There are now 51 labels and 10 cards issued by the following organizations which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS USING LABELS

American Federation of Labor	Electrical Workers	Molders
Bakers and Confectioners	Fur Workers	Painters
Bill Posters and Billers	Garment Workers, United	Papermakers
Boilermakers	Garment Workers, Ladies	Photo-Engravers
Blacksmiths	Glass Bottle Blowers	Piano and Organ Workers
Bookbinders	Glove Workers	Plate Printers
Boot and Shoe Workers	Hatters	Powder Workers
Brewery Workmen	Horseshoers	Pressmen, Printing
Brick and Clay Workers	Iron and Steel Workers	Stereotypers and Electro-
Broommakers	Jewelry Workers	typers
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery	Lathers	Stove Mounters
Workers	Laundry Workers	Tailors
Carpenters and Joiners	Leather Workers	Textile Workers
Brotherhood	Lithographers	Tobacco Workers
Carvers, Wood	Machinists	Typographical
Cigarmakers	Marble Workers	Upholsterers
Coopers	Metal Polishers	United Wall Paper Crafts
Draftsmen's Unions	Metal Workers, Sheet	Weavers, Wire

ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS, BUTTONS, EMBLEMS

Actors	Firemen, Stationary	Musicians
Barbers	Hotel and Restaurant	Stage Employes, Theatrical
Clerks, Retail	Employes	Teamsters
Engineers, Operating	Meat Cutters and Butcher	
	Workmen	

The following crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor labels: Coffee, Spice and Baking Powder Workers; Horse Nail Workers; Neckwear Cutters and Makers; and Suspender Makers.

CONCLUSION

I desire to express my sincere appreciation of the cooperation and assistance extended to me in the performance of my duties by the officers of the national and international unions and of all our affiliated bodies and by my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted,

Frank Morrison.

Secretary, American Federation of Labor.

TREASURER RYAN'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

FELLOW UNIONISTS: I herewith submit report upon the funds of the American Federation of Labor for the twelve months from September 1, 1931, to August 31, 1932. The financial statement is as follows:

INCOME	EXPENSES
Received of Secretary Morrison: 1931 September 30..... \$28,206.63 October 31..... 37,839.14 November 30..... 37,504.94 December 31..... 38,060.73 1932 January 31..... 34,714.41 February 28..... 55,937.11 March 31..... 40,846.11 April 30..... 36,904.87 May 31..... 34,929.99 June 30..... 34,442.18 July 31..... 36,938.16 August 31..... 50,025.91 Total income for 12 months \$466,350.18 Balance in hands of Treasurer August 31, 1932..... \$368,842.07 Grand total..... \$835,192.25	Warrants Paid: 1931 September 30..... \$38,522.57 October 31..... 60,574.48 November 30..... 41,411.21 December 31..... 42,125.09 1932 January 31..... 35,554.09 February 28..... 46,195.41 March 31..... 34,133.00 April 30..... 34,418.53 May 31..... 37,377.79 June 30..... 31,725.63 July 31..... 35,526.88 August 31..... 31,182.60 Total expenses for 12 months \$468,747.28
RECAPITULATION	
Total balance and income.....	\$835,192.25
Total expenses.....	468,747.28
August 31, 1932—Balance in hands of Treasurer.....	\$366,444.97
August 31, 1932—Balance in hands of Secretary.....	2,000.00
Total balance on hand, August, 31, 1932.....	<u>\$368,444.97</u>
Treasurer's balance, where deposited and invested:	
U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½%).....	\$125,000.00
Premiums on U. S. Treasury Bonds.....	1,289.07
Total Investment in U. S. Treasury Bonds.....	<u>\$126,289.07</u>
\$102,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4½%)	
Par value \$100.00 @ 86½.....	\$88,230.00
\$80,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4½%)	
Par Value \$100.00 @ 92½.....	\$74,200.00
\$18,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4½%)	
Par Value \$100.00 @ 85½.....	<u>\$15,390.00</u>
Total Investment in Federal Land Bank Bonds.....	<u>\$177,820.00</u>
First National Bank, Kansas City, Mo. (Subject to check).....	47,335.90
Union Labor Life Insurance Co (Stock).....	<u>15,000.00</u>
Treasurer's balance August 31, 1932.....	<u>\$366,444.97</u>

Respectfully submitted,

MARTIN F. RYAN,
Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

KANSAS CITY, MO., September 3, 1932.

REPORT OF TRUSTEES OF A. F. OF L. BUILDING

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

The following is a report of the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1932:

RECEIPTS	
Balance on hand, August 31, 1931.....	\$62,729.19
To A. F. of L. General Fund, Feb. 17, 1932.....	15,000.00
Balance.....	\$47,729.19
Rents.....	\$30,831.00
Interest:	
Certificate of Deposit.....	\$406.67
Federal Land Bank Bonds.....	1,321.14
U. S. Liberty Bonds.....	162.44
Checking account.....	57.04
	1,947.29
Reimbursement of accrued interest paid on purchase of bonds.....	327.42
Profit on sale of Federal Land Bank Bonds.....	630.00
Sale of waste paper.....	3.82
Total receipts.....	33,739.53
Receipts and balance.....	\$81,468.72

Maintenance:

EXPENSES	
Pay roll (building employees).....	\$13,324.60
Taxes.....	3,214.64
Electricity.....	1,365.54
Fuel (coal).....	1,132.83
Supplies.....	1,014.22
Upkeep and repairs.....	623.94
Plastering and painting.....	3,386.99
Cleaning windows.....	480.00
Insurance (liability).....	385.86
Water rent.....	232.68
Hauling ashes and trash.....	135.00
Upkeep of rest room (laundry, etc.).....	54.34
Upkeep and repairs of elevators.....	163.24
Rent of safe deposit box.....	2.50
Accrued interest paid on purchase of bonds.....	357.63
Federal tax on checks.....	.82
Total expenses.....	25,874.83
Balance on hand August 31, 1932.....	\$55,593.89

RECAPITULATION	
Receipts and balance.....	\$81,468.72
Expenses.....	25,874.83
Balance on hand August 31, 1932.....	\$55,593.89
Moneys deposited and invested as follows:	
Mt. Vernon Bank, subject to check.....	\$3,869.51
\$40,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds, (5%) par value \$100.00 @ 94%.....	\$37,750.00
\$8,000.00 1st 4½ U. S. Liberty Bonds @ 99 30/32.....	7,995.00
\$6,000.00 3½ U. S. Treasury Bonds @ 99 21/32.....	5,979.38
	51,724.38
Balance on hand August 31, 1932.....	\$55,593.89

This report of the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building is submitted to you, the Executive Council and through you to the convention and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. We have performed the duty assigned to us with the best interest of the Federation in view.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,
FRANK MORRISON,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
Trustees, A. F. of L. Building.

NATIONAL LEGISLATION

The confused state of the public mind was very largely reflected in the action of members of Congress during its recent session. Very rapid shifts and changes of the attitude of members of Congress toward certain forms of legislation took place. It was very difficult to follow the developments which took place from day to day, particularly with reference to so-called economy measures. All of this tended to make the work of the officers and representatives of the American Federation of Labor very difficult.

Quite early in the beginning of the last session of Congress a determined effort was made by a very large group of Congressmen to bring about a reduction in the wages and a most objectionable change in the work-standards of government employees. The importance of this movement can be better understood when we realize that the action proposed would affect 732,460 government employees.

The determined attempt which gained momentum all during the last session of Congress to reduce the wages of government employees and to modify working conditions which had been secured as a result of years of earnest effort, was supported by an appeal made by the officers of the government to balance the budget. It seemed clear that such action was necessary in order to maintain the credit of the nation and to prevent a horizontal reduction in securities of all kinds. There were few, if any, who were not in accord with the commendable purpose reflected in the demand to balance the budget, but Labor believed that such an objective could be reached without depressing the living standards and without reducing the wages of under-paid government employees.

The Economy Bill as finally passed was difficult to understand. It was susceptible of numerous interpretations. Finally, the Comptroller of the Currency, Mr. McCarl, added to the misunderstanding and confusion which already existed, through the submission of decisions rendered on one day and either modified or changed the next.

In conformity with the traditional policy of the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council assumed a determined and aggressive stand in opposition to legislation inimical to the interests of Labor. Supplementing this opposition, manifested while Congress was in session, we transmitted to Labor and its friends during the recent political campaign the records of all members of Congress. We urged Labor to oppose those members of Congress whose records showed they were unfriendly to Labor, and to support those who had championed Labor's cause.

It is the purpose of the American Federation of Labor to insist and demand at the next session of Congress that the injustice done to government employees and government workers generally through the enactment of an unscientific and ill-considered Economy Bill shall be repaired. We propose to fight strenuously for restoration of the wages and the rights and privileges which were taken away from nearly a million government workers through the enactment of legislation which we believe was unjust and unfair. In order to accomplish this purpose, we respectfully urge Labor representatives throughout the nation to communicate with their representatives in Congress asking them to deal justly and fairly with government employees, to refuse to extend the Economy Law which will expire on June 30th, and to repair as far as possible through legislative enactment, the damage already done to government employees.

While we were compelled to assume a defensive attitude toward legislation of the kind and character to which reference is herein made, and to prevent the enactment of other legislation which would have affected Labor seriously and adversely, we suc-

ceeded in our efforts to secure the enactment of many measures constructive in character and of great benefit to Labor. The following named bills were passed at the last session of Congress and were given executive approval by the President of the United States:

Anti-Injunction Law.

Vocational Rehabilitation Act Extended.

Five-day work week with ten-elevenths of the wages and salaries that had been received for five and a half days for all per diem and many salaried employees of the government.

Providing for incorporation of credit unions.

Forbidding immigration of musicians other than those of outstanding talent.

Name of Porto Rico changed to "Puerto Rico."

Prohibiting counterfeiting of union label in the District of Columbia.

Relief for Unemployed—Immediately when Congress convened on December 7th Senators LaFollette and Costigan became the joint authors of an unemployment relief measure which provided for an appropriation of \$375,000,000 to be used in supplying aid to those who were in distress caused by unemployment. The American Federation of Labor supported this bill with all the power and influence which it could command. By direction of the Executive Council a conference of the officers of national and international unions was held at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor on February 9th. A strong appeal for the enactment of unemployment relief legislation was adopted. Those in attendance at the conference called in a body upon the President of the United States, the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate, urging them not only to favor but to bring about the enactment of the Costigan-LaFollette Bill at the earliest possible date.

The opponents of this relief legislation introduced a number of substitutes and amendments for the obvious purpose of bringing about the defeat of this important legislation. To our surprise and disappointment the bill was defeated by a vote of 48 to 35.

The Executive Council continued its efforts to secure the enactment of unemployment relief legislation. It appealed to Congress for the passage of adequate relief legislation, emphasizing in a most forcible way the increasing need of those who were in distress because of continued widespread unemployment. The continued aggressive appeal of the Executive Council for the enactment of unemployment relief legislation was inspired by a determination to redeem the pledge made organized labor by the President of the American Federation of Labor when he made the following statement at the Vancouver convention:

I propose to go, in the name of the Executive Council and with the Executive Council, to the Congress of the United States as soon as it convenes and there tell them, in the name of Labor, that an emergency exists in the United States comparable with the emergency that existed during the war, and that we are knocking at the doors of Congress now, in the name of those millions of idle workers, and that we shall appeal and demand that Congress, without further delay, appropriate a sufficient amount of money, let it be millions or billions, in order to feed the hungry and care for them.

Following the defeat of the Costigan-LaFollette Bill, Senator LaFollette introduced another bill providing for the appropriation of \$5,500,000,000 for relief of unemployment. Hearings were held on this measure. President Green appeared in behalf of the proposed legislation. Senator Wagner later introduced a bill which provided that \$375,000,000 be loaned or advanced to the states for the purpose of relieving distress.

He also proposed a measure which authorized the construction of public works. After all these relief measures had apparently met with defeat, a number of our friends in the United States Senate joined in the presentation of a relief bill which finally passed the Senate. The House also prepared and passed a similar measure. After numerous meetings of the Conference Committee of the two Houses and after repeated votes taken by the House and Senate, on controversial clauses, a bill was passed on July 16th and signed by the President which provided for the appropriation of \$2,122,000,000 for relief purposes. This measure authorized loans to states and municipalities for immediate relief of distress, for the construction of self-liquidating public works and for a limited amount of public building construction on the part of the federal government. It authorized loans to be made by the federal reserve bank direct to private industry and individuals based on adequate security if the applicant certified that a loan can not be obtained through the customary channels.

The capitalization of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was increased to \$3,800,000,000, an addition of \$1,800,000,000. The measure provides that this added capital is to be obtained through sales of the Corporation's notes, debentures, bonds, and other such obligations. A section of the measure provides that a special fund of \$300,000,000 is made available for loans to the states for immediate relief purposes. It provides that not more than 15 per cent of the amount thus made available can be secured by any one state. The bill provides that the loan for self-liquidating projects amounts to \$1,500,000,000. A provision of the law which is of especial importance to Labor, appropriating money for public works, provides that in the construction of relief projects convict labor can not be used and that no individual employed shall be permitted to work more than thirty hours in any one week. It also provides that the wages to be paid must be predetermined in the specifications. Preference is given to ex-service men with dependents. The publicity clause of the measure which was adopted by the House was finally accepted by the Senate.

The Executive Council did not regard the amount of money appropriated by Congress for relief purposes adequate to meet the existing and growing needs for help and assistance to those who are suffering so keenly from the effects of unemployment. We urged Congress to regard the existing situation as a great emergency, serious in all its aspects and grave in its potential consequences. We emphasized the increasing needs of the approaching winter and the increasing demands which would be made upon relief agencies for help and assistance. It is the purpose of the Executive Council to bring to the attention of the members of Congress when they convene on December 5th, the increasing needs of the existing situation and to appeal again for an urgent appropriation of an adequate amount to meet the requirements of the situation which now exists in all the states, cities and communities throughout the land.

Economy Law—Early in the session the House and Senate formed what was termed economy committees. The Senate committee was composed of Senators Jones, Bingham, Dickinson, McKellar, Byrnes and Bratton. The House committee: Representatives McDuffie, Byrns, Ramseyer, Wood (Indiana), Williamson, Cochran (Missouri) and Douglas (Arizona). Senator Jones was Chairman of the Joint Committee.

The first bill submitted by the House Economy Committee provided for eleven per cent cut in salaries of all government employees. As the meetings of the committee were secret, the provisions of the bill were not known until the committee reported. President Green, thereupon, immediately called a conference of the labor legislative representatives

in Washington to consider the most effective procedure which should be followed to encompass the defeat of the bill. The conference unanimously decided to oppose the bill in its entirety.

Every member of the House of Representatives was interviewed by the spokesmen of Labor, and Labor's protest emphatically stated. We succeeded in securing an amendment exempting those government employees whose salaries are \$2500 or less per year.

Before the economy bill passed the House, Representative Ramseyer introduced a bill embodying the President's five-day-week furlough plan. This plan provided that all per diem employees, and such others as desired to accept the provisions, should work five days and receive ten-elevenths of five and a half days' pay.

The bill as it passed the House provided a ten per cent reduction in all salaries over \$2500. When it reached the Senate the Committee on Appropriations submitted a report striking out the provisions in the House bill and recommending a ten per cent reduction of all salaries except active enlisted personnel of the army, navy and marine corps. Senator Moses submitted as a substitute the five-day-week furlough plan which had been defeated in the House. This was defeated. At the request of the American Federation of Labor Senator LaFollette moved to reconsider. His motion was adopted and the five-day-week furlough plan passed.

Confronted as we were by one of two alternatives, either horizontal reduction in the wages and salaries of government employees or the furlough plan which provided for the maintenance of the standard schedules, the American Federation of Labor decided to accept the lesser of the two evils by suggesting that Congress adopt the furlough plan rather than the legislative proposal to reduce salaries of all government employees. We were influenced to take this position because we believed that working time could be re-established through administrative action when conditions call for such action, but that if wages were reduced it would be difficult indeed to restore them through legislative action.

After the appropriations had been reduced by the Budget Bureau, the Appropriations Committee and the House itself, the Senate made a further cut of ten per cent, thus dealing another blow to the government employees. It is generally understood that at the forthcoming session of Congress the Economy Committee will insist upon still further reductions in wages and salaries.

We urge upon all officials and representatives of Labor to protest vigorously to the Senators from their respective states and the members of the House from their respective districts against any further reductions in wages of the government employees.

There are many inconsistencies in the economy act. Differential pay for night work in the government printing office was cut fifty per cent and all overtime pay abolished. Annual leave of thirty days was revoked. The differential pay for night work in the postal service was cut fifty per cent. The railway mail service employees suffered severely, as did the letter carriers. Other government employees have become demoralized over the enforcement of the furlough plan and the reduction of eight and one-third per cent in their salaries.

The economy act expires June 30, 1933, but there are certain leaders in both Houses who declare that it will be extended. The American Federation of Labor will give every aid to the government employees to defeat this objectionable legislation for which there is no defense.

Personnel Classification—The American Federation of Labor energetically supports the principle of classification and is thoroughly in favor of the enactment of classification legislation by the Congress of the United States, applicable to government employes in both departmental and field service, exclusive of employes whose wages are or should be fixed by wage boards, or such class or crafts who do not desire it.

The Executive Council is of the opinion that the field personnel should enjoy the same rights to classification and appeal as are accorded departmental employes and also the same pay for identical or similar work.

The Council recommends that classification procedure, including adjustment of salary and appeal, be extended to the field service, preferably by a joint resolution of the House and Senate. This joint resolution should direct the extension with instructions that the personnel classification agency, which is now a part of the Civil Service Commission and before which Labor should have representatives, should make an immediate review of the allocation of field positions; that it should be empowered and directed to change allocations without reference to the department having jurisdiction over the field employes, with provision that the employes affected shall have the right to appeal their reallocation, and that the proceedings and testimony in the appeal should be made of record, open to inspection by the department and the employes affected.

The Council further recommends that in conjunction with the executive officers of the American Federation of Government Employees an extended study of classification now in effect, as well as proposed classifications, be made and that a classification plan embracing all activities, both departmental and field, exclusive of those trades and occupations whose wages are or should be fixed by wage boards, or such class or crafts who do not desire it, be developed.

Immigration—Many bills were introduced to limit immigration. However, the intent of them was the unrestricted entry of various persons under the non-quota provision instead of preference within the quota. The Executive Council directed its efforts towards eliminating as far as possible all immigration. H. R. 8331 by the late Representative Rutherford of Georgia, provided that beginning ninety days after passage of the act no immigration visa should be issued to any immigrants except those coming in under the preference provision in the quota and non-quota immigration acts.

Other bills were introduced which would limit immigration into the country to ten per cent of that to which each nation is entitled. None of these bills came to a vote.

S. 7 by Senator King provided that all vessels entering ports of the United States, the majority of whose crews have been engaged at foreign ports, shall when leaving the United States carry a crew at least equal in number. Foreign vessels have made it a practice to smuggle immigrants into this country by registering them as seamen. Sometimes a vessel will bring in from fifty to a hundred extra seamen who when land is reached leave the vessel and disappear. When the bill was up for action in the Senate a bitter fight was made against the measure. The bill was recommitted January 28, 1932. President Green sent a letter to all state federations and central bodies urging that strong approval of the measure be sent to the respective Senators and Representatives. The bill was not again reported.

After years of effort the American Federation of Musicians secured an amendment to the immigration law which placed instrumental musicians under the contract labor

provisions. Before this action the instrumental musicians could come into the country under the designation of "artists" or "professional actors" in the non-quota act.

To enter the country now under the non-quota act the musician must be "of distinguished merit and ability as an instrumental musician or as a member of a music organization of distinguished merit and is applying for admission as such."

Sales Tax—Strong, aggressive, determined efforts were put forth during the last session of Congress to enact sales tax legislation. The advocates of this form of taxation announce that they favor this policy of raising revenue for the government. Some of them have been so bold as to assert that they favor the gradual substitution of the sales tax for the income tax.

The American Federation of Labor has consistently opposed sales tax legislation because it represents an attempt to transfer the burden of taxation from wealth and from those who are able to bear it, to the masses of the people and to those who are least able to bear the burden of taxation. The Executive Council regards this form of taxation as a movement to "soak the poor."

In operation the sales tax would be collected from every purchaser of an article. It is reprehensible because it is concealed. The tax upon the articles bought would not be in evidence so that those who purchase could see and understand the amount of tax they would be called upon to pay.

Even though many of the necessities of life, including agricultural products, would be excluded from the provisions of the sales tax in the beginning of the enactment of sales tax legislation, it is reasonable to conclude, based upon experience in taxation procedure, that ultimately it would be extended to cover all sales of all articles including the bare necessities of life. Because of this possibility the American Federation of Labor has vigorously and uncompromisingly opposed all forms of sales tax legislation.

A vigorous campaign for the enactment of sales tax legislation was carried on during the last session of Congress. The Speaker of the House and the leaders of the majority party in the House, with the assistance of the leaders of the minority party, endeavored to secure the acceptance and adoption of this form of taxation. Surprising as it may seem, the Ways and Means Committee recommended the adoption of sales tax legislation. The opposition was led by Representatives LaGuardia and Doughton. When a vote was taken, a motion to strike out the sales tax provision from the revenue bill was adopted by a vote of 236 to 160. Following this action by the House, the Senate defeated the sales tax legislation by a vote of 53 to 27.

We are confident that another attempt will be made when Congress meets December 5th, to secure the enactment of a sales tax law. Those who favor this form of taxation are aggressive, as is evidenced by the propaganda which is being carried on in various ways in support of such legislation. It presents a serious problem for the consideration of the masses of the people. They must face the issue and decide as to whether they will permit their representatives in Congress to enact a sales tax law which in effect will require them to pay a tax every time they make a purchase.

The American Federation of Labor is standing guard in opposition to the enactment of this legislation. In order to be successful it must be accorded the support of Labor and the masses of the people, and their true friends. Great interest must be aroused in this question. The opposition of these groups to which reference is made must be made known to their representatives in Congress.

Because the Executive Council appreciate the seriousness of the attempt which is

being made to enact sales tax legislation, it recommends that all organizations of labor affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and their friends, together with the individuals who make up these organizations, must make known to their representatives in Congress, both in the House and in the Senate, their unyielding opposition to the enactment of sales tax legislation, if the attempt to pass this form of legislation is to be defeated.

Five-Day Work-Week—A number of bills were introduced in the House providing for the five-day-week and shorter work-day. Congressman LaGuardia introduced H. R. 6700 which provides for a five-day-week on the construction of all government works and in the manufacture of all supplies and materials purchased by the United States government. He also introduced H. R. 6715 providing for a five-day week for all departments of the United States government and federal reserve banks, and encouraging a five-day week in all industries and business in the United States. No action was taken.

Congressman Karch introduced H. R. 8325 which provides for a thirty-three hour week for government employees. He also introduced H. R. 8329 providing that six hours in contracts for labor and service be deemed a day's work, and the measure or standard of a day's work. No action was taken.

A resolution was introduced by Congressman Cresser authorizing the Interstate Commerce Commission to make an investigation as to the possibility of establishing a six-hour day for railway employees. This was adopted and the Commission held very extensive hearings.

H. R. 277 introduced by Congressman Fitzpatrick provides for a forty-hour week for government employees. No action was taken.

Lame-Duck Amendment—An amendment to the constitution of the United States providing for changing the date of the beginning of the presidential term and that of the members of Congress was submitted to the states for ratification. The proposed amendment provides that the President and Vice-President shall be inaugurated at noon January 20th, and that the Congress shall meet January 3rd. Sixteen states have ratified the amendment. In January, 1933, twenty-nine states in which the legislatures have not met since the amendment was submitted will meet. It is believed the amendment will be ratified by the states.

Workmen's Compensation Insurance—The decision of the national convention of insurance commissioners to increase the rates for workmen's compensation insurance is being opposed in practically every state where advances have been asked. The rates for workmen's compensation insurance have always been excessive because the cost of administration by insurance companies is excessive—in some cases as high as thirty-eight per cent. In Ohio, under the state-fund system, the cost of administration is only one per cent of the money paid in by the employers.

This is an opportune time for all state federations of labor to urge the adoption of the exclusive state-fund plan where it is not now in effect. The employers in the District of Columbia have complained greatly of the cost of workmen's compensation insurance. We will endeavor in the next session of Congress to secure an amendment to the act to provide for funds to be administered by the District of Columbia.

Reorganization of Government Departments—The American Federation of Labor is especially interested in the repeated legislative proposals which have been put forth

to reorganize government departments. Our interest in this matter is based very largely upon our deep concern over the effect which such proposed actions would have on the Department of Labor. We have constantly endeavored to bring about the establishment of all the divisions and bureaus touching Labor, labor matters and labor activities, into the Department of Labor. This was the specific purpose the American Federation of Labor had in mind when it originally proposed the creation of the Department of Labor with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet.

It is the purpose of the American Federation of Labor to give special attention and consideration to any and all plans which may be proposed for the reorganization of government departments. We will strenuously oppose any and all attempts to the transfer to other departments of what we regard as divisions of the Department of Labor having to do with labor matters, labor activities and labor social activities in which organized labor is especially interested. In taking this position we are not influenced by any fixed opinion of opposition to any practical economic measure which may be devised for the consolidation of government bureaus and in the reorganization of government departments.

Old Age Security—The House Labor Committee on February 4th, reported favorably an old age security bill (H. R. 7926), granting aid to the states that would enact old age pension laws. The bill was introduced by Representative Connery, Chairman of the Labor Committee. It provides that the government shall appropriate \$10,000,000 to be allotted to the various states to pay one-third of whatever sum is paid to aged persons.

The old age security bill approved by the American Federation of Labor, was introduced in the Senate by Senator Capper and in the House by Mrs. Norton. It was referred to the District Committees of both Houses.

Union Label—Congress enacted a law to authorize associations of employees of the District of Columbia to adopt a device to designate the products of the labor of their members, to punish illegal use or imitation of such device, and for other purposes.

Under the law any one counterfeiting a union label registered with the clerk of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine of not less than \$100 nor more than \$500, or by imprisonment for not less than three months, nor more than one year, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

Trade Union Incorporation Act—An act to legalize the incorporation of national trade unions became a law in 1886. Since that time not one national or international union affiliated to the American Federation of Labor has taken advantage of the act. However, there are quite a number of insurance companies that incorporated under the trade union act and which have sought business from members of organized labor because of that fact.

All these companies operate in the state of Texas. These so-called national trade unions were not amenable to supervision by the insurance department of the state in which they operate, nor has the superintendent of insurance of the state any jurisdiction over them.

All that was necessary to incorporate these insurance companies under the trade union act was merely to file with the Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia their articles of incorporation. The act was repealed by Congress June 29, 1932. The Executive Council approved the repeal of the law as the American Federation of Labor is opposed to the incorporation of trade unions.

THE ANTI-INJUNCTION LAW

The enactment of the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Law represents the outstanding legislative achievement of the American Federation of Labor during the last session of Congress. There are many who have expressed the opinion that it really represents the outstanding legal accomplishment of the American Federation of Labor. It marks a great step forward, reflecting as it does the culmination of years of effort to secure the enactment of injunction relief legislation.

When the Clayton law was passed the hopes of Labor rose high because it was then believed that a very large measure of legislative relief from the hampering and limiting effects of the issuance of injunctions had been secured. However, the judicial interpretations placed upon this statute by the courts rendered null and void the special provisions of this Act in so far as it prevented the abuse of the writ of injunction in labor disputes.

Labor benefited by this legislative experience. It did not permit disappointment caused by judicial interpretation of the Clayton Act to lessen its efforts to secure the relief from the abuse of the use of the writ of injunction which Labor sought and to which Labor insisted it was justly entitled. Through all the years Labor demanded the enactment of injunction relief legislation. It appealed to public opinion for support and in doing so mobilized the moral and political strength of its membership in a continuous drive to prevail upon Congress to give to Labor injunction relief legislation.

The Council is pleased beyond measure to report that at last Labor has secured what it believes to be relief from the oppression of injunctions issued by the federal courts restraining and forbidding labor organizations to exercise their legitimate functions. We report to this convention that success has finally attended our efforts. The Norris-LaGuardia Bill passed the Congress and was given executive approval on March 23, 1932. It passed the Congress of the United States by a vote of 363 to 13 in the House of Representatives and 75 to 5 in the Senate. The sponsors of the Bill were Senator Norris and Congressman LaGuardia. We are greatly indebted to these two members of Congress, as well as to other members who gave to this legislation active aggressive support.

Extensive committee hearings were held at previous sessions of Congress. When the seventy-second session met, however, on December 7th, 1931, the officers of the American Federation of Labor immediately called upon Congress to give prompt and prior consideration to the Norris-LaGuardia measure. We succeeded in prevailing upon Congress to take speedy action. It was considered, acted upon favorably, and signed by the President March 23rd. Thus the battle for injunction relief legislation waged by the American Federation of Labor was won.

The Executive Council believes that the public policy declaration of the United States embodied in this Act is of especial importance and significance to Labor. Because of this fact it is especially quoted as follows:

Whereas, under prevailing economic conditions, developed with the aid of governmental authority for owners of property to organize in the corporate and other forms of ownership association, the individual unorganized worker is commonly helpless to exercise actual liberty of contract and to protect his freedom of labor, and thereby to obtain acceptable terms and conditions of employment, wherefore, though he should be free to decline to associate with his fellows, it is necessary that he have full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of his own choosing, to negotiate the terms and conditions

of his employment, and that he shall be free from the interference, restraint, or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection; therefore, the following definitions of, and limitations upon, the jurisdiction and authority of the courts of the United States are hereby enacted.

In the opinion of this Council, this declaration of public policy can be properly interpreted as a most distinct step forward in the government attitude toward organizations of labor and collective bargaining. We believe that this declaration can be right-fully accepted as according to labor organizations a form of legal standing and a legal recognition for which Labor has contended ever since the American Federation of Labor was formed.

Another feature of this Act which Labor regards as of transcendent importance is found in Section 3 which in definite terms outlaws the "yellow dog" contract. This is a form of contract most reprehensible to Labor and which, because of its increasing acceptance and enforcement by powerful corporations, had become a serious menace to the growth and expansion of organized labor and a hindrance to the exercise of organized labor's influence.

Herewith follows the inclusion in this report of a copy of the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Measure.

[PUBLIC—No. 65—72D CONGRESS]
[H. R. 5315]
AN ACT

To amend the Judicial Code and to define and limit the jurisdiction of courts sitting in equity, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That no court of the United States, as herein defined, shall have jurisdiction to issue any restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction in a case involving or growing out of a labor dispute, except in a strict conformity with the provisions of this Act; nor shall any such restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction be issued contrary to the public policy declared in this Act.

SEC. 2. In the interpretation of this Act and in determining the jurisdiction and authority of the courts of the United States, as such jurisdiction and authority are herein defined and limited, the public policy of the United States is hereby declared as follows:

Whereas, under prevailing economic conditions, developed with the aid of governmental authority for owners of property to organize in the corporate and other forms of ownership association, the individual unorganized worker is commonly helpless to exercise actual liberty of contract and to protect his freedom of labor, and thereby to obtain acceptable terms and conditions of employment, wherefore, though he should be free to decline to associate with his fellows, it is necessary that he have full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of his own choosing, to negotiate the terms and conditions of his employment, and that he shall be free from the interference, restraint, or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection; therefore, the following definitions of, and limitations upon, the jurisdiction and authority of the courts of the United States are hereby enacted.

SEC. 3. Any undertaking or promise, such as is described in this section, or any other undertaking or promise in conflict with the public policy declared in section 2 of this Act, is hereby declared to be contrary to the public policy of

the United States, shall not be enforceable in any court of the United States and shall not afford any basis for the granting of legal or equitable relief by any such court, including specifically the following:

Every undertaking or promise hereafter made, whether written or oral, express or implied, constituting or contained in any contract or agreement of hiring or employment between any individual, firm, company, association, or corporation, and any employee or prospective employee of the same, whereby

(a) Either party to such contract or agreement undertakes or promises not to join, become, or remain a member of any labor organization or of any employer organization; or

(b) Either party to such contract or agreement undertakes or promises that he will withdraw from an employment relation in the event that he joins, becomes, or remains a member of any labor organization or of any employer organization.

SEC. 4. No court of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue any restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction in any case involving or growing out of any labor dispute to prohibit any person or persons participating or interested in such dispute (as these terms are herein defined) from doing, whether singly or in concert, any of the following acts:

(a) Ceasing or refusing to perform any work or to remain in any relation of employment;

(b) Becoming or remaining a member of any labor organization or of any employer organization, regardless of any such undertaking or promise as is described in section 3 of this Act;

(c) Paying or giving to, or withholding from, any person participating or interested in such labor dispute, any strike or unemployment benefits or insurance, or other moneys or things of value;

(d) By all lawful means aiding any person participating or interested in any labor dispute who is being proceeded against in, or is prosecuting, any action or suit in any court of the United States or of any state;

(e) Giving publicity to the existence of, or the facts involved in, any labor dispute, whether by advertising, speaking, patrolling, or by any other method not involving fraud or violence;

(f) Assembling peaceably to act or to organize to act in promotion of their interests in a labor dispute;

(g) Advising or notifying any person of an intention to do any of the acts heretofore specified;

(h) Agreeing with other persons to do or not to do any of the acts heretofore specified; and

(i) Advising, urging, or otherwise causing or inducing without fraud or violence the acts heretofore specified, regardless of any such undertaking or promise as is described in section 3 of this Act.

SEC. 5. No court of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue a restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction upon the ground that any of the persons participating or interested in a labor dispute constitute or are engaged in an unlawful combination or conspiracy because of the doing in concert of the acts enumerated in section 4 of this Act.

SEC. 6. No officer or member of any association or organization, and no association or organization participating or interested in a labor dispute, shall be held responsible or liable in any court of the United States for the unlawful acts of individual officers, members, or agents, except upon clear proof of actual participation in, or actual authorization of, such acts, or of ratification of such acts after actual knowledge thereof.

SEC. 7. No court of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue a temporary or permanent injunction in any case involving or growing out of a labor dispute, as herein defined, except after hearing the testimony of witnesses in open court (with opportunity for cross-examination) in support of the allegations of a complaint made under oath, and testimony in opposition thereto, if offered, and except after findings of fact by the court, to the effect—

(a) That unlawful acts have been threatened and will be committed unless restrained or have been committed and will be continued unless restrained, but no injunction or temporary restraining order shall be issued on account of any threat or unlawful act excepting against the person or persons, association, or organization making the threat or committing the unlawful act or actually authorizing or ratifying the same after actual knowledge thereof;

(b) That substantial and irreparable injury to complainant's property will follow;

(c) That as to each item of relief granted greater injury will be inflicted upon complainant by the denial of relief than will be inflicted upon defendants by the granting of relief;

(d) That complainant has no adequate remedy at law; and

(e) That the public officers charged with the duty to protect complainant's property are unable or unwilling to furnish adequate protection.

Such hearing shall be held after due and personal notice thereof has been given, in such manner as the court shall direct, to all known persons against whom relief is sought, and also to the chief of those public officials of the county and city within which the unlawful acts have been threatened or committed charged with the duty to protect complainant's property; *Provided, however,* That if a complainant shall also allege that, unless a temporary restraining order shall be issued without notice, a substantial and irreparable injury to complainant's property will be unavoidable, such a temporary restraining order may be issued upon testimony under oath, sufficient, if sustained, to justify the court in issuing a temporary injunction upon a hearing after notice. Such a temporary restraining order shall be effective for no longer than five days and shall become void at the expiration of said five days. No temporary restraining order or temporary injunction shall be issued except on condition that complainant shall first file an undertaking with adequate security in an amount to be fixed by the court sufficient to recompense those enjoined for any loss, expense, or damage caused by the improvident or erroneous issuance of such order or injunction, including all reasonable costs (together with a reasonable attorney's fee) and expense of defense against the order or against the granting of any injunctive relief sought in the same proceeding and subsequently denied by the court.

The undertaking herein mentioned shall be understood to signify an agreement entered into by the complainant and the surety upon which a decree may be rendered in the same suit or proceeding against said complainant and surety, upon a hearing to assess damages of which hearing complainant and surety shall have reasonable notice, the said complainant and surety submitting themselves to the jurisdiction of the court for that purpose. But nothing herein contained shall deprive any party having a claim or cause of action under or upon such undertaking from electing to pursue his ordinary remedy by suit at law or in equity.

Sec. 8. No restraining order or injunctive relief shall be granted to any complainant who has failed to comply with any obligation imposed by law which is involved in the labor dispute in question, or who has failed to make every reasonable effort to settle such dispute either by negotiation or with the aid of any available governmental machinery of mediation or voluntary arbitration.

Sec. 9. No restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction shall be granted in a case involving or growing out of a labor dispute, except on the basis of findings of fact made and filed by the court in the record of the case prior to the issuance of such restraining order or injunction; and every restraining order or injunction granted in a case involving or growing out of a labor dispute shall include only a prohibition of such specific act or acts as may be expressly complained of in the bill of complaint or petition filed in such case and as shall be expressly included in said findings of fact made and filed by the court as provided herein.

Sec. 10. Whenever any court of the United States shall issue or deny

any temporary injunction in a case involving or growing out of a labor dispute, the court shall, upon the request of any party to the proceedings and on his filing the usual bond for costs, forthwith certify as in ordinary cases the record of the case to the circuit court of appeals for its review. Upon the filing of such record in the circuit court of appeals, the appeal shall be heard and the temporary injunctive order affirmed, modified, or set aside with the greatest possible expedition, giving the proceedings precedence over all other matters except older matters of the same character.

SEC. 11. In all cases arising under this Act in which a person shall be charged with contempt in a court of the United States (as herein defined), the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the contempt shall have been committed: *Provided*, That this right shall not apply to contempts committed in the presence of the court or so near thereto as to interfere directly with the administration of justice or to apply to the misbehavior, misconduct, or disobedience of any officer of the court in respect to the writs, orders, or process of the court.

SEC. 12. The defendant in any proceeding for contempt of court may file with the court a demand for the retirement of the judge sitting in the proceeding, if the contempt arises from an attack upon the character or conduct of such judge and if the attack occurred elsewhere than in the presence of the court or so near thereto as to interfere directly with the administration of justice. Upon the filing of any such demand the judge shall thereupon proceed no further, but another judge shall be designated in the same manner as is provided by law. The demand shall be filed prior to the hearing in the contempt proceeding.

SEC. 13. When used in this Act, and for the purposes of this Act—

(a) A case shall be held to involve or to grow out of a labor dispute when the case involves persons who are engaged in the same industry, trade, craft, or occupation; or have direct or indirect interests therein; or who are employees of the same employer; or who are members of the same or an affiliated organization of employers or employees; whether such dispute is (1) between one or more employers or associations of employers and one or more employees or associations of employees; (2) between one or more employers or associations of employers and one or more employees or associations of employees; or (3) between one or more employees or associations of employees and one or more employees or associations of employees; or when the case involves any conflicting or competing interests in a "labor dispute" (as hereinafter defined) of "persons participating or interested" therein (as hereinafter defined).

(b) A person or association shall be held to be a person participating or interested in a labor dispute if relief is sought against him or it, and if he or it is engaged in the same industry, trade, craft, or occupation in which such dispute occurs, or has a direct or indirect interest therein, or is a member, officer, or agent of any association composed in whole or in part of employers or employees engaged in such industry, trade, craft, or occupation.

(c) The term "labor dispute" includes any controversy concerning terms or conditions of employment, or concerning the association or representation of persons in negotiating, fixing, maintaining, changing, or seeking to arrange terms or conditions of employment, regardless of whether or not the disputants stand in the proximate relation of employer and employee.

(d) The term "court of the United States" means any court of the United States whose jurisdiction has been or may be conferred or defined or limited by Act of Congress, including the courts of the District of Columbia.

SEC. 14. If any provision of this Act or the application thereof to any person or circumstance is held unconstitutional or otherwise invalid, the remaining provisions of the Act and the application of such provisions to other persons or circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

SEC. 15. All Acts and parts of Acts in conflict with the provisions of this Act are hereby repealed.

Approved, March 23, 1932.

Since the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Bill, but two instances have come to our attention where the present law has been before the courts for decision. In a case growing out of the dispute between members of the National Federation of Federal Employees involving its withdrawal from the American Federation of Labor, the officers of the National Federation of Federal Employees attempted to use the defense that the Norris-LaGuardia law was involved and that under its provisions an injunction sought by the complainants could not be granted. However, in a decision on the case this point was not touched upon and it is safe to say that if it had been, it would have been held that this internal dispute was not a labor dispute within the meaning of the law.

However, in Washington, D. C., a fur manufacturer attempted to secure an injunction against the fur workers' local union to restrain picketing and alleged acts of violence. On a motion to show cause, the attorneys for the union successfully raised the defense that the provisions of the Norris-LaGuardia law did not permit the issuance of an injunction. The attorneys for the employers raised the point that the facts in the case did not constitute a labor dispute within the meaning of the law. However, on a hearing to show cause the judge held that the facts brought the claim within the law and refused to issue an injunction. Thereafter, the attorney for the union presented a motion to dismiss and after argument the court granted the motion.

The other case arose in the United States District Court of Mississippi. Shrimp factory operators had requested an injunction against their striking employees, charging violence and alleging that the police had failed to restrain demonstrations by the strikers which included the seizure of shrimp shipments from other points. However, the federal district judge upheld the strikers' contentions that the packers had failed to show that efforts had been made toward an amicable settlement of the differences as called for by the present law.

Both of these decisions are recent and were made by United States district courts. No knowledge is had at the present time if an appeal is contemplated in either of these cases, but it is reassuring to know that in the first skirmishes under the provisions of the present anti-injunction law, Labor has been the victor.

It seems quite proper and appropriate for the Executive Council to state that this injunction relief measure must meet the test of the higher courts. We assume that its constitutionality will be tested by its enemies when occasion demands. We are especially pleased with the decisions of the courts in the several cases to which reference is herein made. We most earnestly hope that in the final test which will no doubt ultimately be made in the highest judicial tribunal of the land, the constitutionality of the law will be sustained.

This injunction relief measure is a federal statute; consequently, it applies only to federal courts and federal legal and judicial practice.

A similar act should be prepared and introduced in state legislatures for enactment into law. Such a statute is necessary in order to provide for injunction relief for Labor within the jurisdiction of state courts. We recommend that special consideration be given to this matter by state federations of labor and city central bodies. We urge that an injunction relief measure similar to the Norris-LaGuardia Bill be enacted into law by state legislatures so that Labor may enjoy the same relief from the abuse of injunctions on the part of state courts as has been secured through the enactment of the Norris-LaGuardia Bill within the jurisdiction of the federal courts.

VOLSTEAD ACT

Conventions of the American Federation of Labor have repeatedly declared the opposition of the American Federation of Labor to the Volstead Act. These conventions recommended that the Volstead Act be amended so as to provide for the manufacture of beer containing 2.75 per cent alcohol by weight. This action of the American Federation of Labor can be properly interpreted as a genuine desire on the part of the membership of the American Federation of Labor to promote the cause of temperance, and, in addition, through the rehabilitation of the brewing and related industries, create work opportunities for thousands of idle people.

During the recent session of Congress a number of measures were introduced providing for modification of the Volstead Act. Unfortunately, no favorable vote was taken, but an increasing number of members of Congress voted in favor of a modification of the Volstead Act. It must be clearly evident to all classes of people that public opinion has greatly changed upon this question. One of the major political parties incorporated in its platform a declaration in favor of immediate modification of the Volstead Act. The indications are that favorable action providing for a modification of the Volstead Act as recommended by the American Federation of Labor will be taken at the short session of Congress which meets on December 5th.

All that has transpired in connection with this important social question justifies the position assumed by the American Federation of Labor in early demanding the modification of the Volstead Act. It is the definite purpose of the American Federation of Labor to continue its efforts to bring about a modification of the Volstead Act providing for the manufacture and sale of wholesome beer containing 2.75 per cent alcohol by weight at the earliest possible date.

The Executive Council will present an earnest appeal and a strong demand to the members of Congress when the short session convenes on December 5th to pass the necessary legislation providing for a modification of the Volstead Act without delay and at the earliest possible date.

CONVICT LABOR

As the Hawes-Cooper convict labor act becomes effective January 19, 1934, it is absolutely necessary that the legislatures which will meet in January, 1933, shall enact legislation to carry out the object of the act. The act enables states to forbid the sale, within their borders, of convict made goods from other states. But it must be understood that unless the laws of the states provide that none of their own convict made products shall be sold on the open market, they cannot forbid the sale of convict made goods from other states.

The act provides that when convict made products from one state are shipped into another, they come under the laws of that state the same as if manufactured therein. Therefore, great care should be taken to have the laws of the state changed to provide that none of the products of its penal institutions shall be sold on the open market.

Four states have taken advantage of the Hawes-Cooper Act. They are: Illinois, Maine, New York and New Jersey. The Ohio Legislature in its next session will undoubtedly approve proper legislation. In the last session the House by practically a unanimous vote passed a bill which was lost in the Senate in the closing days because of the congestion.

Circular letters will be sent to the states before the legislatures meet in January, calling upon state federations of labor and central bodies to urge the passage of the convict labor legislation necessary for the protection of free labor.

ANTI-TRUST LEGISLATION

Big business combinations came when the technical tools were available which made it possible to administer business on a large scale. To meet the social and economic changes arising from concentration in the hands of a few of so great power over business and the lives of citizens, the Congress of the United States enacted the Sherman Anti-Trust law in 1890. Although the measure apparently aroused little public attention, the President of the American Federation of Labor, aware of the possibility of its application to trade unions, urged specific exemption of trade unions from its purview.

The measure which was intended as an anti-trust law was interpreted by the courts as an anti-combination law. Business organizations changed their legal form and escaped the intent of the law which in the popular mind was to restore competition. Thus, for a number of years, practically the chief use to which the statute was put was to restrain non-industrial organizations, union of wage-earners, from carrying out the legitimate purposes of unions.

The movement for economic consolidation continued. It was inevitable, because it represented conformity to changed industrial conditions. About 1903, the federal government inaugurated suits against outstanding trusts. The significant development resulting was the decision of the Supreme Court in the Standard Oil case (1911), formulating a rule of reason which read flexibility into the law. "Unreasonable restraint" of trade became the prohibition.

Concentration of control over industries and industrial life has continued steadily. We face again the need for reconsidering our policy with regard to such concentration. Our problem is how to regulate so as best to promote the interests of the greatest number.

One proposal is to repeal anti-trust law and permit a trade association to assume responsibility for an industry as a licensed corporation with specific requirements as to accounting and participation by all groups affected.

Another proposal is for the development of national economic planning so that all groups and interests—producer and consumer—may form a basis for determination of national policies.

The repeal of anti-trust legislation, without the substitution of a constructive policy for the participation of organized industries with other organized groups, representing the whole range of economic well-being, would open the way for ruthless exploitation. We can clarify and improve law regulating business combinations only by taking into consideration the whole business order and the functions which such combinations should perform.

CHILD WELFARE

As the welfare of the children in any home is conditioned by the family income which must provide necessities, services and opportunities, cuts in family incomes are a special danger to children. The menace increases in proportion as the original income is inadequate. What is involved is the physical and mental health of the future citizens of this country.

As part-time work or loss of job cuts down the family income all possible expenditures

are dropped. Often the family has no lee-way for choice between expenditures. Under such conditions the need for social services rises sharply. Mothers who must bring up children without the counsel of doctors, need to have help in feeding and caring for their children. Research which the federal government has made in nutrition and for the prevention and cure of rickets, provides practical information that should be made freely available to heads of families through local agencies.

As the resources of individuals contract, the demands on social service agencies grow. Local welfare bureaus and centers, which include in their services, medical care; child clinics; nutrition centers; aids for dealing with nervous disorders, should have increased funds with which to meet growing human need.

Child Labor—The census of 1930 showed that over 2,000,000 boys and girls between the ages of 10 and 18 were gainfully employed, a drop of 23% in a decade. This decrease does not hold for all parts of the country alike. While less than 2% of all children between 10 and 16 years were employed in the middle-Atlantic, east north central and Pacific states, 14% were employed in the east south central; 9% in the south-Atlantic, and 8% in the west south central. In Mississippi, one-fourth of all the children between 10 and 16 were at work; in South Carolina and Alabama, 18%, and in Georgia, 15%. Two-thirds of all the children of 10 to 13 years of age, inclusive, who were gainfully employed in the entire country, were in 7 southern states; North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana; although these same states had only 16% of the total population of the children of these ages.

The 7 states along the south-Atlantic, with 16% of the children of the United States from 10 to 18 years of age, employed a larger percentage of all children working: 67% of all those from 10 to 13 years old; 44% of all those 14 to 15; and 22% of all those 16 and 17 years of age.

During the decade, 1920-1930, while the number of children 10 to 15 years of age employed in manufacturing, trade and other non-agricultural occupations in the United States as a whole declined 52%, there was an actual increase in the numbers employed in those occupations in South Carolina, Georgia and Florida.

Legislation—The employment of children at any time, and especially during a period of such unprecedented adult unemployment, is at variance with, and incongruous to all declarations of social policy and economic stability. Obviously, there is need for the enactment of social policy into mandatory legislation. The increase of child labor in some southern states, the obvious competitive handicap which this presents to states endeavoring to raise the standards of protection to children, are new and convincing reasons for renewal of efforts to secure ratification of the Child Labor Amendment.

All state federations of labor are urged to put foremost on legislative programs for the coming sessions of state legislatures, ratification of the amendment. They are urged also to unite with other groups interested to raise the protective standards of child labor and for compulsory school attendance laws.

We can turn our adversities into a gain for the children's welfare.

KELLOGG PACT

During the meeting of the Executive Council in July, 1932, consideration was given the Kellogg Pact. The Kellogg Pact provides that the signatories pledge themselves to settle their differences on the basis of arbitration. The movement which is on to give this more force and effect is to bring about an amendment to the Kellogg Pact

which would provide that in the event any of the nations signatories to the pact would violate it and go to war, then the other nations would withhold the sale of supplies to the nation that has violated the pact. The Executive Council adopted the following:

We are in sympathy with the plan to amend the Kellogg Pact so as to make it more effective in preventing signatory nations going to war, providing such plan can be developed that will adequately protect the people of the United States.

GOVERNMENT

In 1789 our federal government had these administrative departments: State, Treasury, War, and Justice. To these were added: Post Office Department, 1789; Department of the Navy, 1798; Department of the Interior, 1849; Department of Agriculture, 1889; Department of Commerce, 1903; Department of Labor, 1913.

The number of independent offices, commissions, bureaus, etc., has grown steadily. These include Civil Service Commission, Personnel Classification Board, Employees Compensation Commission, General Accounting Office, Federal Coordinating Service, Interstate Commerce Commission, Federal Reserve Board, Federal Trade Commission, Tariff Commission, Federal Farm Board, Radio Commission, Veterans' Administration, Federal Board for Vocational Education, U. S. Shipping Board, Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, etc.

The increase in governmental activities reflects the growing public interest in various economic undertakings; the need for protecting the consumer; the need for advising producers who must sell and buy in world markets; the need for conserving natural resources; the need for having standard weights and measures, etc. The fact that governmental activities, employees and costs have steadily increased is not in itself a reason for alarm and an argument for curtailing such expenditures. Each item of expenditure should be evaluated on a basis of service, efficiency, relation to social welfare. What we do need to guard against is watertight compartments, doing things that can best be done by some other agency, bad business management.

Because governmental activities are so comprehensive, there should be some method of considering these expenditures as a whole and reviewing developments. In other words we have developed the budget system. The budget is intended to serve as a work and tax program. It affects economies while it adds its own expenses to governmental costs.

Changing Governmental Functions—In the early days of this country, government was a very simple matter. Individual citizens and communities took care of their needs, looking to the government chiefly for the recording of deeds, transfer of property, the regulation of relations with outside countries. As our population increased and became denser, as our business enterprises increased, as the country was more closely united by railways, telegraph, telephone, airways, radio, the mechanisms used in living are more inter-related and individual well being inter-dependent. We no longer use the candle or the oil lamp. Cheap transportation must be provided within a city. The household is no longer dependent on the home well or wood pile or its individual garden.

Government which formerly was confined chiefly to activities which required compulsion found it necessary to undertake services, to regulate, to furnish information and technical data.

In this complicated modern age we are finding it necessary to do many things collectively; some through voluntary agencies, and some by delegating new functions

to the government. The choice of agency depends upon conditions and the work to be done.

As a result of activities of various interested groups in labor, agriculture, industry, commerce, finance, etc., governmental departments and bureaus have been established and developed. The government is our agency to do those costly and unenumerative undertakings which are indispensable to future progress and which benefit the nation as a whole.

In the federal government there are undoubtedly inefficiencies, duplications, waste through lack of coordination, inflexibility, inept management, etc. But these are matters to be dealt with upon a basis of fact and efficiency, and not matters of expediency. The work of the government should be the promotion of national welfare for which legislators should make adequate appropriation covering considerable periods of time.

To carry on our governmental work, federal employees have been employed from practically every state in the union. The greater number of these employees are under the Civil Service and have won their positions in competitive examinations. While as competent as those in private employment, many work for much lower salaries than are paid to those in private positions. Many have invested years in developing capacities for the distinctive needs of government work. This group of workers has been made the football of politics, together with the activities of various governmental agencies.

Propaganda from those who wish to curtail their personal tax payments by restriction of government work, curtailment of federal appropriations, salary cuts for government workers, should not be allowed to stampede legislators into uneconomic curtailment of work, and neglect of the fundamental purposes for which our government was created.

The increased costs of government have not been due to increase in the per cent going to operating costs, but to more and better services to the nation. We cannot get very far in understanding governmental costs and economies until we apply informing methods of accountancy.

Trends indicate the government will increasingly serve as the coordinating agency for more groups and more undertakings and that governmental expenditures will increase. We shall meet the bills collectively through taxation instead of attempting to do the same work as individually paying private bills. In deciding any of these matters we must apply measuring rods of money costs and social costs.

Our state governments which were formerly mainly concerned with maintaining order, collecting taxes, and protecting property, now are concerned with public works, including highways, supervising insurance, banking, education, agriculture, forests, fish, game, public health, welfare, charitable and reformatory institutions; there are special boards for labor, mines, registrations, sanitation, tenements and housing, licensing boards, etc. These new functions represent a developing concept of what society should be organized to do in promoting social welfare.

Municipal functions have added to maintenance of public safety the various activities of community house-keeping—sewers and sewage, garbage disposal, water supply, city lighting, public utilities, construction, repairing and cleaning of streets, public schools, libraries, control of traffic, public health, parks and recreation centers, markets, welfare departments, school attendance administration, transportation, etc. The services rendered help to raise standards of community living. Their costs increase taxes but represent the most economical method of doing what society wants done.

Costs of Government—The total ordinary and postal expenditures of the federal government, 1789-91, were \$4,345,424, divided as follows: civil and miscellaneous, \$1,083,402; War Department, including rivers and harbors, \$632,804; Navy Department (then under War Department) \$570; Indians, \$27,000; pensions, \$175,814; interest on public debt, \$2,349,437; postal expenditures, \$76,397.

These expenditures increased steadily, reaching \$11,000,069 in 1800 which remained the peak until 1812, when they rose to \$20,820,936, and then up to \$35,448,052 in 1814, the end of the second war with Great Britain.

In 1840 (a normal year) the total ordinary and postal expenditures were \$29,035,815, of which \$5,996,269 was for civil and miscellaneous expenditures; \$7,097,070, War Department; \$6,113,897, Navy; \$2,331,795, for Indians, \$2,603,950, for pensions; \$174,598, interest on public debt; postal expenditure \$4,718,236.

Our expenditures have exceeded a billion dollars since 1914 and reached the highest peak in 1919—\$19,314,301,943. For the year 1931, our total expenditures were \$4,951,160,738; \$1,982,013,763 for civil and miscellaneous expenditures; \$491,941,150 for the War Department; \$353,022,986 for the Navy Department; \$37,489,333 for Indians; \$233,323,908 for pensions; \$145,643,613 for postal deficiency; \$610,758,025, interest on public debt; \$440,082,000 for public debt chargeable to ordinary receipts; \$656,885,960 postal expenditures, exclusive of deficiencies.

A detailed study of the reports of the United States Treasury on receipts, expenditures and deficit will disclose the essential solvency of our nation and its capacity to meet emergencies. Our national wealth is the basis of our fiscal planning and policies. Government expenditures have increased paralleling growing needs and broadening concepts of national service.

Depression has reduced the national income from \$89,584,000,000, for 1929, to \$52,446,000,000 for 1931. New demands made upon the government for aid to the unemployed in the form of work and relief as well as relief for banks, agriculture, and business, debts arising from the World War, have brought the problems of taxation before our citizens with force. In the various demands and movements for tax reduction there have been much confusion and misstatement.

Declining national income and rising need for relief occasioned the demand for a "balanced budget"—in the sense that expenditures should be paid out of current income. Such procedure is unprecedented in our fiscal policies and unjustifiable. Our nation has always made use of its credit and our government has long made use of deficiency appropriations. Apparently, the primary purpose of the proposal was to reduce the costs of normal government. But government is not a business institution that can expand or contract its activities in accord with the ups and downs of the business cycle.

The government cannot abandon its functions temporarily. It must continue to keep the peace, protect property, promote the general welfare in good times as well as bad. Its capital investments must be maintained; child welfare, workmen's compensation, statistical services, crime prevention, education, highways, airways, and all the services and agencies necessary to modern life. The normal trend of such expenditures is steadily upward, unless national decline sets in. These are not things we can do more or less, as business management is more or less successful. The costs must be provided for by fiscal planning covering a decade or more, differentiating between capital expenditure and operating expenses.

There are those who regard the mounting costs of government as something wholly

undesirable. There comes under consideration the sweep of changing functions of government to conform to needs of the citizens under changing ways of working and living. Mistrust of many proposals for retrenchment in government expenditure is based on the fact that they come from those corporations that would profit by escaping regulation in general interests and from groups representing concentration of wealth.

In the United States taxation is divided into three general groups according to the agency levying and expending the taxes; federal, state, and local. In 1890, the combined gross governmental expenditures were \$855,000,000, of which 34% was disbursed by federal authority; 9% by state, and 57% by local. By 1930, the total gross governmental expenditures had mounted to \$13,048,000,000, with the following percentage distribution: federal, 30.1%; state, 15.3%; local, 54.6%.

TABLE 1

Combined Gross Governmental Expenditures, Fiscal Years 1890 to 1929¹
Computed by National Industrial Conference Board

Disbursing authority	1890	1903	1913	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
Amount in Millions										
Federal ²	\$291	\$475	\$692	\$3,885	\$4,121	\$3,765	\$3,936	\$4,069	\$3,970	\$3,932
State.....	77	182	383	1,242	1,432	1,532	1,539	1,656	1,826	1,990
Local ²	487	913	1,844	4,793	5,421	5,829	6,141	6,454	6,813	7,126
Total.....	\$855	\$1,570	\$2,919	\$9,920	\$10,974	\$11,126	\$11,616	\$12,179	\$12,609	\$13,048
Per Capita										
Federal.....	\$4.61	\$5.87	\$7.17	\$34.83	\$36.40	\$32.78	\$33.77	\$34.43	\$33.12	\$32.36
State.....	1.22	2.25	3.97	11.14	12.65	13.34	13.21	14.01	15.24	16.38
Local.....	7.73	11.27	19.10	42.97	47.89	50.74	52.70	54.60	56.84	58.64
Total.....	\$13.56	\$19.39	\$30.24	\$88.94	\$96.94	\$96.86	\$99.68	\$103.04	\$105.20	\$107.37

¹ Data on Federal expenditures from annual reports of the U. S. Secretary of the Treasury; data on state expenditures from U. S. Bureau of the Census, "Wealth, Debt and Taxation" series and "Financial Statistics of States" series. For sources and methods of obtaining local expenditures, see Appendix A, p. 153.

² Expenditures for the District of Columbia deducted from Federal total and included in local.

Source: "Cost of Government in the U. S. 1929-1930," published by the National Industrial Conference Board.

TABLE 2

Percentage Distribution of Combined Gross Governmental Expenditures by Disbursing Authority, Fiscal Years 1890 to 1929

Computed by National Industrial Conference Board

Disbursing authority	1890	1903	1913	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
Federal.....	34.0	30.3	23.7	39.2	37.6	33.8	33.9	33.4	31.5	30.1
State.....	9.0	11.6	13.1	12.5	13.0	13.8	13.2	13.6	14.5	15.3
Local.....	57.0	58.1	63.2	48.3	49.4	52.4	52.9	53.0	54.0	54.6
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: "Cost of Government in the U. S., 1929-1930" (p. 18), published by the National Industrial Conference Board.

TABLE 3

Functional Distribution of Combined Governmental Expenditures, Fiscal Year 1929¹

Computed by National Industrial Conference Board

Purpose of distribution	Amount in Dollars			
	Federal ¹	State ²	Local	Total
Education.....	\$15.8	\$548.6	\$1,925.5	\$2,489.9
Highways.....	97.4	669.2	1,169.9	1,936.5
General government.....	437.5	126.7		
Protection.....	1,567.6	174.6		
Economic development.....	194.3	65.2		
Social welfare.....	87.4	253.7	2,918.0	6,028.6
Miscellaneous.....	18.7	7.3		
Public utilities.....	162.7	14.8		
Net total.....	\$2,581.5	\$1,860.1	\$6,013.5	\$10,455.0
Debt redemption.....	673.1	46.8	406.1	1,126.0
Interest.....	680.3 ³	94.1	706.5	1,481.0
Gross total.....	\$3,934.9	\$2,001.1	\$7,126.1	\$13,062.1

Percentage Distribution

Purpose of distribution	Federal ¹		State ²		Local		Total	
	Net total	Gross total	Net total	Gross total	Net total	Gross total	Net total	Gross total
Education.....	0.6	0.4	29.5	27.4	32.0	27.0	23.8	19.1
Highways.....	3.8	2.5	36.0	33.4	19.5	16.4	18.5	14.8
General government.....	16.9	11.1	6.8	6.3	48.5	40.9	57.7	46.2
Protection.....	60.7	39.8	9.4	8.7				
Economic development.....	7.5	4.9	3.5	3.3				
Social welfare.....	3.4	2.2	13.6	12.7				
Miscellaneous.....	0.7	0.5	0.4	0.4				
Public utilities.....	6.3	4.1	0.8	0.7				
Net total.....	100.0	65.6	100.0	93.0	100.0	84.4	100.0	80.0
Debt redemption.....		17.1		2.3		5.7		8.6
Interest.....		17.3		4.7		9.9		11.3
Gross total.....		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0

¹ Federal expenditures, except debt redemption, on basis of checks issued. Debt redemption on basis of daily treasury statements, revised.

² Excludes Federal aid except for \$11.4 million, which can not be eliminated in the functional distribution.

³ Includes a small amount of premium on the public debt.

Source: "Cost of Government in the U. S., 1929-1930" (p. 20), published by the National Industrial Conference Board.

Comparative Costs—The United States takes a smaller levy from national income than do the chief European countries.

In Great Britain the government took 25.2% of national income; in France, 16.1%; in Italy, 14.2%; in Germany, 13.6%; in the United States, 10.4%. The percentages are for 1928, the latest year for which figures for all countries could be obtained.

JURISDICTIONAL PROBLEMS

Printing Pressmen—Photo-Engravers—Lithographers—Reference to the proceedings of the 1916 convention of the American Federation of Labor records the convention approval of the report and recommendation of the special committee which had been appointed to investigate the jurisdictional dispute between these three organizations. By agreement of the organizations affected the enforcement of the decision was held in abeyance.

Developments in the printing industry during the past year required further consideration of this matter. Upon President Green's invitation the representatives of the interested organizations met in conference at headquarters. Further conference, lasting several days, was held in New York city but without an understanding being reached. Whereupon, at our October meeting we authorized President Green to call another conference at a date mutually satisfactory and convenient for the purpose of trying to reach an adjustment.

Engineers—Firemen—Several conferences have been held by the officers and representatives of the American Federation of Labor with the representatives of these

two organizations, in an earnest effort to compose their differences. In addition, there has been much correspondence. The representatives of both organizations met with the Executive Council, and at this meeting further discussion was held regarding the points of difference and further suggestions were offered providing for a plan of settlement.

It was agreed that the representatives of the two organizations would proceed to certain points where the jurisdictional controversy has become more acute and through such an approach to the problem arrange, if possible, for a settlement on a basis fair and just to all.

The Executive Council will cooperate fully in further conferences and in further efforts which may be put forth to bring about a settlement of the jurisdictional differences which exist between the International Union of Operating Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers—Pulp and Sulphite Workers—The Vancouver convention directed that a conference should be arranged at an early date between the representatives of the two organizations for the purpose of trying to reach an amicable settlement of the matters in dispute. Correspondence with the officers of both organizations developed the fact that both are desirous of the conference being held in Cincinnati during the period of this convention. The conference will be held and it is earnestly hoped and believed that the differences can be and will be satisfactorily adjusted and a report made thereon to this convention.

Pavers and Rammermen—Hod Carriers—The Vancouver convention referred to the Executive Council the action of the convention on the protest of the International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union against the extension of title of the International Union of Pavers and Rammermen to include asphalt workers, on the grounds that the Executive Council took action on this application without granting them a hearing.

Agreeable to both organizations their representatives will meet in conference during the Cincinnati convention and we hope to be able to submit to the convention a favorable supplemental report.

Teamsters—Railway Clerks—We have continued our efforts to compose the differences between these two organizations, and anticipate making a supplementary report to the convention of the result of further conference in this city during the convention.

Theatrical Stage Employes—Electrical Workers—We regret that we are not able to report an adjustment of this controversy. However, we do not despair of an understanding being reached. We recommend the continuation of efforts.

Flint Glass Workers—Glass Bottle Blowers—Our convention in 1931 authorized the President of the American Federation of Labor to create a committee of three, one member each to be appointed by the American Flint Glass Workers Union and the Glass Bottle Blowers Association, and one by the President of the American Federation of Labor. The committee thus appointed was instructed to make an investigation and present a report and recommendation to the Executive Council, the Executive Council in turn to submit said report and recommendation to this convention.

The President of the American Federation of Labor in due course of time proceeded with the creation of the committee. It then developed that the committee was

unable to meet. The committee has been called upon to meet during this convention. We hope to be in a position to submit a supplementary and favorable report upon the subject some time later during the sessions of the convention.

Proposed Amalgamation of Cigar Makers—Tobacco Workers—There is nothing new to report in this case except that we are hopeful of an understanding eventually being reached.

Machinists—Carpenters—The Executive Council is pleased to report that through conferences held between the representatives of the International Association of Machinists and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, an agreement was reached which it is hoped will prove to be a settlement of the jurisdictional controversy which arose between these two organizations many years ago.

The representatives of the two organizations involved displayed a very fine spirit in all the conferences which were held. As a result of suggestions made and proposals submitted, an understanding was reached which was embodied in a memorandum of agreement reading as follows:

VANCOUVER, B. C., CANADA,
October 15, 1931.

TENTATIVE UNDERSTANDING

In order that more harmonious relations may exist between the International Association of Machinists and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America over work in dispute, and that by and through cooperation and assistance on the part of both organizations better conditions may prevail in the work claimed by each, the following tentative understanding is proposed:

That the officers and members of both organizations assist each other in bettering and maintaining hours, wages and working conditions on this class of work

That if a dispute arises that cannot be settled locally, no stoppage of work shall take place but that the matter in dispute be immediately submitted to the international president of the Machinists and the general president of the Carpenters for adjustment.

(Sgn) A. O. WHARTON,
Inter. Pres. Inter. Asso. of Machinists

(Sgn) WM. L. HUTCHESON,
G. P., U. B. of C. & J. of A.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
October 24, 1932.

ADDENDA

In keeping with the above tentative understanding which was ratified by the duly constituted authorities of both organizations, the following work will be recognized as work to be performed by the members of the respective organizations:

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA

Line shafting, pulleys and hangers, spouting and chutes, all conveyors, lifts and hoists, except that type of conveyor that is an integral part of the machine. For example: a power house starting from the breaker house; the conveyor work would be performed by members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, but would not include the breaker machinery, pulverizers, fans, etc., setting and connection of reduction drive. Members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America would install that part of the work defined as actual conveyor.

THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MACHINISTS

Has jurisdiction over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories or elsewhere where machinery may be used.

If further lines of demarcation over work claimed by either organization becomes necessary, they shall be settled through conferences by the presidents of the two organizations.

For the International
Association of Machinists
(Sgn) A. O. WHARTON,
International President.

For the United Brotherhood of
Carpenters and Joiners of America
(Sgn) WM. L. HUTCHESON,
General President.

The outcome of the conferences held demonstrates the fact that even when difficulties in connection with jurisdictional disputes seem to be well-nigh insurmountable, if the representatives of the organizations interested approach the consideration of the difficulties in the right spirit and with a determination to find a basis of accommodation, they will ultimately succeed.

STOVE MOUNTERS—AUTO STOVE COMPANY—CLEVELAND COOPERATIVE STOVE COMPANY

The Vancouver convention, acting upon Resolutions Nos. 2 and 19, directed the Executive Council to use its good offices in the effort to bring about an amicable settlement of the controversy of the Stove Mounters' International Union with the Auto Stove Company of New Athens, Illinois, and the Cleveland Cooperative Stove Company of Cleveland, Ohio. In the efforts made to adjust these controversies it was found that circumstances surrounding the two cases were such that the Executive Council deemed it inadvisable to carry out the intent of the resolutions.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYES

When it was stated in the press during the early part of November, 1931, that the executive officers of the National Federation of Federal Employees were considering withdrawing from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, they were repeatedly urged to refrain from taking such serious and far-reaching action until they had at least met with the Executive Council for the purpose of discussing their difficulties and presenting their alleged grievances. Our invitation was declined. Notwithstanding this position on the part of the officers of the National Federation of Federal Employees, we continued our efforts to try to prevail upon them not to take such a step, but without avail.

President Green appealed to the officers of the National Federation of Federal Employees to meet with the Executive Council for the purpose of trying to bring about a settlement of the question. They replied:

There will be nothing for the officers of the National Federation of Federal Employees to discuss with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor on January 12, 1932.

On December 1, 1931, we were officially notified of the withdrawal of the National Federation of Federal Employees from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

In the opinion of the Executive Council the withdrawal of the National Federation of Federal Employees from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor was taken in violation of its constitution and of its laws. Article 1, Section 1, of the constitution

of the National Federation of Federal Employees provides that that organization "shall be affiliated to the American Federation of Labor with headquarters at Washington, D. C." This section of the law referred to reads as follows:

Article 1, Section 1. This organization shall be known as the National Federation of Federal Employees and shall be affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, with headquarters at Washington, D. C. It shall be composed of the unions now organized and those which may hereafter be organized in accordance with the provisions of Article VIII, Sections 1 and 2, of this constitution.

Another section, Article XIII, provides that the constitution of the National Federation of Federal Employees organization can not be amended except by a majority vote at any biennial convention. This article of the constitution reads as follows:

Article XIII—Amendments. This constitution may be amended by a majority vote at any biennial convention; Provided, that such proposed amendment has been submitted so as to reach the national office not less than thirty (30) days prior to the date of the convention, and that the same shall have been published in the first news letter or magazine issued after receipt thereof. By vote of two-thirds of the convention, amendments to the constitution may be considered even though they have not been submitted to the national office not less than 30 days prior thereto.

Notwithstanding these sections just quoted, the officers of the National Federation of Federal Employees called for a referendum vote of the membership on the question of withdrawal from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. They did this, notwithstanding the fact that these sections quoted provide, first; that the National Federation of Federal Employees shall be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and, second, that these laws can not be amended except at a convention and by a vote of the majority of the delegates in attendance at the convention. The officers of this organization changed the law of the organization by referendum vote when the constitution which they were obligated to respect and observe stated specifically that the constitution could not be changed or amended except by a majority vote at any biennial convention.

While this transgression of the laws of the National Federation of Federal Employees on the part of its officers was resorted to in order to bring about a withdrawal of the affiliation of the National Federation of Federal Employees with the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council refers to it for the purpose only of acquainting the organized labor movement with the extreme action which these officers took in order to accomplish their purpose. If the membership of the organization condones such an offense, and either permits or acquiesces in a violation of law on the part of their officers as the Executive Council points out in this incident, it is assumed that said officers may exercise the right to transgress other sections of the laws and constitution of the National Federation of Federal Employees at will.

When considering this entire situation at our meeting in July, the Executive Council made the following declaration:

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor gave careful consideration to the application of the reorganization committee and a petition signed by numerous government employees for a charter for a new national union of federal employees. The Council was impressed with the fact that the establishment of a new national union for government employees involved grave questions of policy and procedure.

Unquestionably, there are many thousands of government employees who desire to be organized and to establish and maintain affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. They cannot do this because the National Federation of Federal Employees, which had been chartered by the American Federation of Labor, has withdrawn and seceded from association and affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council is always reluctant to establish a new organization in a field which is already covered by jurisdiction granted an international or national union. However, the Executive Council, realizing that certain important facts, circumstances and conditions must be considered in the application for a charter for a new national union, is of the opinion that no precedent will be violated and no trade union ethics will be transgressed by granting the application made for a charter for said new national union.

The Executive Council, therefore, approves the application for a charter for a new national union of federal employees, providing such understandings and agreements may be reached with the officers and members of the new national union which will preserve and protect the jurisdictional rights of all other national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council, therefore, refers the application for this new national union of federal employees to the executive officers with full authority to act and to grant a charter to the new national union when, in the judgment of such executive officers, such action should be taken.

This decision of the Executive Council is based upon the following reasons:

1. The National Federation of Federal Employees, having seceded from the American Federation of Labor, is extending its jurisdiction, soliciting and accepting into membership individuals in the employ of the federal government over whom it has no jurisdiction. These members clearly belong to other organizations chartered by and in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. In the pursuit of this unethical policy the National Federation of Federal Employees has transgressed upon the jurisdiction of more than twenty national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. In such a situation it becomes the duty of the American Federation of Labor to protect the rights of national and international unions which have remained loyal to the American Federation of Labor. To remain inactive and thus allow a seceding organization to transgress upon the jurisdictional authority of other national and international unions would mean that the American Federation of Labor has failed to do its duty. Self-preservation and the protection of the organized labor movement demand that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor create a new national union of federal employees chartered and recognized by the American Federation of Labor as the only national union which has jurisdiction over federal employees eligible to membership. The necessity for this action is grounded in the firm belief of the Executive Council that the one outstanding reason, if not the chief reason, for the unjustifiable withdrawal of the National Federation of Federal Employees from the American Federation of Labor was that the officers of this seceding organization believed they could more effectively transgress the jurisdictional rights of national and international unions by withdrawing from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

2. The National Federation of Federal Employees on December 1, 1931, withdrew their affiliation with the American Federation of Labor and, therefore, is recognized as a seceding organization. In the opinion of the Executive Council, this withdrawal was without justification and for no valid reason. Notwithstanding the repeated appeals of the officers of the American Federation of Labor to the officers of the National Federation of Federal Employees to meet and confer with the Council for the purpose of bringing about a settlement of any alleged differences, the officers of the National Federation of Federal Employees refused to do so, even though that organization was facing a critical period in its history.

3. The withdrawal of the National Federation of Federal Employees from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor was brought about by the

officers through misrepresentation and in violation of the constitution and laws of the organization.

4. The National Federation of Federal Employees, having withdrawn from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor and its officers having announced that they would continue to oppose re-affiliation with the American Federation of Labor and would refuse to cooperate with the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor, there is no economic relationship between that organization and the American Federation of Labor.

5. Because of these declarations made by the present officers of the National Federation of Federal Employees, there is no hope of bringing about a re-affiliation of the National Federation of Federal Employees with the American Federation of Labor even though thousands of federal employees, both by local units and individually, have expressed their wish to be associated with the bona fide American labor movement and to be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Because they have so indicated by petition and otherwise, the Executive Council is of the opinion that a new national union should be formed so that these workers may realize their personal hopes and desires to be organized and to be associated with the trade-union movement.

6. The Executive Council is of the opinion that the proper economic help and support cannot be extended to federal employees by the American Federation of Labor unless said federal employees are associated with and in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. This fact was clearly demonstrated during the recent session of Congress when wage-cuts were imposed and privileges gained through the efforts of the organization were taken away. The American Federation of Labor gave in full measure its support, but this support was not backed or accepted by the officers of the National Federation of Federal Employees which had seceded from association with the American Federation of Labor which fact had been widely advertised by the officers of the National Federation of Federal Employees and which had operated to the great disadvantage of the members of that organization.

7. The federal employees who have suffered from wage-cuts and the loss of hard-earned privileges are smarting under a sense of injustice and are desirous of utilizing the powerful forces of organized labor to regain what they have lost.

For these and other reasons the Executive Council authorizes the resident officers to issue a charter to a new national union of federal employees, when, in the judgment of said resident officers, such action should be taken.

Thereafter, a group of federal employees representing 26 local unions who were opposed to withdrawal, organized and made formal application for charter of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. A charter was issued to the American Federation of Government Employees on August 15, 1932. This organization is now in full affiliation with the American Federation of Labor and is recognized as representing the federal employees who desire continuation of affiliation with the organized labor movement.

BENEFIT SERVICES OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

Once again it is our distinct pleasure to record below the survey which has been made of the benefit payments by our national and international unions to their respective memberships for the year 1931. Once more we have had the whole-hearted support of all of our affiliated organizations in compiling this valuable data. The figures obtained show that there has been an increase of over \$3,000,000 in benefit payments for 1931 over those reported for 1930.

A detailed analysis shows that there have been decreases for 1931 in payments for sick, death and miscellaneous benefits. On the other hand, there has been an increase in old age, disability and unemployment benefits. It is interesting to note an increase of almost \$6,000,000 for the year 1931 over 1930 in the payment of unemployment benefits. In 1930, our affiliated organizations reported a payment of \$3,311,279.50 and in 1931 the figures reported showed a payment of \$9,146,724.35, an increase of \$5,835,444.85. This is surely a remarkable achievement and is again a manifestation of the manner in which the trade union movement is meeting the present emergencies with which it is confronted and is assisting its members during this great period of unemployment.

The survey shows the following benefits paid during the year 1931:

Sick.....	\$2,220,974.64
Death.....	17,132,023.07
Unemployment.....	\$9,146,724.35
Old Age.....	6,090,742.90
Disability.....	3,671,380.30
Miscellaneous.....	1,700,027.88
Total.....	\$39,961,873.14

A comparison of the benefits paid in 1929, 1930 and 1931 follows herewith:

	1929	1930	1931
Sick.....	\$2,381,936.82	\$3,649,703.15	\$2,220,974.64
Death.....	17,598,287.03	18,527,095.00	17,132,023.07
Unemployment.....	276,717.50	3,311,279.50	9,146,724.35
Old Age.....	4,883,027.88	5,910,995.41	6,090,742.90
Disability.....	2,707,187.63	3,234,066.93	3,671,380.30
Miscellaneous.....	3,945,287.63	2,064,839.57	1,700,027.88
Total.....	\$32,242,444.40	\$36,697,979.56	\$39,961,873.14

It is particularly gratifying to report the cooperation which has been extended on the part of our national and international unions in furnishing full and detailed reports from their affiliated local unions. This has helped to swell the total figures to a remarkable degree. However, a number of our national and international organizations report that they pay no national or international benefits. In most instances no figures are submitted showing benefits paid by their local unions. We again repeat the recommendation made to the last convention; that our affiliated national and international unions make every effort to secure full and complete returns from their local unions covering the payments of all sorts of benefits so that more accurate picture of this feature of trade union organization may be presented to future conventions.

The detailed table follows on page 88.

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL

Organization	BENEFITS PAID			
	Sick	Death	Unemployment	Old Age Pension
1 American Federation of Labor.....	2,879.20 ^a	2,007.75 ^a	10,931.38 ^a	
2 Actors and Artists of America, Associated....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
3 Air Line Pilots Association.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
4 Asbestos Workers, Intl. Asso. of H. and F. I. and	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
5 Bakery and Confectionery Wkrs. I. U. of A....	126,379.45	28,783.50		
6 Barbers' International Union, Journeymen.....	273,400.00	111,585.70		
7 Bill Posters and Billers of America, Intl. All. of	10,000.00	30,000.00	5,000.00	
8 Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and H., Intl. Bro. of		9,644.65		
9 Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Elds & H. of A., I. B. of	2,483.75 ^a	338,266.66 ^a		
10 Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....	52,200.00	30,550.00		
11 Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	58,340.11	30,550.00		
12 Brewery, Flour, Cereal & S. D. W. of A., I. U. of U.	8,927.00 ^a	12,479.00 ^a	4,998.00 ^a	
13 Bricklayers', Masons' and Plasterers' I. U. of A.		303,675.00		618,181.00
14 Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United.....		23,200.00 ^a		
15 Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, Intl. Asso.....	NO	60,200.00		190,125.00 ^a
16 Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
17 Building Service Employees' International Union	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
18 Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway.....		131,700.00	30,000.00	
19 Carpenters and Joiners of America, U. B. of.....		628,328.05		1,052,685.00
20 Carvers' Asso. of North America, Intl. Wood.....		6,150.00		
21 Cigarmakers' International Union of America.....		99,200.00		
22 Clerks, National Federation of Post Office.....	19,550.00	38,250.00		
23 Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway.....		373,050.00		
24 Clerks International Protective Asso., Retail.....		4,975.00		
25 Cloth Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers' I. U.....	4,529.00		22,145.00	
26 Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.....		29,000.00		
27 Coopers' International Union of North America.....		2,375.00		
28 Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America.....		2,300.00	7,840.00	
29 Draftsmen's Unions, Intl. Fed. of T. E. A. and.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
30 Electrical Workers of America, Intl. Bro. of.....		367,550.00		53,552.00
31 Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....	11,186.80 ^a	7,788.00 ^a	9,403.70 ^a	
32 Engineers, Brotherhood of Locomotive.....	69,013.78	3,418,795.00		1,751,163.90 ^a
33 Engineers, International Union of Operating.....		152,625.00		
34 Engravers' Union, International Metal.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
35 Engravers' Union of North America, Intl. Photo	53,650.14 ^a	127,088.49 ^a	1,665,826.72 ^a	
36 Fire Fighters, International Association of.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
37 Firemen and Enginemen, Bro. of Locomotive.....	52,516.44 ^a	1,034,522.00	35,350.00	321,380.00
38 Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of	3,500.00 ^a	15,000.00	2,600.00 ^a	
39 Foundry Employees, International Brotherhood of		700.00		
40 Fur Workers' Union of U. S. and Can., Intl.....	5,476.00	1,200.00	16,260.00	3,064.00
41 Garment Workers of America, United.....		29,100.00		
42 Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies	18,150.00	3,450.00	26,200.00	7,050.00
43 Glass Bottle Blowers' Asso. of the U. S. and Can.		35,000.00	6,500.00	6,000.00
44 Glass Cutters League of America, Window.....		5,315.00	5,000.00	
45 Glass Workers' Union, American Flint.....		15,600.00		
46 Glove Workers' Union of America, International	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
47 Granite Cutters' International Asso. of A., The		64,175.00		13,375.00
48 Hatters of North America, United.....		30,861.00		
49 Hod Carriers', Bldg. & Com. Lab. U. of A., Intl.	5,833.02	18,794.80	11,858.41	580.00
50 Horse Shoers of U. S. & Can., I. U. of Jour'men	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
51 Hotel and Restaurant Employees & B. D. I. A.	36,809.97	40,738.35 ^a		
52 Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amal. Asso. of.....		30,025.00		
53 Jewelry Workers' Union, International.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
54 Lathers' Intl. Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....		35,797.25		
55 Laundry Workers' International Union.....	4,560.10 ^a	5,368.55 ^a	2,596.13 ^a	
56 Leather Workers United, International Union.....	567.00	1,000.00	12,158.25	
57 Letter Carriers, National Association of.....	154,592.10 ^a	172,023.76		
58 Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
59 Lithographers' Intl. P. & B. A. of the U. S. & Can	16,287.00 ^a	54,200.00	210,000.00 ^a	2,000.00
60 Longshoremen's Association, International.....	32,500.00	NO	REP	RECEIVED
61 Machinists, International Association of.....		231,358.52	166,500.00	
62 Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of		213,325.00		
63 Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, R. and S., T.				
and M. S. H., and T.H. I. A. of.....	1,270.00 ^a	15,875.00 ^a	22,480.00 ^a	
64 Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, Nat. Org.		1,000.00 ^a		
65 Meat Cutters & Butcher W'kmen of N. A., Amal	17,393.31 ^a	31,267.22 ^a	27,599.57 ^a	92.00 ^a
66 Metal Workers', International Asso, Sheet.....		58,700.00		

AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1931

GENERAL TERMS OF EMPLOYMENT

Disability	Miscellaneous	Average Wage	Average Workday	Average Workweek in Hours and Days	Members Working Five-Day Week	
87.00 ^a	7,967.30 ^a					1
		\$600.00 per month.		Prohibited by D. of Com. from over 110 h. per mo.		2
	15,732.00	\$1.00 per hour.	8 hours.	40 hours, 5 days.	2,060	3
	3,000.00	\$35.00 per week.	8 hours.	48 hours, 6 days.	500	4
	1,625.00	\$40.00 per week.	8 hours.	44 hours, 5½ days.	640	5
	11,979.00	\$8.00 per hour.	8 hours.	40 hours, 5 days.	9,000	6
6,750.00	4,665.00 ^a	\$80-\$1.37½ per hour.	8 hours.	48 hours, 6 days.		7
	2,310.00 ^a	Piece work.	8 hours.	44 hours, 5½ days.		8
		\$32.00 per week.	8½ hours.	48 hours, 5½ days.		9
		\$1.25 per hour.	8 hours.	46 hours, 5½ days.	40,000	10
		\$1.60 per hour.	8 hours.	44 hours, 5½ days.	2,000	11
		\$1.25 per hour.	8 hours.	40 hours, 5 days.	14,651	12
		\$6.40 per day.	8 hours.	44 hours, 5½ days.		13
		\$7.75 per hour.	24 hours.	168 hours, 7 days.	20,000	14
9,200.00	25,000.00	\$1.10 per hour.	8 hours.	36 hours, 4½ days.	135,000	15
50,750.00	596.50	\$1.25 per hour.	8 hours.	40 hours, 5 days.		16
	682.00	Piece work basis.	8 hours.	40 hours, 5 days.		17
2,233.98	3,015.28	\$2,000.00 per year.	8 hours.	48 hours, 6 days.		18
	10,000.00 ^a	\$4.67-\$5.78 per hour.	8 hours.	44 hours, 5½ days.		19
		\$14.00 per week, women.	8 hours.	48 hours, 6 days.		20
		\$25.00 per week, men.	8 hours.	48 hours, 6 days.		21
	2,681.00	Cap makers \$40 per wk.	8 hours.	40 hours, 5 days.	14,000	22
		Millinery Workers: men, \$60.00; Women, \$40.00.				23
8,000.00		\$158.85 per month.	8 hours.	56 hours, 7 days.		24
		\$7.75 per hour.	8 hours.	45 hours, 5½ days.		25
		\$75.00 per week.	8 hours.	44 hours, 5½ days.		26
		\$1.133 per hour.	8 hrs. tend. to 6	40 hours, 5 days.	35,500	27
2,376.00 ^a	5,722.62 ^a	\$8.25 per day helpers.	8 hours.	40 hours, 5 days.	10,164	28
		\$11.50 per day, mechanics				29
	165,000.90	\$90-\$1.12½ per hour.	8 hours.	52½, 48 hours, 6 days.	8,000	30
		\$1.25 per hour.	8 hours.	Hoisting, 40 hours, 5 days.		31
2,000.69	244,651.22	\$69.00 per week.	8 hours.	46 hours, 6 days.		32
1,061,899.51	297,000.00	\$2,260.00 per year.	12 hours.	40-44 hours, 5-5½ days.	7,000	33
500.00 ^a	1,800.00 ^a	\$200.00 per month.	7½ hours.	84 hours, 7 days.		34
	34,048.00	\$45 per hour.	8 hours.	34 hours, 5 days.	300	35
		\$45.00 per week.	8 hours.	48 hours, 6 days.		36
	47,500.00	\$7.52 per day.	8 hours.	40 hours, 5 days.	15,000	37
		\$30.77 per week.	7½ hours.	40-44 hours, 5-5½ days.	45,000	38
	22,989.00	\$8.00 per day.	8 hours.	45 hours, 6 days.	370	39
		\$9.00 per day.	8 hours.	46 hours, 5½ days.	69	40
1,365.07	1,590.69	\$7.51 per hour.	8 hours.	40 hours, 5 days.	4,000	41
	10,679.00	\$10.00 per day.	8 hours.	44 hours, 5½ days.		42
	11,800.00		9 hours.	44 hours, 5½ days.		43
			8 hours.	54 hours, 6 days.	2,030	44
			8 hours.	44 hours, 5½ days.		45
		\$1.2225 per hour.	8 hours.	40 hours, 5 days.	15,865	46
		Women, \$15.00 per week.	8½ hours.	45 hours, 5½ days.	40	47
		Men, \$28.00 per week	8 hours.	44 hours, 5½ days.		48
		\$2,083.65 per year.	8 hours.	44 hours, 5½ days.		49
	29,232.00	\$1,800.00 per year.	8 hours.	44 hours, 5½ days.		50
		\$50.00 per week.	8½ hours.	46 hours, 5½ days.		51
5,000.00	35,750.00	\$9.00 per hour.	8 hours.	44 hours, 5½ days.	25,000	52
		\$3.61 per hr-\$168 per mo.	8 hours.	16-48 hours, 2-6 days.		53
		\$6.45 per day.	8 hours.	44 hours, 5½ days.	6,000	54
2,015.00 ^a	1,298.75 ^a		8-12 hours.	48-72 hours, 6 days.		55
	\$503.13 ^a		8 hours.	44 hours, 5½ days.	6,470	56
	4,922.50	\$1.04 per hour.	8 hours.	44 hours, 5½ days.		57

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL

Organization	BENEFITS PAID			
	Sick	Death	Unemployment	Old Age Pension
67 Mine, Mill and Smelter Wrks., Intl. Union of..	11,023.25	3,629.00	110.00	
68 Mine Workers of America, United.....		500,000.00	1,000,000.00	
69 Molders' Union of North America, International	162,341.15	288,058.63	191,158.80	
70 Musicians, American Federation of.....			100,000.00	
71 Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of A.		4,500.00		
72 Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers of A., Bro. of		260,763.40		
73 Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of..		6,603.85		
74 Pattern Makers' League of North America....	5,343.33	9,100.00	11,186.00	
75 Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, B. and S. C. S. & S. A. P., International Union of.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
76 Paving Cutters' Union of the U. S. of A. and Can.		4,300.00		
77 Piano and Organ Workers' U. of A., Intl.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
78 Plasterers' Intl. Asso. of the U. S. and Can., Oper.		73,225.00		
79 Plumbers & Steam Fitters of U. S. & Can., U. A. of	179,430.00	126,443.00	2,000,000.00	
80 Polishers, Metal, International Union.....		7,220.00		
81 Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative....	4,966.99	20,785.00	17,930.10	
82 Powder & High Explosive Workers of A., United			100.00	
83 Printers', Die Stpers' & Eng. U. of N. A., I. Plate		11,000.00		
84 Printing Pressmen's & Ass. Union of N. A., Intl	64,142.13	242,391.23	881,623.07	108,890.00
85 Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the U. S. and Can., Intl. Bro. of.....			1,000.00	
86 Quarry Workers, Intl. Union of North America.		1,500.00	907.61	1,300.00
87 Railroad Trainmen, Brotherhood of.....	483,952.75	2,942,437.17		250,023.08
88 Railway Conductors of America, Order of.....	144,514.40	1,789,491.66	11,633.20	
89 Railway Em. of A., Amal. Asso. of Street and Elec	95,498.12	902,921.40		122,400.00
90 Railway Mail Association.....		36,000.00		
91 Roofers, Damp & Waterproof W. A. U. S. T. & C		10,800.00		
92 Seamen's Union of America, International.....	1,024.00	1,200.00		
93 Siderographers, International Association of..	NO	REP	ORT	RECEIVED
94 Stage Employes and Moving Picture Mch. Oper. of the U. S. and C., Intl. All. of Theatrical....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
95 Stereotypers' & Electrotypers' U. of N. A., Intl.	11,957.78	68,488.13	198,298.02	4,420.00
96 Stonecutters' Asso. of N. A., Journeymen.....		21,200.00		
97 Stove Mounters' Intl. Union.....		9,500.00	4,746.90	
98 Switchmen's Union of North America.....		183,200.00		
99 Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	10,075.50	6,490.00		
100 Teachers, American Federation of.....	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENEFITS
101 Teamsters, Chauffeurs, S. and H. of A. I. B. of				
102 Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....		331,979.75		
103 Telegraphers Union of N. America, The Com.		2,400.00		
104 Textile Workers of America, United.....		3,400.00		
105 Tobacco Workers' International Union.....	2,816.00	400.00		
106 Typographical Union, International.....	50,505.07	697,332.70	2,175,183.49	1,574,461.92
107 Uphoisters' Intl. Union of North America....		25,000.00	250,000.00	
108 Wall Paper Crafts of North America, United.	840.00	3,600.00	1,400.00	
109 Weavers' Protective Association, American Wire.	750.00	500.00		
Totals.....	\$2,220,974.64	\$17,132,023.07	\$9,146,724.35	\$6,090,742.90

RECAPITULATION

Sick Benefits.....	\$2,220,974.64
Death Benefits.....	17,132,023.07
Unemployment Benefits.....	9,146,724.35
Old Age Pensions.....	6,090,742.90
Disability Benefits.....	3,671,380.30
Miscellaneous Benefits.....	1,700,027.88

Total Benefits..... \$39,961,873.14

AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1931—Continued

GENERAL TERMS OF EMPLOYMENT

Disability	Miscellaneous	Average Wage	Average Workday	Average Workweek in Hours and Days	Members Working Five-Day Week
			8 hours.....		67
		\$5.50 per day.....	8 hours.....	16 hours, 2 days.....	68
16,325.00		\$6.25 per day.....	8 hours.....	48 hours, 6 days.....	69
		\$60.00-\$90.00 per week in theatres.....	5-8 hrs. in theatre and hotels.....		70
500.00					71
51,075.00	35,866.00	\$1.01 per hour.....	8 hours.....	43 hours, 5½ days.....	58,698 72
	8,600.56	\$8.00 per hour.....	8 hours.....	48 hours, 6 days.....	439 73
					74
		Asphalt ind. \$7.60 per day	8 hours.....	40 hours, 5 days.....	600 75
		Granite block ind. \$12 day			
		Rammermen, \$10 per day			
		Piece work basis.....	8 hours.....	44 hours, 5½ days.....	200 76
	5,173.00				77
6,400.00	4,280.00	\$11.32 per day.....	8 hours.....	40 hours, 5 days.....	26,082 78
	52,386.00	\$10.00 per day.....	8 hours.....	40 hours, 5 days.....	40,000 79
		\$8.00 per hour.....	8 hours.....	80%, 44 hours, 5½ days	1,160 80
				20%, 40 hours, 5 days	
	36,920.00	Piece work.....			81
	140.00	\$5.25 per day.....		16 hours, 2 days.....	12 82
	40.00	\$40.00 per week.....	7 hours.....		216 83
10,733.65 ^a	7,762.30 ^a	\$48.00 per week.....	8 hours, days.....	Com. 44 hours, 5½ days..	3,884 84
			7 hours, nights	Newspapers, 48 hrs. 6 da.	
				Night work, 42 hrs. 6 days	
				48 hours, 6 days.....	85
					86
2,197,041.40	123,248.69	\$5.01-\$7.14 per day.....	Yd. serv. 8 hrs. Pass. & freight serv. varied	Yd. serv. 208 hrs. per mo. Pass. serv. 5300 mi. p. mo. Freight serv. 3500 mi. p. mo.	87
				42-56 hours, 6-7 days.....	88
64,500.00	216,509.75	\$6.62-\$7.20 per day.....	6 hrs. passenger		
			8 hours, freight		
18,300.00		\$5.56 per hour.....	7½-8 hours.....	48 hours, 6 days.....	428 89
107,982.00		\$2,466.00 per year.....	7½ hours.....	44 hours, 5½ days.....	90
		\$1.255 per hour.....	8 hours.....	40 hours, 5 days.....	3,000 91
350.00 ^a	35.00 ^a				92
					93
			8 hours.....	48-56 hours, 6-7 days.....	94
121.00 ^a	20,594.70 ^a				95
	2,688.00	\$10.00 per day.....	8 hours.....	40-44 hours, 5-5½ days.....	96
	3,092.50	Day rate \$.75 per hour..	8 hours.....	44 hours, 5½ days.....	300 ^a 97
		Piece rate \$.91 per hour			
36,975.00		\$6.62 per day.....	8 hours.....	48 hours, 6 days.....	98
	18,028.00				99
	40,310.00	\$2,300.00 per year.....	5½ hours.....	26 hours, 5 days.....	7,000 100
8,900.00					101
		\$6.8 per hour.....	8 hours.....	49.2 hours, 6.2 days.....	102
					103
		\$11.50 per week.....	9½ hours.....	52½ hours, 6 days.....	104
		\$15.00-\$35.00 per week..	8 hours.....	44 hours, 5½ days.....	105
	94,758.49	\$49.88 per week.....	7½ hours.....	44½ hours, 6 days.....	18,500 106
		\$35.00-\$60.00 per week..	8 hours.....	40 hours, 5 days.....	6,000 107
	80.00	\$1.00 per hour.....	9 hours.....	45 hours, 5 days.....	370 108
	11,000.00	\$1.00 per hour.....	8-9 hours.....		109
\$3,671,380.30	\$1,700,027.88				601,461

¹ Tuberculosis benefits.² Includes old age exemption.³ Includes disability claims.⁴ Paid by local unions.⁵ Includes local benefits.⁶ Includes widows' pensions.⁷ Summer months.

ORGANIZING WORK

Despite depression handicaps the Federation has continued to aid organizing work during the past year. The unusual amount of fundamental thinking and questioning of existing practices provide an exceptional opportunity for organizing work. On all sides we are confronted with the fallacy of expecting improvements from letting things alone. Many wage-earners have let alone the problems of increasing their wages and gaining more leisure, thinking they could get along without giving the time or making the investment necessary for directing their betterment through trade unions. Trade unionism requires initiative, responsibility, understanding of industrial and social relationships. This breakdown of industry shows up the barrenness of material progress without the spiritual understanding and ethical standards to assure equitable distribution of the returns from joint production. The situation brings us again to those motives of human justice that are the power of the labor movement.

We extended union organization to its highest levels in war-time peak production. But that was a growth based upon desire for the material benefits of unionism. Expansion of unionism in the period of greatest depression brings members who face adversity and who want the social and economic justice that unionism can provide. Additions to unions in depression will bring members who believe in the ideals for which our movement stands. Adversity is a character-building experience. Let us seize the opportunity to get into our trade union movement those who turn to constructive methods.

In the coming year we must depend upon personal appeal as our chief reliance in spreading the cause of unionism. This personal method emphasizes the responsibility upon each union member for helping his fellow-workers to understand their own responsibility. The union needs the unorganized just as much as the unorganized need the union.

In this extension of unionism by personal appeal our volunteer organizers have for years done good service. We need them this year as never before and we need the cooperation of every individual wage-earner and small salaried worker.

We urge unions in all localities to begin continuous efforts for organizing workers during this coming year.

SPECIAL LABOR DAYS

By setting aside days for memorial purposes, we honor the traditions which are our heritage and review existing situations so as to plan for the future with clear perspective. In all things it is necessary to retire a bit from the present in order to see things as a whole. To meet such needs Labor has designated three days for memorial and dedicatory purposes:

Labor Day—the first Monday in September.

Labor Sunday—the day preceding Labor Day.

Labor's Memorial Day—the fourth Sunday in May.

Fitting observance of these three days will add to the dignity and significance of Labor in public opinion and revitalize our movement. Unless we provide definite and regular opportunities to strengthen the idealism and spiritual forces of our movement we will starve them by neglect, and restrict our cause to material interests and economic forces. To prevent such a calamity and to give strength to our movement as a force for

social justice and human welfare, let every labor union be unfailing in its observance of our memorial days.

In this year of depression let us give special care to making the character of these programs more worthy of the cause of Labor.

PUBLICATIONS

The Federation has found it necessary to reduce the number of its publications during the past year. Curtailment in number has brought concentration upon increasing the effectiveness of those remaining.

Our oldest publication, *THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST*, has weathered the depression most satisfactorily. Through this magazine the Federation has had the cooperation of many students, experts in many fields, educators, as well as trade unionists, for the discussion of industrial relations, unemployment problems, and measures for constructive readjustments. Not only has the magazine served a useful educational purpose within and without the labor movement, but it has turned a substantial sum into our treasury.

The A. F. of L. *WEEKLY NEWS SERVICE* has been particularly useful in providing the labor press with the news of federal governmental happenings and the American labor movement. In this emergency when it has been necessary to keep the public continuously informed as to the labor implications of important proposals constantly before our nation, the *NEWS SERVICE* has performed this service in a way that has brought credit to our movement.

Our *MONTHLY SURVEY OF BUSINESS* has gained in circulation and influence during the past year. To those considering economic policies we have been able to submit the facts of unemployment, decline of wage-earner incomes and its effect on the production index, inadequacy of consumer buying power, need for a shorter work-week, need for jobs for the unemployed, etc. This *SURVEY* is widely used by government groups, the daily and labor press, economists and writers.

LABOR PRESS

Responding to the terms of Resolution No. 83 acted upon in the last convention, a special committee was selected to inquire into the difficulties experienced by the labor press, and, if possible, to ascertain by what additional methods or means the labor press might be assisted in the stressing period through which we have been passing. This committee has made not only an exhaustive research but has endeavored to find some practicable, feasible and helpful way by which the labor press might be assisted.

In order that the facts might first be ascertained and suggestions for improvements secured, a questionnaire was prepared embodying forty-seven specific requests for detailed information. This questionnaire was mailed to all of our labor press, approximately to hundred and fifty in number.

Present difficulties of the labor press are due primarily to a restricted circulation. Circulation is the life of a publication, bringing with it increased advertising. Labor papers have done, are doing, and will continue to render an invaluable service to organized labor. Their usefulness is limited only to the extent to which our trade union members fail to avail themselves of the opportunities presented. It is essential that labor papers reach the trade union membership. It is equally essential that the trade

union membership reach the labor papers. The spirit of cooperation between the two built upon circulation and interest, must be had.

The Executive Council urgently recommends that labor papers should be aided in every way possible and to them must be accorded a full measure of service and of support. Anything and everything that will add to the strength and circulation of the labor press contributes to the power and strength of the labor movement to advance the interests of the working people. In addition, the Executive Council also acknowledges the splendid work performed by the labor press, whose proprietors, managers and editors frequently serve the cause of Labor without the inducement of adequate financial reward.

OUR PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

The public school system of the United States is peculiarly an institution of the people. The early labor unions took the initiative in the movement for tax-supported schools, and have maintained a responsibility for widening the functions of public schools so as to serve developing social purposes. Labor believes that democratic institutions necessitate equal educational opportunities for all. Equal opportunities do not mean identical opportunities. For this reason we have advocated special classes, choice of courses leading to different types of development, and the richest cultural opportunities practically attainable.

There has been a steady increase in the services which public schools render.*

In 1914 the average school year consisted of 158.7 days; in 1930, 172.7 days, an increase of 14.0 days or 8.82%.

In 1914 there were in the United States 26,002,153 children between the ages 5 and 17, the period usually considered of school age; in 1930, there were 31,571,322, an increase of 21.4%. In 1914 there were 19,153,786 pupils enrolled in public elementary and secondary schools; in 1930, the school rosters recorded 25,678,015 pupils, an increase of 6,524,229 or 34.1%. In this period the chief measure in enrollment was in the high schools where enrollment increased from 1,218,804 to 4,399,422, or 261%.

In this period the costs of public elementary and secondary schools increased from \$555,077,000 in 1914 to \$2,320,776,000 in 1930, an increase of \$1,765,699,000, or 318%. The increase went for longer terms and increased attendance 27.30%; improvements in educational service 23.98% and to cover depreciation of the dollar 48.72%.

In spite of the fact that expenditures for public schools have increased so definitely, the percentage of national income spent for this purpose remained practically constant in the decade ending in 1929, and now is 3.35%, a slight increase, due to the decline in national income. Fourteen states and the District of Columbia spend less than 3% of their income for education; 18 states spend between 3 and 4%; 16 spend more than 4%.

The proportion of national income that goes into federal, state, and local taxes amounted to approximately 13% in 1930. Nearly half of this goes to support local government. Approximately 25% of all money collected for governmental purposes is spent for education.

Depression Retrenchments—The depression has reduced national income and brought to government increased need for relief for the unemployed and relief for business. The result is numerous proposals to reduce the costs of government, to decrease the burden on the wealthy by shifting from income tax to sales tax, and to reduce

* Data from Facts on School Costs, Nat'l. Education Association.

tax rates. A number of so-called "economy" organizations have been formed by groups with special interests.

When there is less money to spend, it is wise to study expenditures carefully. In deciding national policies, we must consider social costs as well as financial costs. Public schools are the training agencies for our future citizenry. The abilities and the capacities of the future citizens, the ethical and spiritual levels of life in coming decades, our business success, our political effectiveness, the quality of our future civilizations, depend largely upon our educational policies.

Our educational policies should, therefore, be guided by long-time planning. Financing over long periods utilizes both cash and borrowing policies. As a fundamental policy, it is axiomatic that as a nation we cannot afford to reduce the educational opportunities provided for our citizens, present or future. We should, therefore, develop methods of meeting expenditures for the lean years of the business cycle by borrowing to be paid during prosperity.

Retrenchment That Means Lowered Educational Standards—Retrenchments are pretty general throughout the United States. Some have been affected by real economies that bring better service at lower costs, but the larger proportion means curtailed educational opportunities.

A survey made by the National Education Association covering cities having a population of 2,500 or more brought replies from 1,401, showing that 45.2% expected to increase or maintain teachers' salaries, paid in 1931-2. In this group are cities which give increments provided by schedules, cities withholding increments but with no other form of salary cut, and cities where only slight adjustments have been made. Some of the salaries maintained this year represent cuts last year or withheld increases. 48.3% have cut salaries; the small remainder is uncertain.

Of the cities with a population over 100,000 reporting, 45.6% are maintaining or increasing salaries; 45.6% are decreasing salaries, with the remaining group uncertain.

There are hidden cuts which such inquiries do not bring out. The American Federation of Teachers points out that in New York City vacancies are not filled by regular teachers, but substitutes on a per diem basis are employed. In a number of localities teachers are paid in script or school warrants which can be cashed only at a substantial loss to the teacher.

Permanent lowering of salaries will be reflected in the teaching force.

An inquiry is under way under the direction of the United States Office of Education to find what the depression has done to the public schools. From some of the data now available it seems plain that school construction work is practically at a standstill. The activities which are most generally dropped are various kinds of health education, supervision, child guidance, summer schools, evening classes, special classes for the blind or adjusting problem children, playgrounds, recreation, art, music. Norfolk, Virginia, has dropped kindergartens and reduced its special teachers 25%. Reading, Pennsylvania, has dropped its summer schools and classes for foreign-born mothers. Akron, Ohio, cut salaries 20% and dropped kindergartens and elementary home economics. Cincinnati discontinued summer schools in 1932 and dropped music in the first grade. Toledo, Ohio, curtailed supervisory forces 45%, medical inspection 40%, attendance officers 50%. Los Angeles reduced salaries 10%, eliminated many supervisors, discarded manual education in six elementary schools, reduced the time of

doctors 33½%, and transportation services 20%. New Bedford, Mass., suspended Americanization work and curtailed boys clubs, special classes, art and music.

Minneapolis eliminated free summer schools and reduced evening schools 30%, elementary teachers of physical education 40% and supervisors 20%.

In some states schools have been closed. In Alabama all the schools in at least 8 counties have been closed; and, unless aid is forthcoming, all the schools in the state may close. The same is true in 8 or 10 other states, according to J. W. Crabtree, Secretary of the National Education Association.

A brief review of the functions which the public schools have been obliged to undertake to perform in a changing social order, should at once demonstrate the futility of taking backward steps in meeting the obligation to provide for them. In the course of the decades since the beginning of public schools the original purpose of teaching the "three R's" to children has developed into the social obligation to eradicate illiteracy as a generally protective measure against the political menace of ignorance. To the basic "three-R" type of education, the schools have added a program of education for citizenship through the study of history, civics, and elementary economics. Coordinate with this development was the introduction in the schools of the study of science and its applications to the discoveries of the industrial age and to the interrelations of the nations of men through travel and communication. Education was becoming the means by which young people learned of the vastly complex relationships of mankind, thus giving them their first understanding of the nature and importance of standards of human behavior.

Incidental to the development of the school curriculum, it was realized that the schools were in the position to contribute to the development of a national culture. The development of culture as a broad and general refinement or enlightenment of the understanding in relation to the customs of men, to reasoned conduct, to the conditions favorable for satisfactory living, and to the general welfare, is recognized as being fundamental to our civilization. The schools promote the development of such culture through the proper teaching not only of literature, music, and other arts, but also through the training in the knowledge and method of science, language, and in the various types of industrial activities, such as are known as pre-vocational and vocational studies.

It is inherent in the general outlook of those who have learned to do their social thinking through their experience in the labor movement to regard the study and occupation in productive labor as being truly cultural in its effects on the personalities of men and women. It is especially important to the men and women in industry and to their children to realize that while the industrial requirement of hours of labor is tending through the operation of economic forces to be reduced in number, the opportunity for the profitable use of leisure comes nearer. For the promotion of satisfaction in living as well as for general political security, it is imperative that the public schools carry on the important work of providing a cultural education for the children.

Through practical knowledge gained in industry, the men and women of toil understand that the conditions under which work is done are likely to be the most important consideration of all. Without an organized and socially supported body of standards, the institution of public education might easily become a social curse. For this reason the labor movement insists on a steadily improving physical environment for children in schools as well as in their homes. School buildings should be safe, well planned, well

lighted and well ventilated. Factory conditions should be avoided by having no school building even in densely populated areas for more than 2,500 children, and by having small, manageable classes. There is no economy in large schools. There should be cleanliness everywhere as an aid to decency of conduct. There should be playgrounds available as an aid to health.

In addition to pay cuts, the size of classes and reduction in number of supervisors have increased the teacher-load. Teachers are giving more without a corresponding improvement in educational results.

In this, the worst depression that has ever developed out of our economic mismanagement, we must consider educational policies, not only as affected by present conditions but with respect to their influence on succeeding generations.

Undoubtedly, economies that would materially reduce school costs could be achieved in every school and every community. But ill-advised or reckless retrenchments must be opposed by all intelligent citizens. Organized labor should be on guard to conserve our public school system. There should be no needless breaking down of standards.

WORKERS EDUCATION BUREAU

The year that has elapsed since the Vancouver convention has been marked by a notable increase in interest and activity in workers' education all over the country. Some workers have begun systematic study both of the operation of our economic system and the ways for its improvement. This has given rise not only to a heightened interest in the whole subject, but it has as well made an even greater demand upon the resources and administration of the Bureau. It is a matter of satisfaction to record that the Bureau has been able to meet this need.

Among the services which the Bureau performed during the past year, two specific activities stand out as of paramount interest, not only because of the methods employed but also because of the significant practices which were inaugurated for the adult education of wage-earners. A report was made to the Vancouver convention of the first labor institute upon the campus of Rutgers University at New Brunswick, New Jersey. The Vancouver convention endorsed this project and commended the Rutgers plan to labor throughout the country. The response to this recommendation has been most satisfying.

In June of this year there was held on the campus of Rutgers the second labor institute under the joint auspices of the university, the State Federation of Labor and the Bureau. The subject for discussion was "Financial Instability." The method used was substantially that pursued the previous year. While the attendance was somewhat smaller, because of the depression, the interest was in no wise lessened. The New Jersey State Federation of Labor in its last convention instructed its executive board and officers to renew negotiations with the Workers Education Bureau and the trustees of Rutgers with a view toward continuing the institute as one of Labor's annual activities, and recommended to all central bodies, building trades councils and local unions that they and their membership heartily cooperate in this activity.

Following the practice initiated by the Rutgers project, the Michigan State Federation of Labor, in cooperation with the Bureau and the extension division of the University of Michigan, held on the campus of that university in June of last year a labor institute on the subject of stabilization of employment. A representative group of men from the Michigan labor movement attended this institute which lasted for a period of

five days and brought together representatives of the economics and sociology faculties of the university together with the leaders of the Michigan labor movement. The Michigan labor movement and the state university of Michigan have expressed a desire to continue this project indefinitely.

In May of last year, the Bureau attempted another type of labor institute inaugurated in connection with the annual convention of the Tennessee State Federation of Labor. The officers of the State Federation, in cooperation with the members of the faculty of Vanderbilt University and Peabody Teachers' College, set up a one-day institute at the Labor Temple in Nashville for a discussion of "Economics of the Depression and the Way Out." A resolution was passed by the Tennessee State Federation of Labor recommending that this be a part of the annual activities of State Federations throughout the south.

The Colorado State Federation of Labor in cooperation with local university representatives and the Denver Labor College, held for the second year, a two-day institute at Fort Collins over the Decoration Day week-end, on the question of the "Unemployment Crisis and the Way Out." It proved a specially valuable meeting and was enthusiastically endorsed by the officials of the State Federation of Labor.

In September the Bureau again set-up a one-day labor institute at the convention of the Mississippi State Federation of Labor. The subject was, "The Economic Crisis and the Way Out." The delegates to the convention unanimously declared in favor of this method of procedure and for its inclusion as part of their annual educational activities.

The labor institute planned in connection with the Wyoming State Federation of Labor and the University of Wyoming for June was postponed because of the necessity of changing the date of the convention to April due to a crisis in the industrial conditions in that state. The plans, however, for this project have been developed and will be carried forward another year.

The Illinois State Federation of Labor at its last convention endorsed the project for a labor institute, and plans have been begun for securing the cooperation of the State University at Champaign-Urbana for setting up such a project. Requests have been received from Montana, Nevada, Ohio, Oregon, Washington, either from the labor groups or from the university groups, expressing their interest in such a project or offering their facilities for the establishment of such institutes.

In addition to these labor institutes which were held in various parts of the country, under the joint auspices of the Bureau, summer schools for workers were held by the Bryn Mawr Summer School, the University of Wisconsin, as well as the Southern Summer School at Hendersonville, North Carolina, and the Opportunity School at Clemson College in South Carolina. These schools are with but a single exception under the auspices of joint committees on which workingmen and women are represented.

The second notable project carried on by the Bureau during the year has been the radio program undertaken in cooperation with the National Advisory Council for Radio in Education. The Council, which was established in 1930 to further the art of radio broadcasting in American education, invited President Green a year ago to appoint a labor committee to serve as one of its functional committees. President Green invited Matthew Woll, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Bureau, to form such a committee, which he did, including the following persons: Thomas Burke, Victor A. Olander, Thomas Kennedy, John P. Frey, Chester M. Wright, Matthew Woll, Chairman; Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary.

Upon this committee devolved the responsibility of the formulation of the program and of bringing to the microphone a notable series of labor addresses. The subject of the general series was "American Labor and the Nation." The program was divided into two groups of ten addresses each. The labor committee also prepared two listeners note-books containing outlines of the lectures, questions and reading lists, which have published and distributed by the University of Chicago Press. As this is the first radio educational project of its kind which has been undertaken by the Bureau in cooperation with the American Federation of Labor, it will be of interest to give the list of the addresses and the names of the persons who took part in the series. They are as follows:

FIRST SERIES

American Labor and the Nation	The Policies of American Labor
WILLIAM GREEN	MATTHEW WOLL
How Labor Rose from Slavery to Freedom	What Labor Has Done for Education
VICTOR A. OLANDER	SPENCER MILLER, JR.
How Modern Industry Came to America	How Labor Has Secured Free Speech
JOHN P. FREY	VICTOR A. OLANDER
The Role of Labor in Early American History	How Labor Shapes Public Opinion
THOMAS KENNEDY	MATTHEW WOLL
A Hundred Years of the Labor Movement	Labor in Politics
THOMAS E. BURKE	JOHN P. FREY

SECOND SERIES

The Closed and Open Shop	Collective Bargaining
FRANK MORRISON	CHARLES P. HOWARD
Wages and Hours	Labor and Judicial Reform
JOHN L. LEWIS	JAMES WILSON
Technological Unemployment	Labor and Immigration
JAMES MALONEY	THOMAS FLAHERTY
Labor and International Relations	Labor and the Negro
DANIEL TOBIN	PHILIP RANDOLPH
Labor and the News	Labor Legislation
CHESTER M. WRIGHT	PAUL SCHARRENBERG

Through the cooperation of the University of Chicago Press these addresses have been printed in pamphlet form for 10 cents a copy. In addition, a mechanical transcription has been made of each one of these addresses to preserve in permanent form a library of records of this historical series of radio addresses.

The response to this broadcast over the Columbia network, which includes some 62 stations in the United States and Canada, has been most gratifying. Letters have been received from labor, educational and church groups, and from individuals in all walks of life, indicating the success with which the whole series was launched.

The series has also been recognized in Europe having been brought to the attention of the International Labor Office in Geneva.

The Bureau has continued to carry on its normal activities in the field of information and guidance to local labor groups interested in starting study groups. Requests for such information increased many fold during the past year.

The Executive Committee of the Bureau submitted to its affiliated membership a

referendum vote on the holding of a national convention which had been postponed the previous year. With but a single dissenting vote, it was decided to postpone the national convention of the Bureau until another year.

In summary, it may be said that the Bureau during the eleventh year of its educational service to American wage-earners has set a new standard of achievement for its work. It is deserving of the loyal support of the American labor movement which it has enjoyed in increasing measure.

SAMUEL GOMPERS MEMORIAL

The delay which has ensued in the completion and erection of the Samuel Gompers Memorial is directly traceable to several causes. First, it became necessary to secure the approval of the Commission of Fine Arts to a design. The first designs submitted by a number of sculptors were rejected because they did not conform to the standards set by the Commission of Fine Arts. This action made it necessary to call for the creation and submission of new plans and designs.

Finally, a design was submitted by Robert Aitken, a sculptor in New York City, which was accepted by the Executive Council and approved by the Commission of Fine Arts. A contract was entered into with Mr. Aitken providing for the construction of the Memorial.

Mr. Aitken advises the Executive Council that the Memorial will be completed and ready for dedication on the site selected in the City of Washington by October 1, 1933.

We plan formally to dedicate the Samuel Gompers Memorial at the earliest possible date following its completion and construction.

BITUMINOUS COAL INDUSTRY

Unrestricted competition and over expansion in the bituminous coal industry have made the industry unprofitable for the owners while irregular employment and low wages have denied mine workers all economic securities or even adequate food and clothing. The situation impoverishes the whole community life in bituminous coal regions.

To correct the wasteful organization of the industry and to promote the welfare of its workers, the United Mine Workers of America is attempting to secure federal legislation to establish economic order for the bituminous coal industry.

Exhaustive hearings were held on the Davis-Kelly bill before the United States Senate Committee on Mines and Mining during the 72nd session of Congress.

The provisions of this bill, if enacted into law, would create a United States Coal Commission appointed by the President. The commission would be authorized to assume in behalf of the employees, employers, stockholders and consumers an intelligent direction of bituminous coal production and distribution. The government regulation sought would not be a hindering interference with private control, but, on the other hand, would be a helpful administrative service in doing the necessary things to stabilize the industry on a sound, economic basis, which the industry by past performance admittedly has demonstrated itself incapable of doing of its own accord.

The United Mine Workers feel assured that the bituminous coal industry by reason of the very compactness of the consuming markets, as well as the concentration of the great bulk of production to small geographical areas, and with the ownership of approximately 80% of commercial production confined to less than two hundred companies, constitutes an industrial set-up that is especially susceptible to sound regulatory direction by and through a federal coal commission.

The whole theory of the bill and the sole purpose of the legislation are to perfect a basis whereby intelligent cooperation within the industry will be made possible. The long period of demoralization within the bituminous coal industry is sufficient proof that without the help of federal supervision effective and intelligent efforts cannot be brought into play.

The United Mine Workers base their insistence on the passage of the Davis-Kelly Bill on the fact that the welfare of the American people is admittedly dependent upon the prosperity of our industrial relations; that it is incumbent upon the body politic to make wages and working conditions the concern of government. The mere fact that the government has not heretofore concerned itself, outside of our transportation industry, with economic conditions, ruinous competitive sales and debauched employment are no logical reasons why it should not participate in the revamping of the bituminous coal industry in a manner and way that will effectively end the ruinous cut-throat, inhuman conditions which now prevail.

What the Davis-Kelly Bill, Summarily Stated, Would Provide—Section 1. Provides for the creation of the Bituminous Coal Commission.

Section 2. Requires all corporations, engaged in mining and shipping, or in shipping bituminous coal in interstate or foreign commerce, to take out a license to be issued by the Commission.

Section 3. Permits operators to form marketing pools, upon approval by the Commission, if the price schedule and trade practices of the pool are not held to be an unreasonable restraint of trade.

Section 4. Authorizes the Commission to hear complaints, from any person, as to the reasonableness of price schedules.

Section 5. Provides that mine workers shall have the right to deal collectively in the making of wages. That no coal corporation that becomes a member of a marketing pool can make it a condition of employment that its miners shall not become members of a labor union; that if such corporation does not become a member of a marketing pool, and desires to employ its mine workers under the "Yellow Dog" contract, these members shall be free to terminate their employment, and join a labor organization at will; and they shall have the right to assemblage for the purpose of hearing discussions on the subject of trade unionism; that they shall be free to purchase the necessities of life where they choose; and that they shall be entitled to select their own checkweighmen.

Section 6. Provides for the revocation of licenses.

Section 7. Provides a penalty for the violation of the provisions of the act.

Section 8. Provides that no new switch connection to any bituminous coal mine or tripple shall be made until permission to do so has been approved by the Bituminous Coal Commission.

The benefits to be derived from this proposed method of the government regulation of the coal industry may also be briefly stated as follows:

1. Prohibit the shipment of coal on consignment that gluts markets and depresses prices.
2. Remove the conditions that foment cut-throat competition, and result in coal companies selling capital assets and labor.
3. Stop the wanton depletion of coal resources, special purpose coals in particular, the supply of which is limited.
4. Revamp the bituminous coal industry on American business standards.
5. Restore to coal miners throughout the United States their constitutional guarantees.
6. Uniform standards of safety and working conditions.

Approximately four months were consumed in hearings before the sub-committee of the United States Senate Committee on Mines and Mining during the 72nd Congress. The sub-committee comprised Senator Hatfield of West Virginia, Chairman; Senator Davis of Pennsylvania, co-author of the Bill, and Senator Hayden of Arizona. Representative Clyde Kelly of Pennsylvania sat in almost continuously during these hearings.

The National Coal Association, Retail Coal Dealers, United States Chamber of Commerce, American Railway Association, as well as representatives of practically all non-union coal regions, appeared in opposition to the measure. The chief objection of the coal operators and retail coal dealers is based upon what they claim to be—first, forced recognition of the United Mine Workers of America; second—government interference with private industry.

These objections were further supplemented by attempts to prove that the cost to the government would involve millions of dollars annually, and so fantastic were some of these objections that some individuals went so far as to prophecy that the cost would in time exceed that of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The United Mine Workers feel that through the testimony of courageous and far-visioned operators, as well as by statistical charts and testimony presented by the union to show that the very compactness of the industry would make regulation of bituminous coal feasible and inexpensive, they have completely disproved all objections and unsupported allegations made by the operators and business associations.

Following the conclusion of the hearings, Senator Davis presented an elaborate analytical report to the sub-committee covering all phases of the testimony presented and urged committee approval of the Davis-Kelly Bill.

Senator Hayden of Arizona presented an individual report in which he incorporated details of administration which for the greater part were copied from the bill introduced by David I. Lewis of Maryland. Congressman Lewis' coal regulation bill is patterned much after the British Mines Act, and while Congressman Lewis is a determined advocate of federal regulation of the coal industry, legal counsel for the United Mine Workers assert that the details of control contained in the Lewis bill would encounter too many constitutional obstacles and, therefore, in the end, would not bring the relief desired.

Senator Hatfield filed a separate individual report in opposition to both the Davis and Hayden reports. Senator Hatfield's objections were based upon the belief expressed by many southern coal operators that regulation would reduce the output of southern coal fields, and as a result would not only further impoverish southern coal companies but would also reduce the coal freight of southern railroads.

Before Congress recessed, Representative Kelly introduced an amended bill,

H. R. 12681, which provides an excise tax of one-tenth of one per cent on all coal shipped in interstate commerce by operators licensed under the bill. This excise tax is to provide the fund for the administration of the law. This tax is of trivial amount, but will produce ample revenue to defray all commission costs and, therefore, will not increase the burden of government expenses. In fact, it will be the first self-supporting government industrial commission.

Davis-Kelly Bill Endorsed—The bituminous coal industry is experiencing very great difficulties because of competition caused through the enlarged use of crude oil, and particularly imported foreign oil. This is a serious problem and one which must be dealt with and acted upon in a constructive way.

The Executive Council desires to extend to the International Union United Mine Workers of America such assistance as it may be able to give in its efforts to secure legislation which would tend more adequately to protect the bituminous coal industry from the evil effects of unfair and unjust fuel substitutions. The Executive Council pledges the officers and members of the United Mine Workers of America full and complete support in the efforts which they are putting forth to secure the enactment of the Davis-Kelly Bill. We renew the endorsement we have heretofore extended to this character of legislation. It is the purpose and the intention of the Executive Council to exercise all efforts at its command to secure the enactment of the Davis-Kelly Bill into law at the earliest possible date.

PROBLEMS OF RAILWAY WORKERS

The problems with which the Railway Employees Department has been faced in the last year are those of all industry; wage cuts, declining employment, and, on the other hand, increasing unemployment both technological and industrial. No stone has been left unturned in an attempt to alleviate these conditions by constantly advocating and demanding the maintenance of high wages, the shorter work-week and work-day, the protection of employees and their property in consolidations, and constructive legislation with respect to retirement insurance and injunctions.

It will be the purpose of this report to outline briefly the progress that has been made on the above matters during the past year.

Wages—Despite the wholesale cutting of wages in the manufacturing industries, the Railway Employees' Department with the cooperation of affiliated organizations was successful in maintaining the wage scales of their membership with but few exceptions until January 1932, when the railways requested a reduction in the wages of all railway employees on the plea that reduced traffic and insufficient earnings did not enable them to meet even their fixed charges.

The Chicago Conference—This gave rise to a conference held in Chicago during January, 1932, at which wages and the stabilization of employment were discussed. A committee of nine railroad presidents represented the majority of the Class 1 Railroads, while the Railway Labor Executives' Association represented the railway employees, both of which were given authority to negotiate matters before the conference to a conclusion.

The railway presidents made the following curt request: "Ten per cent to be deducted from each pay check for a period of one year. Basic wages to remain as at present. This arrangement to terminate automatically twelve months after the plan becomes effective."

The Railway Labor Executives' Association, of which organizations affiliated with Railway Employee's Department are members, submitted a program to relieve unemployment and stabilize employment in which the following "Immediate Measures" were proposed:

1. Stabilize employment by assuring one year of employment to the necessary employees in every class. (This will increase the purchasing power of a payroll exceeding \$2,000,000,000 by releasing over 1,250,000 workers from fear of unemployment).
 - (a) This stabilization should include provisions for putting to work as many men as possible consistent with maintaining satisfactory conditions in the respective classes of employment.
 - (b) The necessary stand-by forces should also be assured of a minimum amount of part-time employment.
2. Since the six-hour day is necessary and must be instituted to absorb the existing number of experienced employees without reduction of compensation, a commission should be created to determine the ways and means of applying this principle to the different classes of employees. Such a commission should be created by the nomination of an equal number of representatives of management and employees (including in the latter appropriate representatives of the principal classes of employment) with the designation of a chairman from its membership by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Any legislation necessary to establish the commission and to endow it with adequate authority to make a comprehensive study as a basis for a report to be made within a definite period, should be sought by joint action, so far as possible, by the carriers and the employees.
3. Joint action should be undertaken between managements and employees to promote—
 - (a) One billion dollar United States bond issue for grade crossing elimination on main traveled highways. One-half cost to be borne by government as improvement of interstate highways. One-half cost to be borne by railroads to be repaid by payment of interest and sinking fund payment to retire bonds in 50 years.
 - (b) Regulation of motor transportation and freight forwarding companies, including provision for employment of furloughed railroad employees.
 - (c) Protection of all interests in railroad consolidation.
 - (d) Federal legislation to provide retirement insurance and elective workmen's compensation.
 - (e) Establishment of an emergency employment bureau to prepare the way for the eventual establishment of a national placement bureau and to provide means for placing unemployed rail workers as additional opportunities of employment may develop.
 - (f) Coordination of train crews and train lengths on the basis of economical, safe operation, including any desirable state or federal legislation.
4. In order to carry forward the foregoing program, a continuing co-operation between railroad managements and railroad employees is essential. This will require complete willingness and good faith of railroad managements in dealing with the self-chosen representatives of railroad labor, and whole-hearted compliance with the spirit and the letter of the Railway Labor Act.

The conference was terminated on January 31, 1932, after a month of negotiation, with the signing of an agreement effective as of February 1, 1932, to run for a year, providing for a 10% deduction in the wages of railroad employees and "an earnest and sympathetic effort" on the part of railroad managements "to maintain and increase railroad employment."

Notwithstanding the above agreement of the railway managements and their

assurance that a large percentage of the employees' two hundred and fifteen million dollars contribution would be applied to the purchase of materials and to increase employment, employment has continued to decline steadily. There are now 700,000 railway workers unemployed and more than 500,000 working part time and not earning enough to support their families, according to a statement issued recently by the Railway Labor Executives Association. Quoting further from this statement:

When the railway employees agreed to a 10% deduction from their earnings they protested that "wage reductions are not the appropriate means to restore prosperity." They said: "We cannot believe that the public welfare is advanced by reducing the purchasing power of Labor." The tragic march of events has demonstrated that we were right. A national policy of reducing wages and leaving millions of unemployed to depend on charity, utilizing our vast financial resources largely to sustain fictitious security values, has failed utterly to check the downward course of the depression, to revive business, or even to maintain the stability of our great financial and industrial enterprises.

The railroads furnish a good example of the inevitable failure of this policy. We pointed out last January that the labor cost of transportation had been steadily declining, that the rail employees today handled 50% more traffic and produced twice as much surplus revenue over labor cost as of twenty years ago. We showed from the official reports of the railroads that after payment of taxes the railroad net income of \$934,000,000 in the depression year of 1931, would pay 5% interest on the net railway capital of \$18,680,000,000. We pointed out that the financial embarrassment of the railways arose from their obligations to pay \$845,000,000 annually in fixed charges. No property which is mortgaged to such an extent can expect to meet its obligations during a grave depression in business.

In the light of experience we again insist that it is economically unsound and socially unjust to reduce the earnings of the railroad workers or of any industrial or agricultural workers in order that Labor may pay a dole to idle capital. Billions of dollars today are invested in idle property in railroad and industrial enterprises. Yet this idle capital is drawing interest which is squeezed out of the reduced wages of those workers who are still at least partially employed. The inevitable result of this unequal protection of property values and human values is to degrade the national standard of living and to increase the inequity in the division of the national income.

According to the latest information available, the railways are now seeking a 20% cut in the wages of railroad workers to become effective at the expiration of the present agreement on February 1, 1933.

To date a committee representing the railroads has attempted to facilitate conference with the Railway Labor Executives' Association representing the standard railroad labor unions for the purpose of negotiating a wage scale to become effective after the expiration of the present agreement on February 1, 1933, but the railway labor executives declined the proposal and stated that having no authority to enter upon such a conference they would neither seek such authority nor encourage any efforts to inaugurate wage negotiations. Following this a committee of the Railway Labor Executives' Association saw the President of the United States and asked that the government step in to prevent the cut in the basic wage-scale which the carriers are proposing. In a statement to the President they said:

We have supported and will continue to support and advocate the use of all of the resources of government to relieve unemployment distress and to aid and promote industrial activities which will increase employment. But when the government is making such efforts we submit that as a part of its policy there should be unyielding opposition to reduction of wages with all the evil consequences to which we have referred.

Failure in their efforts to secure conferences with railroad labor officials has prompted railroad officials to postpone all action including the serving of

notices as provided under the provisions of the Railway Labor Act informing Labor of their intentions to cut wages 20% until October 6 when a national meeting of railroad presidents will be held to discuss policies with respect to wage reductions. Everything possible is being done to resist this cut and to restore wage rates to what they were prior to the signing of the agreement last January.

The L. & A. Case—Only one road with which we have an agreement has sought aggressively to reduce the wages of our membership, namely, the Louisiana and Arkansas Railroad, which on February 9, 1931, cut the wages of the mechanical trades employees 5 cents per hour, and drastically revised their working rules. The services of a mediator were invoked after it was seen that the management could not be induced to settle the controversy by negotiation; but, due to this same unsympathetic attitude on the part of the management, he also failed to effect a settlement, with the result that the Railway Employees' Department sought and secured the appointment of an Emergency Board by the President of the United States under the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, to investigate the case and report the facts to him. After an extensive hearing the Board submitted a report, dated May 5, 1931, of which the following is a summary:

(1) There was nothing in the financial situation of the carrier nor other conditions affecting it, which justified its action of February 9, 1931, in reducing the rate of wages of its shop crafts below the standard prevailing over the country; and the evidence tends to show that when conditions become fairly prosperous the carrier which acquired the two roads will find that its acquisition of them will be exceedingly profitable.

(2) The action of the carrier of February 9, 1931, in putting into force new rules and changes in working conditions, wholly without notice such as is required by the Act, was positively illegal under Section 6.

(3) The refusal of the carrier to submit to arbitration under the Railway Labor Act upon the announced and only asserted ground that there was nothing to arbitrate was not justified. If there was an occasion for a change in the rules, and there may have been, there was clearly an arbitrable controversy, and their promulgation without notice to the men or their representatives was in direct violation of the Act.

(4) That the policy announced in the statement of the President of November 21, 1929, after conferences with employers and employees to the effect that there should be no wage reductions made by employers and no efforts by the men to increase the standard wages, was observed faithfully by other carriers, with a few negligible exceptions, to which we attach no importance. The men observed the spirit of the statement and went beyond it in not pressing the reserved right to continue negotiations then pending.

(5) The carrier should restore the standard rate of wages and rules governing working conditions prevailing on its line in September, 1930, when it first proposed changing them. This would leave the carrier and the men as they were when the carrier announced its purpose to reduce wages and change the working rules. The conclusion we reach is based upon the proposition that there was never an occasion for reducing wages, though the right to do so in the manner provided by law is conceded by all, and the further proposition that the change in rules and working conditions without notice was positively illegal under Section 6. Rules arbitrarily imposed by the carrier without negotiation with the men or their representatives have no element of contract and are not in harmony with the thought of Congress expressed in Section 2 imposing the duty "to make and maintain agreements concerning rates of pay, rules and working conditions."

(6) That if the carrier refuses to restore former conditions it should submit to arbitration. The men have expressed their willingness to arbitrate notwithstanding the illegal change of rules.

(7) That if the carrier refuses to do one or the other, that is, to restore conditions as they were in September, 1930, to to arbitrate, we cannot urge upon the craftsmen the duty of agreeing to the conditions, partly illegal, imposed by the action of February 9, 1931. This would be equivalent to saying that one who obeys a particular law is at a disadvantage with respect to one who disregards it.

(8) We feel that the carrier should not disturb the wage structure which other carriers, no better situated, are maintaining, and that it should seriously consider whether it can justify itself to itself in maintaining rules and working conditions fixed in a way declared by Congress to be illegal.

(9) If the opportunity is offered the carrier to mediate or arbitrate the controversy, it should accept it; and if not presented, it should seek it.

In spite of this indictment, the management of the L. & A. did nothing about the matter which remained thus until the Chicago conference to which the L. & A. refused to be a party. Instead, the wages of the mechanical trades were cut an additional 10% effective on March 1, 1932. A duplication of events took place; conference was sought without avail, after which a mediator was assigned to the case only to meet with the same fate, with the result that another Emergency Board was appointed by the President of the United States to investigate the case, which incidentally included other organizations as well. As before, the Board reported that "... the carrier should adjust this whole controversy or submit it to arbitration," neither of which the management did subsequently.

Recently, management posted a notice of a further reduction of 10% to become effective September 16, 1932. The matter is now in the hands of the United States Board of Mediation for adjudication. Although the Board requested that wages remain unchanged until they had an opportunity to make an investigation, the management of the L. & A. again defied the law by putting into effect the 10% cut on September 16th. Further, the committee representing the men was told that the management was determined to cut the wages of all mechanics to 55 cents per hour.

Employment—Every effort has been made by the Department in cooperation with other railroad organizations to maintain and stabilize employment. To this end constructive measures have been proposed to management, the outstanding instance being the program that was presented to the committee of nine railroad presidents at the Chicago Conference, part of which is quoted elsewhere in this report. Although assurances have been given that employment would be "maintained and increased," as in the Chicago Agreement, employment has continued to decline. Part-time work has also been on the increase, due to efforts of the employees to distribute available work among the membership in order to give as many as possible an opportunity to earn an existence.

According to reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission, there were 1,686,769 men (including executives and officials) employed by Class 1 railroads in the United States during the year 1929. In 1930, this number was reduced to 1,510,688 while in 1931 only 1,278,175 men were employed, showing reductions since 1929 of 10.4% and 24.2% respectively. Of the 1,108,691 men reported to be working in January of this year, when the Chicago agreement was signed, only 1,047,483 men were employed in June, the last report available, a reduction of 5.5%, which clearly indicates that the employee representatives were absolutely right in predicting that "wage reductions are not the appropriate means to restore prosperity." At the present time, it may be fairly and conservatively estimated that there are over 700,000 railroad workers totally

unemployed and 500,000 working part time. Even with the return of prosperous conditions, only 50% of those now unemployed may reasonably expect to find full time employment, due to displacement caused by technological changes in the industry.

The maintenance of equipment employees (including officials) suffered even more from unemployment. The Interstate Commerce Commission reported 455,858 employees working in 1929, as compared to 344,033 in 1931, a decrease of 111,825 or 24.5%. Since January of this year, the number of employees was reduced from 304,211 to 273,015 reported in June, the last report available. This is a decrease of 31,196 or 10.3%. If the same rate of decrease has continued since June, and indications are that it more than has, there are approximately 257,000 men employed in the maintenance of equipment department on Class 1 railroads, which means that about 200,000 or 44% of those employed in 1929 have been thrown out of work. According to reports coming in from general chairmen, those men who are fortunate enough to be employed are working on the average of only four days per week.

Unemployment in the maintenance of equipment department is reflected in the increase in bad-order rolling-stock, and the decrease in maintenance of equipment expenses and compensation paid to maintenance of equipment forces.

According to figures compiled by the American Railway Association Car Service Division, the number of bad-order freight cars increased from 134,267, or 6.0% of those on line on January 1, 1929, to 187,666 cars, or 8.7% on January 1, 1932. By August 1, 1932, this number increased to 245,749, or 11.5%, as compared to 181,702 cars, or 8.3% on August 1, 1931, and 137,495 cars, or 6.2% on August 1, 1929. The number of bad-order locomotives (awaiting classified repairs) showed an even greater increase. On January 1, 1929, there were 4,380 locomotives in bad-order, or 7.5% of those on line, while on January 1, 1932, this number was increased to 6,990, or 13.0%. By August 1, 1932, there were 8,291 bad-order locomotives or 16.0% of those on line as compared to 5,913 or 10.9% on August 1, 1931, and 4,205, or 7.3% on the same date in 1929. Thus the number of bad-order freight cars increased 78.7% and bad-order locomotives increased 97.2% since August 1, 1929, while the per cent unserviceable increased 85.5% and 199.2% respectively.

On the other hand, maintenance of equipment expenses and compensation paid to maintenance of equipment forces showed a tremendous decline, according to reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Maintenance of Equipment expenses were reduced from \$1,211,342,962 in 1929 to \$829,433,029 in 1931, a decrease of \$381,887,933, or 31.5%. During the first six months of 1932, \$328,310,133 was expended for this purpose as compared with \$441,497,751 spent during the same period in 1931, and \$602,813,030 in 1929. This represents a decrease of \$113,187,618, or 25.6% since 1931, and \$274,502,877 or 45.6% since 1929. Likewise, compensation paid to maintenance of equipment employees declined from \$760,472,016 in 1929 to \$506,255,938 in 1931, which is a decrease of \$254,216,078, or 33.4%. During the first six months of 1932 only \$188,810,971 was paid on compensation as compared to \$272,888,780 paid during the first six months of 1931, and \$377,397,435 paid during the same period in 1929, which is a decrease of \$84,077,809, or 30.8% since 1931, and \$188,586,464 or 50.0% since 1929. The decrease in compensation is greater than the decrease in expenses, indicating that the greater portion of the reduction in expenses came out of the pay envelopes of the employees. Furthermore, the railways would do well to avail themselves of the oppor-

tunity to borrow funds from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in order to rehabilitate their unserviceable equipment and provide men with employment.

The Shorter Work-Day and Work-Week—Like many other organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the Railway Employees' Department has constantly advocated the adoption of the shorter work-day and work-week as the only means of taking up the slack in employment caused by the ever-improving technological changes in the railroad industry.

The efforts of the Railway Employees' Department to obtain a shorter work-period in order to alleviate unemployment date back several years. In 1930, in convention, a carefully worked out "Stabilization of Employment Program" was adopted in which, among other things, a reduction in hours of work was proposed (five-day week of 40 hours). In November, 1931, the Railway Labor Executives' Association, of which the presidents of organizations affiliated with the Department are members, held a conference with a committee of nine railroad presidents for the purpose of discussing a program of employment stabilization which was adopted by the Association. The railway presidents had no authority to negotiate to a conclusion, so, another conference was held in January, 1932, at which time such authority was secured (Chicago Conference). Among other things, the principle of the six-hour day was proposed as a means of relieving unemployment and stabilizing employment.

The Committee of Nine Railroad Presidents refused to accept the proposal, with the result that a resolution (Public Resolution No. 113, 72d Congress), authorizing the Interstate Commerce Commission to investigate the application of the principle of the six-hour day, was introduced in Congress before the conference had ended. Shortly thereafter it was adopted and signed by the President. The Commission was directed in the resolution "to investigate what would be the effect upon operation service, and expenses of applying the principle of the six-hour day in the employment of all classes and each particular class of railway employees because of such application," and to report their findings to Congress on or before December 15, 1932. Commissioners Eastman (Chairman), McManamy and Lee comprised the committee in charge of the investigation.

By way of summarizing the evidence; the carriers and employees were quite generally agreed that the application of the principle of the six-hour day would not affect operation or services adversely. In fact, the employees were of the belief that the six-hour day would improve these factors, as well as increase employment. The only question seemed to be one of cost. The carriers' estimate of increased cost that would result from the application of the six-hour day was about 25%. Although information was not as readily available to the employees in this respect, estimates were made which were considerable lower than this—10% to 13%—which took into account many efficiencies and economies that could be introduced with the principle of the six-hour day that the carriers ignored in making their estimates.

The evidence is still being considered by the Commission. Recently, the Commission proposed to the railways that the six-hour day be tried in actual operation but they refused, which may or may not indicate somewhat the statute of the six-hour day in the railroad industry. Failure in this prompted the Commission to issue a notice that further hearings would be held the latter part of September.

Although a report was looked for much sooner than this, in view of the alarming amount of unemployment in the railroad industry, it appears in the light of the above

circumstances that none will be filed before December 15, the due date, at which time Congress will have the facts and will be able to act intelligently on the six-hour bill for the railway industry, introduced on July 14th by Senator Pittman in the Senate and by Congressman Cresser in the House, and known as Senate Bill S-4980 and House Bill H. R. 12991.

Consolidations—In spite of the unprecedented unemployment already caused by technological improvements in the railroad industry, the railway managements are making a bad situation much worse by advocating and effecting consolidations for the purpose of reducing expenses, which not only throw men out of work, but cause even more far-reaching disaster by removing railway service from communities, built around that industry, and as a result making the property of the workers and others residing in these communities worthless. The tragedy of losing a home after spending a life-time building it cannot be minimized.

One of the largest and most recent consolidations is now in process of completion in the east. The original Five-system Plan for the consolidation of eastern roads submitted by the Interstate Commerce Commission on December 9, 1929, was amended at the suggestion of four large eastern roads—Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company, New York Central Railroad Company and the Pennsylvania Railroad Company—to provide for a Four-system Plan embracing these four railroads. Although approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission was given only tentatively pending the fulfillment of certain requirements the chief of which was the divesting by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company of their control of the New Haven & Boston and Maine Railways, it appears that the Interstate Commerce Commission is ready to yield on most points and little remains in the way of completing the merger except the possible intervention of Congress which is being demanded by the railroad employes and other interests, principally the shippers. But in order to avoid this possibility, the carriers involved are rushing things along in order to effect the consolidation before Congress reconvenes.

While the Four-system Plan was under investigation by the Commission, the railway labor organizations, represented by Donald R. Richberg, counsel, filed a brief with the Commission opposing the Four-system Plan on the ground "that the proposed consolidations will not be in the public interest."

The present position of the railroad labor organizations with respect to consolidations remains unchanged. At a meeting of the Railway Labor Executives' Association held in Cleveland, August 23 and 24, it was decided "to oppose all further consolidations of railroads until additional legislation is passed by Congress protecting the public and the employees against increase of unemployment, property losses and the destruction of community interests through such consolidations. The heads of the railway labor organizations expressed their emphatic opinion that this was no time to advance programs for throwing more men out of work, depriving communities of railway service, and destroying property values, in the name of supposed economies of operation, which would furnish no tangible public benefits but serve only to increase speculators' profit in stock market operations. Counsel was directed to prepare a bill to increase the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission over railroad consolidations in order to give adequate protection to the interests of railway employees and the public."

Legislation—The railway labor organizations were active in the fight for anti-injunction legislation during the last session of Congress. The meaning of this measure

is most significant, particularly to the Federated Crafts by reason of their bitter experience during the shopmen's strike of 1922.

At the present time, two bills are pending before Congress which propose to deal constructively with old age retirement and unemployment in the railroad industry. The first provides for a retirement insurance plan, while the second is the six-hour day bill (mentioned elsewhere in this report) which is designed to relieve the unemployment caused by technological improvements and consolidations, which it is reasonable to assume will continue to be a permanent menace in any event unless relieved by a shorter work-day. The railway organizations plan to seek early action on these measures when Congress reconvenes in December.

LEGAL INFORMATION BUREAU

The Legal Information Bureau has continued its excellent work in disseminating legal decisions of interest to Labor. Bulletins have been issued regularly up to and including the month of August, 1932. At this time, however, it was found necessary to discontinue temporarily the publication of these bulletins because of financial stringency. As soon as the necessity for this retrenchment is over, the bulletins will be re-published. In the meantime, decisions relating to Labor are being secured and filed for reference use in the headquarters office. Such decisions may be had upon request from our affiliated organizations.

Meanwhile, the columns of the American Federationist will be open to a synopsis and discussion of such important labor cases as will be decided during the discontinuance of the Bulletin.

The decisions which have been published cover many different topics. Included among them are decisions referring to workmen's compensation with particular reference to the question of whether a worker is engaged in interstate commerce at the time of the injury and the constitutionality of prevailing rate of wage laws.

However, by far, in our opinion, the most important utterance which has been made by the United States Supreme Court during the past year is contained in the striking dissenting opinion filed by Mr. Justice Brandeis in a case entitled the New State Ice Company vs. Liebmann published in the May, 1932, Legal Information Bulletin and reported in Vol. 52, Supreme Court Reporter, at page 371. A careful reading of the entire dissenting opinion is recommended to all and in particular, the following language, because of its prophetic character and its application to present-day industrial conditions, is republished for the information of all:

The people of the United States are now confronted with an emergency more serious than war. Misery is wide-spread in a time, not of scarcity, but of over-abundance. The long-continued depression has brought unprecedented unemployment, a catastrophic fall in commodity prices and a volume of economic losses which threatens our financial institutions. Some people believe that the existing conditions threaten even the stability of the capitalistic system. Economists are searching for the causes of this disorder and are reexamining the basis of our industrial structure. Business men are seeking possible remedies. Most of them realize that failure to distribute widely the profits of industry has been a prime cause of our present plight. But rightly or wrongly, many persons think that one of the major contributing causes has been unbridled competition. Increasingly, doubt is expressed whether it is economically wise, or morally right, that men should be permitted to add to the producing facilities of an industry which is already suffering from over-capacity. In justification of that doubt, men point to the excess-capacity of our productive facilities resulting from their vast expansion without corresponding increase in the consumptive

capacity of the people. They assert that through improved methods of manufacture, made possible by advances in science and invention and vast accumulation of capital, our industries had become capable of producing from thirty to one hundred per cent more than was consumed even in days of vaunted prosperity; and that the present capacity will for a long time exceed the needs of business. All agree that irregularity in employment—the greatest of our evils—cannot be overcome unless production and consumption are more nearly balanced. Many insist there must be some form of economic control. There are plans for proration. There are many proposals for stabilization. And some thoughtful men of wide business experience insist that all projects for stabilization and proration must prove futile unless in some way, the equivalent of the certificate of public convenience and necessity is made a prerequisite to embarking new capital in an industry in which the capacity already exceeds the production schedules.

Whether that view is sound nobody knows. The objections to the proposal are obvious and grave. The remedy might bring evils worse than the present disease. The obstacles to success seem insuperable. The economic and social sciences are largely uncharted seas. We have been none too successful in the modest essays in economic control already entered upon. The new proposal involves a vast extension of the area of control. Merely to acquire the knowledge essential as a basis for the exercise of this multitude of judgments would be a formidable task; and each of the thousands of these judgments would call for some measure of prophecy. Even more serious are the obstacles to success inherent in the demands which execution of the project would make upon human intelligence and upon the character of men. Man is weak and his judgment is at best fallible.

Yet the advances in the exact sciences and the achievements in invention remind us that the seemingly impossible sometimes happens. There are many men now living who were in the habit of using the age-old expression: "It is as impossible as flying." The discoveries in physical science, the triumphs in invention, attest the value of the process of trial and error. In large measure, these advances have been due to experimentation. In those fields experimentation has, for two centuries, been not only free but encouraged. Some people assert that our present plight is due, in part, to the limitations set by courts upon experimentation in the fields of social and economic science; and to the discouragement to which proposals for betterment there have been subjected otherwise. There must be power in the states and the nation to remould, through experimentation, our economic practices and institutions to meet changing social and economic needs. I cannot believe that the framers of the Fourteenth Amendment, or the states which ratified it, intended to deprive us of the power to correct the evils of technological unemployment and excess productive capacity which have attended progress in the useful arts.

To stay experimentation in things social and economic is a grave responsibility. Denial of the right to experiment may be fraught with serious consequences to the nation. It is one of the happy incidents of the federal system that a single courageous state may, if its citizens choose, serve as a laboratory; and try novel social and economic experiments without risk to the rest of the country. This court has the power to prevent an experiment. We may strike down the statute which embodies it on the ground that, in our opinion, the measure is arbitrary, capricious or unreasonable. We have power to do this, because the due process clause has been held by the court applicable to matters of substantive law as well as to matters of procedure. But in the exercise of this high power, we must be ever on our guard, lest we erect our prejudices into legal principles. If we would guide by the light of reason, we must let our minds be bold."

PATENT LAW ADJUSTMENT

The last convention recommended that a continued study be given to the proposed adjustment of patent laws to offset destructive effects of automatic machinery and scientific processes. Your Executive Council has done this but no satisfactory solution has as yet been worked out. Your Executive Council is giving and will continue to give further and detailed study to this subject.

PUERTO RICO

This report covers the activities of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico from the month of September, 1931, to and including September, 1932.

The most significant labor event during this years was the preparation and celebration of the Twelfth Labor Congress, which took place during the 6th, 7th and 8th of September, 1931, at San Juan, together with the Labor Day celebration. On this occasion important statements were made by the ex-Governor of Puerto Rico, Hon. Theodore Roosevelt; Prudencio Rivera Martinez, Commissioner of Labor; Dr. A. Fernos Isern, Commissioner of Health; Dr. Jose Padin, Commissioner of Education; Juan M. Herrero, President of the Industrial Commission; Francisco Paz Granela, Industrial Commissioner; Rafael Rios, Chief of the Bureau of Commerce and Santiago Iglesias, President of the Free Federation of Workingmen.

The Twelfth Labor Congress undertook the study of the great problems affecting the Puerto Rican community, especially the producing class, and passed a resolution placing greater stress upon labor propaganda and education through organization. It authorized its Executive Council to organize unions under a special apprentice or training system, with dues in consonance with the prevailing industrial and agricultural unrest, so that apprentices may stabilize their lives before applying for admission to the respective national or international unions.

Periodicals, magazines and newspapers of the national and international unions and of the American Federation of Labor are used by an information bureau, and translations from English to Spanish are made for publication in the daily press of Puerto Rico. This work of public information is carried out for the purpose of enlightening the workers and public opinion in general as to the principles and activities of organized labor in the United States.

The Department of Labor and the Free Federation—The hopes of the Free Federation with regard to the creation and functioning of the Department of Labor and its beneficial and renovating influence have not been in vain.

The Twelfth Legislature, during its second special session (1931) and its fourth regular session (1932), passed the following acts which extend the field of usefulness of the Department:

Act No. 4. To authorize the treasurer of Puerto Rico, with the approval of the Governor of Puerto Rico, to issue bonds of the people of Puerto Rico for the purpose of purchasing lands to be devoted to agricultural farms under the provisions of the homestead law; to provide for the payment of principal of and interest on said bonds, to repeal Act No. 9 of April 15, 1930, as amended, by Act No. 41 of April 24, 1931, and for other purposes.

Act No. 13. To amend Sections 2 and 10 of an act to determine the procedure in cases of claims of workers and employees against their employers for compensation for their work, approved November 14, 1917, and for other purposes.

Act No. 16. To amend Section 9 of an act to prevent, and aid in the settlement of, strikes and lockouts, approved June 3, 1919, and for other purposes.

Act No. 36. To amend Sections 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, and 14, and to reveal Sections 5 and 11, of Act No. 13, entitled an act to regulate the operation and handling of cinematograph machines, and for other purposes, approved July 3, 1923.

Act No. 37. To amend Sections 2 and 3 of an act to prevent and aid in the settlement of strikes and lockouts, approved June 3, 1919, as subsequently amended, and for other purposes.

The services rendered by the Department of Labor during the fiscal year 1931-32, may be better appreciated through a consideration of the following facts:

Strikes and Controversies—The Mediation and Conciliation Commission intervened in 44 cases, affecting 4,306 men and 2,260 women, engaged in the following occupations: sugar cane planting, tobacco stripping, cigar making, public works, bakeries, needlework, longshoremen, hat manufacture, fertilizer manufacture.

Wage Claim and Protection Bureau—Workingmen have collected through this Bureau the sum of \$16,568.00 on account of 1,260 claims presented against employers; and at the end of June claims amounting to \$14,209.93 were pending.

Workmen's Compensation Service—Through this branch of the service which is in charge of the Industrial Commission, 18,838 cases were settled, as follows:

Deaths.....	47
Permanent total disability.....	11
Permanent partial disability.....	1,377
Temporary disability.....	16,106
Other cases.....	1,297

Organized labor has been, and is keenly watching the manner in which this service is carried out. It has been constantly represented both in the former Workmen's Compensation Commission and in the present Industrial Commission. This is one of the most important services to workingmen, but it has been under financial difficulties, as shown at the Twelfth Labor Congress held September, 1931, when it was reported that the sum of nearly \$400,000.00 was due to workers on account of compensation and weekly payments, as well as for hospital expenses, medical services, medicines and lodging.

Such conditions, set forth in detail before the Twelfth Labor Congress by authorized officials, caused the adoption of a resolution requesting the Governor of Puerto Rico to give prompt and adequate remedy.

Conditions have not improved up to the present, but there are well founded reasons to expect that at the regular session of the legislature to be held February, 1933, measures will be adopted for a solution of the problem in favor of the victims of industrial accidents.

Our National Status—Labor has declared its support for the indivisible association and unification of the people of the island with the people of the United States and has declared also that such association and unification had given to the people of Puerto Rico American institutions of freedom, the help of civilization and progress, is the right to avoid in the future oppression and despotism on the part of those who are claiming to be the masters of our island.

Puerto Rico Labor favors every political advancement for the island, but it is more concerned in bettering the economic conditions of the masses of the people. President

Green was asked to present the following plank in behalf of the workers and people in general of Puerto Rico at the Republican and Democratic conventions:

Since Puerto Rico is a part of the United States with over 1,500,000 inhabitants who are American citizens, we believe that the spirit of its people and the purposes of its Organic Act are entitled recognition in good faith, and that therefore, Congress and the President should include the island in all legislative and administrative federal measures enacted or adopted for the economic rehabilitation of their fellow citizens of the mainland.

The American Federation of Labor succeeded in obtaining the incorporation of the above plank in the Republican platform. The American Federation of Labor has always been in favor of such fair recognition and has opposed every intent of the reactionary element of the island who has appeared before Congress with the purpose of restricting the constitution of the island as against the rights of the people politically, economically and otherwise.

PAN-AMERICAN LABOR RELATIONS

Our relations with the various labor movements of Latin American nations through the Pan-American Federation of Labor have continued to be mutually satisfactory. We have been able to be helpful in numerous occasions, more than justifying our participation in the Pan-American Federation of Labor and offering conclusive reasons for its continuance and enlargement.

It has not been possible to hold a convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor during recent years owing to existing economic condition, continued political revolutions, and military uprisings that have taken place.

Through the Pan-American Federation of Labor we have consistently sought to develop understanding between the masses of the people of our own country and the countries to the south. We are convinced that our efforts have been fruitful.

Notwithstanding the special and economic conditions in which the Pan-American Federation of Labor is developing its activities, we are doing everything possible to help our brothers below the Rio Grande and to interest and induce the workingmen of the various Pan-American countries to organize, to federate nationally, and to combine and affiliate internationally.

It is also true that the lack of strength of the labor organizations and the recent reactionary and military revolutions and political disturbances in various countries have completely absorbed in many cases the sentiments and moral authority of the labor movements to defend themselves against new reactions and new military powers.

For years the American Federation of Labor has advocated a closer relationship between the peoples of the western hemisphere. The Panama Canal opened new trade routes, new markets, and, therefore, new industrial and commercial opportunities, and with them the necessity for closer ideals of solidarity and cooperation.

If as a nation we have a true conception of the value of human life, we ought to make human relations of chief concern in all our plans. The Pan-American Federation of Labor was created to stand for human welfare and human rights among the various countries of the western hemisphere. It always has helped in the battles of the weak and cleared the path for progress in order that all the toilers of Pan-America may join in the forward movement towards freedom.

We deem it wise to urge at the present time the continuation of special efforts and

policies to draw together more closely in fraternal relationship the workers of the North and South American continents.

Through the Pan-American Federation of Labor efforts have been put forth to assist and to help the labor movements in Columbia, Cuba, Mexico, Santa Domingo and other Latin-American countries. Assistance and advice have been given the representatives of organized labor in these Pan-American countries through correspondence which passed between their representatives and the president and secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. Such assistance and help will be continued through personal contact and correspondence on the part of the representatives of the labor organizations affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor and the officers of said organizations.

CONCLUSION

In ending our report we summarize our various suggestions as proposals to put order into present chaos. Intelligent living requires order and wise utilization of material resources for the promotion of human welfare. Our organized labor movement is the constructive agency that must enable the producers to share equitably in economic and social progress so that progress for the nation may be stable and effective.

The primary obligation that rests upon us is to spread the gospel of unionism, and thus secure the strength that will make our cause a power for progress and humanity. We urge, therefore, a revival of organization activities and everywhere the purpose to rally to the standard of unionism—united to protect all.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN, *President.*
 FRANK DUFFY, *First Vice-President.*
 T. A. RICKERT, *Second Vice-President.*
 MATTHEW WOLL, *Third Vice-President.*
 JAMES WILSON, *Fourth Vice-President.*
 JOHN COEFIELD, *Fifth Vice-President.*
 ARTHUR O. WHARTON, *Sixth Vice-President.*
 JOSEPH N. WEBER, *Seventh Vice-President.*
 G. M. BUGNIAZET, *Eighth Vice-President.*
 MARTIN FRANCIS RYAN, *Treasurer.*
 FRANK MORRISON, *Secretary.*
Executive Council
American Federation of Labor.

President Green: The officers and members of the American Federation of Labor are gratified at the fact that ever since the formation of the American Legion, a powerful organization made up of ex-service men, we have maintained a most cordial, friendly, fraternal relationship between this great organization and the American Federation of Labor. My distinguished predecessor and your great leader, President Gompers, met with the officers of the American Legion when it was launched and developed—an understanding that has remained with us ever since. That fact does not mean nor cannot be interpreted as meaning that there does not exist difference of opinion and difference in points of view as between members of the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor upon matters of public interest, but it is most pleasing and most gratifying that we find ourselves very largely in accord upon those great economic questions which so vitally affect the well being and happiness of the nation.

The Commander of the American Legion, I am sure, will refer to these matters and will tell you about it. It has been my good pleasure to visit two conventions of the American Legion and carry the message of Labor to the officers and members of the Legion. Only last September the American Legion convention was held in Portland, that busy city located on the Pacific Coast in the Northwest. It was impossible for me to accept the very cordial invitation extended to meet with the officers and members of the American Legion at that time, but we were very fortunate. I called upon a Legionnaire, an ex-service man, an outstanding representative of a great organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, to represent the American Federation of Labor at the Convention in Portland. He did so, and I have received most splendid reports of the fine, fraternal feeling that was developed between the American Legion and Labor in the Northwest, as well as local labor in Portland. Brother David Beck was our representative, and he represented us at the American Legion convention in a most satisfactory and pleasing way.

The National Commander, Mr. Johnson accepted our invitation to come here. He is here now. We are glad to have him here. We want to cultivate and develop the fraternal relationship that exists between these two great organizations, representing such a great

cross section of the American public. I present to you now Mr. Louis A. Johnson, National Commander of the American Legion.

MR. LOUIS A. JOHNSON

(National Commander, American Legion)

Mr. President, my friends—I am very happy to come to this great organization today as an ambassador of good will to speak to you for our one million members and our 500,000 auxiliary members. First I want to express to you the appreciation of the way in which the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion have co-operated in the past. Here on your platform I want to voice the hope that not alone throughout my administration, but throughout the years there may be that continuous co-operation and sympathy.

May I first take occasion to pay my respects to that patriotic American, your President, Mr. Green, and also to Mr. Morrison, your Secretary, and to Mr. Matthew Woll, your Vice-President, with whom we have had such happy contacts. May I, on behalf of these million men for whom I speak today, call you, the American Federation of Labor, my friends, our friends.

In this simple form of greeting a sermon is told, because of the many purposes and ideals that are held in common by you whom I am privileged to call my friends and by you who are Legionnaires. There are many Legionnaires gathered here before me, I know, not here as members of the Legion, but as loyal members of your own Convention, finding it proper, consistent and in keeping with the best there is in American citizenship to carry cards in both organizations and to follow the banners of both together.

The friendship and co-operation of the Legion and organized labor has grown stronger with each succeeding year. There has just come to my personal attention a bit of information that I believe you will be glad to hear and that illustrates in a practical way the friendship, esteem and respect which the national organization of the Legion officially holds for you. It is a letter from Portland, Oregon, where the Legion's national convention was held recently and where many of you present as Legionnaires, had the pleasure of welcoming and greeting Mr. Dave Beck, who addressed our Convention as the personal representative of President Green. The letter reads:

"At the regular meeting of Multnomah Typographical Union, held on Sunday, September 11, I was instructed to express to you the thanks of our members and also the members of the various Allied Printing Trades unions for your liberal use of the Allied Label upon the printed matter for the recent Legion Convention. The friendliness of the American Legion toward organized labor, as expressed by your use of the Allied Label has brought forth many expressions of appreciation from members of the labor movement.

"Inclosed you will find a booklet which will tell you in an interesting way of the many humanitarian accomplishments and purposes of the International Typographical Union.

"You will find that the American Legion and

our organization have many things in common, in attempting to improve the conditions of those who comprise the working class."

That letter, I might add, has been placed in our permanent files at national headquarters as "Exhibit A" in answer to anyone who, through misunderstanding or malice, seeks to lessen the whole-hearted good will that exists and has existed for many years.

But this is only a passing incident of day-by-day cordiality and co-operation. There are higher and broader objectives toward which our forces are marching together and must continue to see alike if the greatest ideals which we both hold dear are to be maintained.

As I recall the words of that grand old man of organized labor, Samuel Gompers, when he stood before our national Legion Convention in New Orleans in 1922 and inaugurated the policy of exchanging such visits as I am having the honor to enjoy here today, there comes to me a realization that his words, indeed, were prophetic.

He said then, in substance, that if there be two organizations in all America upon whose manhood and womanhood depends the future of the Republic of the United States, it is The American Legion and The American Federation of Labor.

Today the responsibility of the leadership, the influence and the daily example of faith and patriotism in American institutions is upon us in greater degree than few of us could have realized was possible a dozen years ago. The greatest problem that faces America today, in all its ramifications, whether they be trade, banking, industry, transportation, agriculture, politics or economics, is the employment of labor in the last and final analysis.

This is a most direct and vital problem of your organization. Aside from its humanitarian side, it likewise is a direct and vital challenge to the American Legion from a purely patriotic side. The American Legion joined hands with organized labor, industry and other elements in our national life last year in meeting that challenge to the best of our combined abilities. More than one million jobs, in one way or another, were created, found or inspired through such joint action. While many millions of dollars found their way into the pockets of deserving and destitute families through that war on depression, and while the magnificent effort did brighten the dark clouds and did renew the confidence of our American people to the point of starting the upward climb to normalcy, we must realize that the fundamental causes have not yet been cured.

In an address before our Legion Convention in Portland, Mr. Beck of the American Federation said, in part:

"The American Federation of Labor has pointed the path to prosperous conditions based upon the fundamental principle of a shorter week and shorter working day. Ours is not a depression based upon shortage. Our people are not starving because we cannot produce, but we are facing the unparalleled condition of millions being in want while the great warehouses of our land are overflowing with produce."

In keeping with that statement is the employment program adopted by that Legion Con-

vention as a major activity of our 10,592 posts for the next 12 months, in which the Legion indorses the principle of job security by job sharing. The mandate declares for co-operation in the work undertaken by the Banking and Industrial Committees of the 12 Federal Reserve districts. Its purpose is to put into nation-wide operation methods of sharing the work and service per day and per week as shall assure employment to the largest possible number of those who depend for their livelihood upon salaries and wages.

We urge that wages and salaries of all who toil be such as will not only permit the great mass of our people to live in decency and comfort, but as will constantly enlarge the buying power of our people and thus enhance our domestic market. We will continue the campaign to promote the rebuilding of public confidence in our government and business institutions, to bring hoarded money into circulation and to induce re-employment through industries revived by normal buying power.

We realize that the large number of persons employed by railroads is a vital factor of the business world which they represent. We know they have had their efficiency impaired by adverse conditions that tend to increase unemployment. The Legion is urging that these arteries of transportation be fostered and preserved in full vigor through an intelligent and liberal administration of the laws governing them.

Mr. Beck said at Portland that the American Federation of Labor has consistently maintained from the date of the inception of this great depression that a great public works program must be inaugurated. The Legion Convention approved of continuing the encouragement of all efforts and activities designed to promote required and desirable public and private improvements.

I would like to tell you briefly of other major endeavors in which the American Legion will be engaged this year, particularly the question of immigration in which the American Federation of Labor also is vitally interested.

The Legion always has and always will place the proper care of our disabled veterans as Number One on our program. This we call rehabilitation. I shan't go into all the details of that. You know that there is much misrepresentation abroad in this fair land of ours at the present time. You know that Admiral Byrd is going from coast to coast making the statement that the tax cost to the United States is fifteen billions of dollars. That figure refers to the cost of all government, local, state and federal; remember that, because the cost of the disabled veterans comes not from the big part of that fifteen billions in taxation, which the average American pays. It comes from a comparatively small part of the federal income tax and other federal taxes, which the average American does not pay directly as he does his local and state taxes, only 1 per cent of our American people paying any income tax at all, and those that do can well afford it from net profits of the year.

In the last 10-year period the federal taxes have decreased in these United States. Bear in mind it is out of the federal taxes that the

payment of the veterans comes. In 10 years ending in 1930, this reduction of federal taxes was \$1,437,000,000, and during that same 10-year period, local and state taxes increased \$2,865,000,000—twice the amount of the decrease of the federal, until the federal taxes constituted only one-third as against two-thirds for the state and local. In 1932 the local and state taxes—and I am using the National Economy League's own figures—have become almost three-fourths of the total.

Therefore, out of virtually one-fourth of all taxes and partly out of that which the big income tax payers turn over to the government as a just but comparatively small slice of their profits for the year, the disabled veterans received less than one-fourth. Now let me tell this in another way. The veterans received less than one-sixteenth of the total taxation, but virtually none from 99 per cent of taxpayers—less than one-fourth of 1 per cent who pay income and other federal taxes.

The 1930 census shows that there are 29,904,000 families in this country. The number owning their own homes is given as 14,002,000, or 46.8 per cent. Fifteen million rent their homes, pay taxes, local and state on what they own, and no direct federal taxes. There are 1.9 per cent upon which there is no information and we can assume they are renters. Bearing in mind that the local and state taxes fall on all these homeowners and renters and owners of other property what about the federal taxes whence comes the amounts paid to veterans and which, despite the payments to veterans, have dropped the enormous amount I called to your attention?

In 1928, the greatest year of prosperity in the United States, 4,070,000 people paid federal income tax. Of that number, 4,028,000, or exactly 99 per cent—all but 1 per cent—paid only one-fifth of the taxes, or \$256,000,000, and those 99 per cent, averaged \$64 on the federal income tax, providing he had an average net income of \$4,670. Take off that \$64 and the income after paying the federal tax is \$4,606, and he is not hurt very much.

Now the other 1 per cent, the 42,000 people left that constitute that 1 per cent, have incomes exceeding \$50,000, actually averaging \$150,000. After deducting their income tax to the federal government, they still have left \$127,000 and the total income of that group of 1 per cent is \$6,309,000,000. For each dollar paid by that other group, the small paying group, or 1 per cent, the big profit people, paid \$330. This shows you whence the greater portion of the federal funds comes and likewise it shows to you whence comes the opposition to taking care of the disabled veteran.

In a speech made by Admiral Byrd, taken down at my request, he says, in one sentence, "Our purpose is to cut down total taxation, local state and federal, 25 per cent. Taxes must come down."

With that statement generally we would agree. May I say to you that Admiral Byrd said in this same statement that he was a Legionnaire and proud of it, and I quote again, "I want to say to you again that I believe in the veterans and I believe in the

Legion. I am Commander of a Legion post and I am proud of it." Thanks to him for that!

Farther back in his speech he makes this statement, "Now, about the veterans: Unfortunately, by misrepresentation, it has gotten about that this is simply an attack on veterans." And then he proceeds to deny it. Admiral Byrd is a distinguished son of a distinguished family. I have nought to say against him except that I believe that unwittingly and unintentionally he is the stalking horse for the 1 per cent of the veterans of America, and to prove that to you, I now read from Archibald Roosevelt, secretary of the same organization for which Admiral Byrd appears.

I quote from "The New Outlook": "The United States must and shall pay its debts even though following new and false gods of political philosophy we have foolishly increased these debts to staggering proportions. Only small cuts can be obtained from the Army and Navy in the present state of world affairs. The public works program is a definite policy of relief and no immediate cut is available there. There remains, therefore, only the veterans."

The spokesman of that organization speaks, and says, "There remains, therefore, only the veterans." And while Admiral Byrd is out paying his respects and his compliments to the American Legion there appears in print from the pen of Archibald Roosevelt, the secretary of that organization, the statement, that in reducing taxes, there remains, therefore, only the veterans.

Let me read from the Congressional Record of May 18, 1932, Page 10, 903, Volume 75, No. 136: "Mr. Archibald Roosevelt heads the self-styled National Economy League committee which wants to reduce veterans' relief. In 1930 the Roosevelt Steamship Co., of which Mr. Roosevelt was part owner and a director secured by a 10-year contract from the government to carry the mail from Baltimore to Hamburg. The distance is 4,077 miles. The contract price is \$6 a mile for 52 trips a year which amounts to \$24,462 a trip or \$1,272,014 a year. The service commenced July 1, 1931. To date the government has actually paid by reason of that contract the sum of \$807,246. Other steamship lines would have rendered the same service for not to exceed \$28,246. Therefore Mr. Roosevelt's company received a gift from the government amounting to \$779,004. One of their vessels went from New York by Plymouth to London a short time ago. It carried two pounds of letters. The statutory price for such service is 80 cents a pound. The Roosevelt received the contract price of \$6 a mile, \$20,214 for the trip or a gift of more than \$20,212. Another steamship company during the last fiscal year rendered service of the value of \$95 but received from the government for this service the sum of \$607,792.50."

I have nothing further to say about Mr. Roosevelt.

Second only to the Legion paramount program for the disabled, come the care and welfare of the dependents of veterans, that pitiful class of little children and widowed mothers who seek to keep a family together when the

head of that family passes on. I will not dwell on more of the Legion fight that is ahead of us this year and next year, except to call attention to the problem of immigration, in which I know the American Federation of Labor is much interested.

The creed of the American Legion on immigration, save maybe for the few relatives who should be admitted, is that there are not enough jobs in America to go round now and that that pauper, that diseased person and that criminal who in these trying days would come to these shores as candidates for our hospitals and poor houses and jails ought to be kept at home, and that that one from foreign shores already here who does not respect that flag as you and I do and is not willing to fight for it should be sent home at the earliest practical moment.

And may I right here, Mr. President, say a word with reference to the Communist, because more than anything else, upon the American Federation and upon the American Legion devolves the battle against Communism which is finding, I fear and I know, fertile soil in certain places. On August 9 I made a speech in Atlanta, Georgia, and in that speech I said something which three days later, when I called on President Hoover, as is the custom and duty of all National commanders, calling solely to pay the respects of a million men, I repeated:—

"The mandates of the National Convention held in Portland recently on both the immediate payment of adjusted compensation and the prohibition question are written in plain words. When the proper and effective time comes, those mandates will be carried out and every Legion official, member and organization will be requested and expected to support the will of the majority as expressed by that convention. Neither is a political question so far as the Legion is concerned, and they will not be allowed to draw the Legion into politics at this time."

I gave out that statement from the steps of the White House and it was sent out by every wire service in the country. Nevertheless, three days later The Daily Worker, the official paper, of the Communist Party in America, with a rather wide circulation, came out with this statement:

"Louis A. Johnson, National Commander of the American Legion, spent twenty minutes in secret session with President Hoover today at the White House. Although the reason of the White House visit was not openly revealed, it is obvious that the Legion leader came here to assure Hoover that he would do his utmost to fight against the bonus, despite the fact that the Legion rank and file voted for immediate payment."

A typical lie out of whole cloth, typical of the paper that published it.

There are three reasons why that paper is sore at the American Legion. The first is that the American Legion went on record at the Portland convention as opposing the enactment into law of the Griffin Bill, which would permit aliens to become citizens of America without taking an oath to bear arms for this country in time of war.

The second was that the Legion passed an-

other resolution at Portland demanding that this country not recognize Russia until such time as the Soviet should discontinue its present policy of carrying on propaganda to overthrow this Government by force of arms.

Thirdly, that at that convention we adopted a resolution asking Congress to appropriate funds and authorize the Department of Justice to investigate Communism.

These are the three things they object to, and in the last three or four issues of the Daily Worker they have come out with the statement that on December 5 there will begin another bonus march on Washington and that the American Legion is co-operating therein. Here in this sound body let me say to you that the American Legion has not approved that march, will not approve a bonus march on Washington, and, in fact, thoroughly disapproves of such a march. That is our position on that and our answer to the Communists.

Lastly, I want to add that the American Legion is committed to urge the repeal of the 18th Amendment, and committed in no uncertain terms. It is time to end the tragic farce of prohibition and return to our American people the keeping of their own morals, or what morals we have left from this experiment of being your brother's keeper, noble as it may have been. If we do not let our people keep their own morals they will be entirely absorbed by the bootleggers. And that is our policy on that. There are those who are today criticizing the American Legion for that policy.

In the house of my friends may I tell a story. The American Legion is not a temporary organization. When we pass on, the Sons of the Legion, now being formed, will carry on. Just before I went to Portland I attended a political convention in my home town. We agreed on the temporary chairman and the keynoter, but we could not agree on the permanent chairman, and it was decided that would be fought out on the floor. After the keynoter had done his stuff and we had reached the point of election of the permanent chairman he called for that order of business. A man over by the door got up and said, "Mr. Chairman, I move you that the temporary organization be made permanent." The leader of the opposition faction over on the other side jumped to his feet and said, "Sit down, sit down, Bill, you're drunk; you don't know what you are doing, you don't know the difference between temporary and permanent." Like a flash Bill came back: "The hell I don't, I'm drunk—that temporary. You're a d— fool, that's permanent."

With grateful appreciation for this opportunity of appearing before you and here publicly, as I have in private, asking your President to be our guest at Chicago next year at what will be the greatest convention in the history of the American Legion, an invitation I now renew, may I close by asking you, despite the critics of the American Legion, to have faith in the Legion, and let me tell you in conclusion one other story, a true story of the World War, a story of Messines Ridge—and I see men before me who know something about that. The Germans held Messines Ridge. The

Canadians and Australians, than whom there were no better soldiers, were ordered to take it. There were tons and tons of dynamite placed in the top of that mountain to blow it away. At the zero hour the top of the mountain was blown away and those gallant Canadians and Australians went forward to the attack. As they went up the mountain side a young Canadian captain was brought down by shrapnel fire and he crawled into the nearest shell hole. When the day was ended the Germans still held Messines Ridge and the lines of the Australians and Canadians formed as best they could at the foot of the mountain.

A young fellow came to his commanding officer and said, "Sir, my brother was brought down by shrapnel fire this morning. I ask your permission to go up the mountain side and bring down his body."

The captain, being somewhat hard boiled, said, "No, you cannot go. No one can live there on that mountain side tonight."

But the young fellow was insistent and finally won the permission he asked, and dodging from one shell hole to another and taking advantage of such shelter as the terrain would give, he went up the mountain side, found his brother and brought the body down. He laid him on the ground and realized that he was dead. He said a prayer for the departed soul and then in the awful stillness of that moment he realized that some one was near him. Turning, he saw his commanding officer who said, "Buddy, he's dead!"

"Yes, Captain, he's dead!"

"I told you not to go, that you would be sorry."

But with as fine a smile as ever lighted a human countenance the young fellow looked up at his commanding officer and said, "No, Captain, I am not sorry. As I went over the side of that shell hole I knew that Brother Bill was dying, because his face was pale, his eyes were closed. But as I tried to lift him on my shoulder it seemed to arouse him. He opened his eyes and looked up at me and said, 'Oh, John, I knew you'd come!' And, Captain, I would rather have gone to the top of that mountain and been killed in the attempt than to have had my brother believe in me in vain."

To you, my friends of the American Federation of Labor, may I say that in this year of our Lord, the National Commander and the Department Commanders and the Post Commanders of the American Legion are going forward serving the same spirit in which we served in 1917 and 1918, that there are but two guide posts of our organization this year, those fixed by our constitution—God on the one hand and country on the other, and we should rather die, my friends, than to fail to keep faith with those two guide posts—God and country.

God speed you. Have a good convention.

President Green: Commander Johnson, I wish to express to you in behalf of your friends here, the officers and delegates in attendance at this great Convention, our deep appreciation of your visit and of the inspiring address which you have just delivered. We

feel that truly there must develop between these two organizations a bond of friendship and co-operation that will be for the public interest and for the public good.

There were many workers enlisted in the service of our country in the great war. We have thousands of Legionnaires members of the American labor movement. They are loyal, staunch trade unionists, and in addition they are loyal members, many of them, of the American Legion. They form the link in the chain of friendship which must ever hold the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor together. We will have advocates in both camps. They will always be present.

We enjoyed your visit very much. It will be our purpose to be represented at your next great convention which will be held, as I understand, in Chicago, and in reciprocal fashion, may I extend to you and to your constituents a cordial invitation to either you or the next Commander, whoever he may be, to attend the next convention of the American Federation of Labor wherever it may be held?

Thank you for your visit.

President Green: The Chair begs leave to announce the appointment of the following committees. Secretary Morrison will read the list.

Secretary Morrison read the following:

Committee on Executive Council Report—James Wilson, George L. Berry, Thomas Kennedy, Wm. L. Hutcheson, F. H. Knight, Edward Flore, J. J. Hynes, Andrew Furuseth, James C. Shanessy, Martin Lawlor, John J. Mara, Andrew J. Fallon, Charles Sumner, Henry W. Strickland, Jos. P. Ryan, Chas. Rau.

Committee on Resolutions—Matthew Woll, Victor A. Olander, George W. Perkins, A. A. Myrup, J. A. Franklin, John L. Lewis, Thomas L. Hughes, John Possehl, P. J. Morrin, J. L. Wines, Charles P. Howard, Clarence E. Swick, M. J. Collieran, W. V. Price, John Sullivan, J. C. Lewis.

Committee on Laws—Martin F. Ryan, Dennis Lane, Joseph Kehoe, A. J. Kusler, Thomas F. McMahon, Charles Anderson, Frank Doyle, Thomas C. Cashen, M. Duncan, Thomas Flynn, James Close, Max Zaritsky, Thomas Connelly, John B. Schulte, Fred J. Dempsey, Lester W. Royer, Edward I. Hannah.

Committee on Organization—Frank Duffy, E. J. Manion, John P. Burke, James Starr, Wm. E. Maloney, Patrick H. Reagan, George M. Harrison, E. J. Volz, Oscar F. Nelson, D. F. Cleary, P. F. Petersen, An-

drew J. Kennedy, W. A. O'Keefe, A. E. D'Andrea, Wm. Turnblazer, Harry Dubecker.

Committee on Labels—John J. Manning, C. A. Weaver, Gust Soderberg, Roy C. Cline, Harry McLaughlin, Joseph Obergfell, Wm. Collins, Peter Beisel, Harry Kaufman, James F. Burke, Wm. Campbell, Anthony Merlino, Robert Bruck, Emil Rieve, Michael J. Kelly, Alexander Rose.

Committee on Adjustment—T. A. Rickert, James Maloney, Roy Horn, John F. McNamara, J. B. Etchison, Charles L. Bagley, H. B. Perham, Philip Murray, W. D. Mahon, F. H. Fljozdal, M. F. Tighe, Wm. C. Elliott, J. P. McLaughlin, M. F. Greene, H. H. Broach, R. M. Burr, Robert T. McCoy.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies—Joseph N. Weber, L. E. Swartz, J. O. Holmgren, Jos. M. Marshall, R. R. McInroy, James B. Connors, John C. Sweeney, Edw. Bietetz, A. Adamski, James C. Quinn, C. C. Coulter, John R. O'Connell, R. E. Woodmansee, L. J. Nolan, Wm. C. Birthright, J. H. Cookman, Wm. H. Clendinning.

Committee on Education—A. O. Wharton, Florence Curtis Hanson, L. P. Lindelof, Thomas E. Burke, Wm. R. Trotter, M. T. Finnan, John B. Haggerty, Robert Morgan, John N. Bishop, Robert Watt, W. A. McKay, P. T. Fagan, Harry J. Steeper, R. G. Soderstrom, W. M. Collins, John E. Gross, Geo. V. Fay.

Committee on State Organizations—G. M. Bugniet, Wm. McCarthy, John Boylan, Jerry Horan, J. M. Gillespie, Patrick Gorman, Herbert Rivers, Wm. E. Walter, George Poll, George W. Lawson, Joseph Reed, John P. Redmond, Frank X. Martel, J. Goldstone, T. N. Taylor, J. B. Prewitt.

Committee on Industrial Relations—John Coefield, Charles D. Duffy, Wm. P. Walsh, Charles J. Case, Edw. Canavan, John C. McDonald, Samuel A. Matlock, Thos. F. Martin, Frank J. Bacigalupi, L. G. Goudie, Wm. T. Egan, Hugh McTigue, R. A. Henning, Henry Beesten, George Turner, Fred W. Baer, James Doyle.

Committee on Building Trades—M. J. McDonough, Wm. J. McSorley, Jos. V. Moreschi, Frank Feeney, F. A. Fitzgerald, Joseph A. Mullaney, T. A. Scully, John Dempsey, James J. Ryan, Wm. J. Kelly, Wm. Fallon, M. W. Mitchell, Christian M. Madsen, J. M. Glavak, Charles M. Paulsen, Geo. T. Moore, Fred W. Suitor.

Committee on Shorter Workday—E. J. Gainer, L. E. Beaudry, John Simons, Michael Hartnedy, Harry J. Hagen, Joseph W. Morton, James P. Meehan, L. O'Keefe, Frank B. Powers, Robert B. Hesketh, T. C. Carroll, Joseph McInerney, Wm. G. Powlesland, Mary Meehan, Henry F. Schmal, Simon O'Brien, Wm. L. McPetridge.

Committee on Legislation—I. M. Ornburn, Thos. F. Flaherty, Harry H. Jones, W. W. Britton, Emanuel Koyeski, B. M. Jewell, Winfield T. Keegan, C. L. Rosemund, Thos. J. Donnelly, D. J. Tobin, James M. Duffy,

J. N. Davis, James T. Moriarty, F. J. Ellison, David R. Glass, John Donlin, Edward Stier.

Committee on International Labor Relations—George W. Perkins, Matthew Woll, James Wilson, Andrew Furuseth, Martin Lawlor, D. J. Tobin, George L. Berry, W. D. Mahon, J. J. Hynes, Wm. L. Hutcheson, John Coefield, Edward J. Gainer, Albert Adamski, Michael Greene, Wm. J. Bowen, John J. Manning, Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph P. Ryan, James O'Connell, E. E. Milliman, J. A. Franklin, William Green.

President Green: The names of the Committees just read will constitute the Standing Committees of the Convention. Are there objections?

Delegate Connors: Switchmen: I move that the name of President Green be added to the Committee on International Labor Relations.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

REFERENCE OF SUBJECTS OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT

Following is a list of subjects in the report of the Executive Council assigned by President Green to the appropriate Committees:

Referred to Committee Executive Council Report

(James Wilson, Chairman, Executive Committee)

Jurisdictional Problems—
Printing Pressmen—Photo-Engravers—
Lithographers.
Engineers—Firemen.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers—
Pulp and Sulphite Workers.
Pavers and Rammermen—Hod Carriers.
Teamsters—Railway Clerks.
Theatrical Stage Employees—Electrical Workers.
Flint Glass Workers—Glass Bottle Blowers.
Proposed Amalgamation of Cigar Makers—
Tobacco Workers.
Machinists—Carpenters.
American Federation of Government Employees.
Benefit Services of National and International Unions.
Legislation:
Workmen's Compensation Insurance.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions (Matthew Woll, Chairman.)

Introduction.
Unemployment.
Unemployment Insurance.
Government.
Bituminous Coal Industry.
Problems of Railway Workers.
Patent Law Adjustment.
Legislation:
Relief for Unemployed.
Economy Law.
Immigration.

Reorganization of Government Departments.

Old Age Security.
The Anti-Injunction Law.
Volstead Act.
Anti-Trust Legislation.
Kellogg Pact.

Referred to Committee on Organization
(Frank Duffy, Chairman.)

Organizing Work.

Referred to Committee on Labels
(John J. Manning, Chairman.)

Union Label.

Referred to Committee on Education
(A. O. Wharton, Chairman.)

Child Welfare.

Special Labor Days:

Labor Day.
Labor Sunday.
Labor's Memorial Day.
Publications.
Labor Press.
Our Public School System.
Workers' Education Bureau.
Samuel Gompers' Memorial.
Legal Information Bureau.

Referred to Committee on State Organization
(G. M. Bugniazet, Chairman.)

Puerto Rico.

Legislation:

Lame-Duck Amendment.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations
(John Coefield, Chairman.)

Stove Mounters—Auto Stove Company—
Cleveland Co-operative Stove Company.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday
(Edward J. Gainor, Chairman.)

Five-Day Workweek.

Referred to Committee on Legislation
(I. M. Ornburn, Chairman.)

Personnel Classification.

Sales Tax.

Trade-Union Incorporation Act.

Convict Labor.

Referred to Committee on International
Labor Relations

(Geo. W. Perkins, Chairman.)

Pan-American Labor Relations.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

Bryn Mawr, Pa.,
November 21, 1932.

William Green, President:

Annual Convention American Federation of Labor Cincinnati. Congratulations on magnificent report of your Executive Council published in press this morning. Report as presented

constitutes a real charter for remedial action advantageous to labor and to nation. Wish you all success in Convention.

MILDRED FAIRCHILD and
SUSAN M. KINGSBURY,
Department of Social Economy,
Bryn Mawr College.

Brooklyn, N. Y.,
November 21, 1932.

American Federation of Labor Convention,
Convention Hall, Cincinnati.

Congratulations and best wishes for the success of this Convention. May this Convention of the American Federation of Labor succeed in their efforts for the interest of organized labor. May your platform merit greater victory than the last national election.

WAITERS' UNION, Local No. 2

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Morris Stein, Secretary.

President Green announced that resolutions would be received until midnight Tuesday, that resolutions could be presented up to that time in the Convention or in the Secretary's office in the hotel.

RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were introduced and referred to the appropriate committees:

Legislation for Compulsory Enforcement of Shorter Workday and Workweek

Resolution No. 1—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Organized labor, as represented by the American Federation of Labor, has consistently advocated the shorter workday and workweek as necessary if the vast army of unemployed are to be placed back in productive industry; and

WHEREAS, Due to the highly competitive conditions under which employments are carried on, it is impossible in many lines for individual employers to put the shorter workday and workweek in effect, however much they may favor it; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we reaffirm our faith in the shorter workday and workweek as one means of restoring the purchasing power to the workers and consumers of this Nation; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we instruct our Executive Council to take all necessary steps toward having proper legislation, embracing this suggestion, and of a compulsory nature, and to have same presented to the incoming session of Congress for their consideration and approval.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

Affiliation of Local Unions with State and Central Bodies

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate Harry W.

Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly requested that National and International Unions insist that their affiliated locals effect and maintain an affiliation with local central labor unions, Trades Assemblies and with regularly chartered State Federations of Labor, to the end that the moral and financial support of all affiliated trades unionists might be united in the development and maintenance of these bodies; and

WHEREAS, Where this co-operation does not exist a heavier burden is placed on the membership of other affiliated organizations and the labor campaigns that may be undertaken lose prestige by reason of this lack of co-operation and affiliation; and

WHEREAS, This affiliation with subordinate central bodies, when these are chartered by and maintain an affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, would greatly strengthen the trade-union movement and would add to the effectiveness of the local and state central labor bodies; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates in session assembled at the convention of the American Federation of Labor, in session at Cincinnati, Ohio, this twenty-first day of November, 1932, that we urge continued efforts to make this affiliation and co-operation effective with all National and International Unions.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Urging Patronage of Union-mined Coal

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Many thousands of domestic consumers of bituminous coal buy and use this as fuel without regard to the conditions under which it is mined; and

WHEREAS, This fact has helped to encourage the production, transportation, sale and use of much coal produced under nonunion conditions and to the loss in membership of the United Mine Workers; now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorses the sale and use of union-mined coal, we recognize that its production, transportation and sale, causes a wide diffusion of the moneys, spent in wages to coal miners and mine laborers, to railway employees and to teamsters and truck drivers in its delivery from car to bin; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we instruct the members of the Executive Council to urge the members of affiliated National and International Unions to use every effort to see that the coal they consume is produced by union miners employed under agreement with the United Mine Workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Labor Lecture Series of National Committee on Education by Radio

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate Harry W.

Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The last series of ten lectures broadcast over the Columbia Broadcasting System, under the general direction of Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary Workers' Education Bureau, as well as the series of ten preceding these, proved not only informative and entertaining but offered a constructive contribution to American letters; and

WHEREAS, We are informed that other series are to follow these over the same national hook-up, and we believe that these would be listened to more generally if advertised more widely; and

WHEREAS, We deem talks of this nature to be a most valuable adjunct to the creation of a better understanding of the purposes and aims of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we authorize the Executive Council to give their fullest co-operation to the National Committee on Education by Radio to the end that the date, time and name of the speakers to broadcast be given the widest possible publicity; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all member Journals of the International Labor Press be requested to run such list of projected broadcasts in their columns under the common heading "Labor Broadcasts," and giving underneath this heading the date, time of day, and name of speaker, so that the greatest number may be advised of the important addresses.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Independent Labor Party

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate M. F. Tighe, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

WHEREAS, During the past few years labor's fight for the right to organization has shifted from the factory to the courts; and

WHEREAS, Social legislation is becoming more and more necessary to the workers in the United States; and

WHEREAS, Neither the Republican nor the Democratic parties can be counted upon to further the aims or to advance the conditions of labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-seventh Annual Convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America, go on record as favoring the formation of an Independent Labor Party, and recommend to the next Convention of the American Federation of Labor that it abandon the traditional non-partisan political policy and sponsor a genuine Labor Party.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Schools of Trade-Union Philosophy

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, At both the New Orleans and Toronto Conventions of the American Federa-

tion of Labor, resolutions were introduced, proposing the establishment or endorsement of an existing school wherein labor students might study those subjects that are more closely allied with his or her own interests but which are not available by other means; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, to whose study these resolutions were referred, have had ample time to have made exhaustive and satisfactory inquiries concerning this subject; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we urge the said Executive Council to make a report on this subject to this convention together with any recommendations they may have to offer.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Government Ownership of Banking Institutions

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate M. F. Tighe, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

WHEREAS, The public has lost confidence in our privately owned banks; and

WHEREAS, At the time when the workers must needed their money all savings and loan associations stopped paying out money; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates assembled in the Fifty-seventh Annual Convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America ask the American Federation of Labor to go on record as favoring and endorsing the government ownership of all banking institutions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate M. F. Tighe, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

WHEREAS, Machinery is the cause to a great extent of unemployment, it being used to displace labor, and at the same time to build up large fortunes; and

WHEREAS, The time has come when the organized labor movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor should do something to help labor that has been deprived of a livelihood by the introduction of the machine age; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-seventh Annual Convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America request the representatives to the Fifty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to petition the United States Congress to pass a law creating unemployment insurance.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Fire Prevention

Resolution No. 9—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and John Redmond, of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The safeguarding from fire of homes, schools, farms, transportation systems,

public buildings of all kinds, boats, forests—in fact, all places where life or property may be endangered by fire—is of prime importance in the preservation of lives and the protection of property; and

WHEREAS, The safeguarding of industrial plants and factories from fire is essential to their uninterrupted operation and employment of labor; and

WHEREAS, The efficacy of continuous community campaigns to educate the public in fire prevention and reduce the fire losses has been amply demonstrated in many American and Canadian cities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby endorses the period of the educational campaigns of Fire Prevention Week promoted in the United States and Canada by the National Fire Protection Association and its members, and recommends that said Fire Prevention Week should be utilized to inaugurate in all cities of these countries a continuous and effective fire prevention movement aimed at the complete elimination of conflagration dangers and the promotion of fire-safe condition in homes, schools, farms, transportation systems, public buildings of all kinds, boats, forests—in fact, all places where life or property may be endangered by fire.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

A. F. of L. Organizers to Assist International Association of Fire Fighters

Resolution No. 10—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and John Redmond, of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, It is agreed that organized effort in the endeavor to prevent further lowering of wages and living standards of all workers is absolutely essential to the success of the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The paid fire departments of the United States and Canada are increasingly becoming the targets for attack by budget-reducing committees, etc.; and

WHEREAS, The status of such paid fire department members who are affiliated with the International Association of Fire Fighters and the American Federation of Labor is immeasurably safer and surer than is that of fire department members not so affiliated; and

WHEREAS, The prevention of lowering of wages and living standards of all workers is of paramount importance to organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor shall instruct its organizers to co-operate in all ways to the fullest extent with the organizers of the International Association of Fire Fighters in their work of organizing the paid fire department members in cities throughout the United States and Canada into unions affiliated with the International Association of Fire Fighters.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Opposing Wage Reductions

Resolution No. 11—By Delegates Fred W.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Baer and John Redmond, of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The following resolution was adopted by the International Association of Fire Fighters, in convention assembled in San Diego, California, August 1-5, 1932:

"WHEREAS, The present economic depression has been directly caused by the deliberate reduction of salaries and curtailment of employment, and

"WHEREAS, The international bankers, working through subsidiary organizations, such as national and local chambers of commerce, so-called national and local organizations for the reduction of public expenditures, etc., are deliberately creating the fallacious impression that conditions can be remedied by the further reduction of wages and the further curtailment of employment, or lengthening of hours of labor; and

"WHEREAS, This impression is false in its premises and has been so proved by the economic history of the United States and Canada; and

"WHEREAS, The salaries paid to the employees of National, State, County and municipal governments are used as a comparison for compensation in other fields of labor; and

"WHEREAS, The aforementioned organizations have now launched a nation-wide campaign for the reduction of salaries in such public employment and the further increase of their hours of labor; and

"WHEREAS, The evident purpose of this campaign is to set up a new standard whereby they may further reduce the salaries and further lower the already poor living conditions and standards of living of the workers; and

"WHEREAS, The continuation of this program will only result in a continual decrease of the purchasing power of the people and workers and a continual increase of the so-called depression; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That the officers of the International Association of Fire Fighters be and hereby are directed to take every legal and constitutional means to combat the dangerous program of the aforementioned organizations; and, be it further

"RESOLVED, That the officers of the International Association of Fire Fighters be and hereby are directed to seek the co-operation of all National, State and local labor organizations, civic groups and community organizations to combat the dangerous activities herein outlined, through the radio, the press and every legal and constitutional means"; therefore, be it hereby

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Cincinnati, Ohio, hereby pledges its support to the International Association of Fire Fighters in its efforts to prevent the lowering of salaries or lengthening of hours of labor of firemen in the United States and Canada.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Eight-Hour Day For All Fire Fighters

Resolution No. 12—By Delegates Fred W.

Baer and John Redmond, of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The movement for shorter working hours in all divisions of industry is recognized by all fair-minded men and women as one of the foremost methods of ending the depression, stabilizing industry and helping to prevent future further unemployment; and

WHEREAS, The majority of the fire fighters of the United States and Canada are working what is known as the "two-platoon system," that is, an eighty-four-hour week, or an average of twelve hours per day, seven days per week; and

WHEREAS, The establishment of an eight-hour day in the fire departments of all cities in the United States and Canada will help relieve the distress of unemployment, increase the efficiency of fire forces, and give relief to men who now work eighty-four hours a week in protecting the lives and property of the people; and

WHEREAS, In accordance with this policy, Local No. 94 of the International Association of Fire Fighters, the Uniformed Firemen's Association of Greater New York, caused to be introduced in the Municipal Assembly of the City of New York a measure having for its purpose the enactment into law of the eight-hour working day, or three-platoon system, in the fire department of the City of New York; and

WHEREAS, This measure was introduced in the lower branch of the said Municipal Assembly of the City of New York in March, 1931, and up to the present time has not been acted upon by the legislative body in question, either favorably or unfavorably; and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters in its convention held in August of this year went on record as favoring an eight-hour day, with one day off in seven, for all members of fire departments in the United States and Canada, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is sponsoring a program calling for a six-hour day and five-day week in all industries in order to alleviate the present acute and disastrous unemployment situation; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, hereby endorses the program of the International Association of Fire Fighters in its efforts to secure shorter working hours for all fire fighters of the United States and Canada; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this program of shorter working hours is in conformity with the ideals of organized labor, and that every member local of the American Federation of Labor is hereby urged to give its whole-hearted support to the movement for an eight-hour day with one day off in seven for all fire fighters in the United States and Canada; and, be it, further

RESOLVED, That the different State Federations of Labor and the Central Trades and Labor Councils be hereby instructed to actively assist the International Association of

Fire Fighters in their states and cities when campaign is made for the eight-hour day for fire fighters, and that all trade unionists are hereby called upon to urge the adoption of such eight-hour day for fire fighters as in keeping with labor's ideals and as a means of reducing the present number of unemployed.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 13—By Delegation from the United Mine Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Due to unemployment, hundreds of thousands of workers find themselves in a position where they are unable to provide for themselves or their families; and

WHEREAS, Our organization has gone on record in favor of not only work relief legislation enacted by the states and the Federal Congress but also in favor of legislative appropriations for direct relief; and

WHEREAS, It is our judgment unemployment will be with us for some time, with its suffering and privation, and even with the return of normal prosperity, we can expect to have greater numbers unemployed than ever before; and

WHEREAS, Work relief and direct relief appropriations cannot permanently solve the problem of those who will be forced to remain in the ranks of the unemployed; and

WHEREAS, We believe that a sane, sensible and constructive plan should be worked out to care for the needs of such persons and their families, and we look with favor upon this being done through unemployment insurance, worked out on a basis that would be fair and at the same time adequate in providing necessary relief of a permanent nature; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Regular Convention of our union, the United Mine Workers of America, that we instruct our International officers and the International Executive Board to make a thorough study of the matter, legally and otherwise, and seek the co-operation and assistance of the labor movement in general, to the end that unemployment insurance or some plan equally as good or better be worked out and presented in the legislative halls of the State and Nation to permanently and adequately provide unemployment relief to those willing but unable to secure employment.

INTENSIVE STUDY OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE IS REVEALED IN REPORT OF INTERNATIONAL OFFICERS

Unemployment insurance is treated in a comprehensive way in the report printed below. It is the work of the international officers of the United Mine Workers of America, following the instructions of the last convention. The report was approved by the International Executive Board at its recent meeting and the matters will be followed up at the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Legal questions involved in the report, together with research and study of such legislation, was made by Mr. Henry Warrum, chief counsel of the United Mine Workers of America, and the Committee is indebted to Mr. Warrum for making this comprehensive report possible.

REPORT OF INTERNATIONAL OFFICERS ON THE QUESTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA, HELD JANUARY 26 TO FEBRUARY 5, 1932.

Independent occupation no longer furnishes a livelihood to the great industrial masses. They are dependent upon employment by others, and their ability to live honestly is measured by their ability to secure that employment. This economic structure of society is growing more definite and decisive. No one doubts the advantages of the modern industrial set-up, in its efficient and ample production, its lowered costs, its improved products and its diffused corporate ownership; and no one contemplates a return to an era of individual occupation. But if this economic structure determines the dependency of labor, it must also bear the obligation of providing employment for labor or caring for it while unemployed. This obligation is generally recognized. How it may be discharged—whether by charity or in economic readjustment—is the subject of widening discussion.

Causes of Unemployment

(a) Technological Unemployment: The advent of the machine, reducing cost and enlarging output, has had its immediate and obvious effect on the labor market. This cause has been operating for at least half a century, with the machine displacing human labor; and its effect upon the labor market has grown sharper and more noticeable in the last few years. According to indexes of the Federal Reserve Board the productive power per worker in manufacturing industries as a whole, rose 45 per cent between the years 1919 and 1929; the output per man in mining increased a similar amount, and even the productivity of the agricultural worker advanced during the same period from 25 to 30 per cent.

Undoubtedly the labor saving machine should add to the economic power and industrial wealth of the country; yet its displacement of labor results in a growing pool of unemployed, whose loss of purchasing power is felt in the markets of the country and whose bare existence becomes a problem for public charity. There are economists who doubt the permanent effect on unemployment of technological progress, and who point out that such progress as we have had in the last thirty years in the development of machine efficiency has been attended by the opening up of new avenues of employment. But the fact remains that the immediate and obvious effect of the introduction of labor saving devices has been the divorce of labor from employment. It is this immediate and obvious effect that has created the demand for a shorter workweek and a shorter workday, to the end that industrial mechanization

may be reflected not so much in unemployment as in leisure.

(b) **Seasonal Unemployment:** Seasonal variation in employment is the result of seasonal fluctuation in the markets. Working time is reduced or stopped according to the seasonal requirements of the industry. These irregularities of employment are well known to the bituminous workers, and reliable statistics show substantial variations in practically all the major industries. Taking industry as a whole the available tables indicate that there is an average difference of 4 per cent between employment at its peak in March and at its ebb in July and August. But not all industries have their slack periods at the same time, and this fact increases the number of unemployed workers caused by seasonal employment, over and above the ratio found in considering fluctuations in the general employment. This is so because there can be no complete transfer of workmen from one industry to another during these shifting periods of unemployment. Working men lack both the training and mobility necessary for such shifting from one industry to another. However, two main efforts toward mitigating this problem of seasonal unemployment are being made. The first is the effort by business concerns to stabilize their production activities throughout the year; and the second is the legislative effort to achieve a practical agency for employment of the jobless.

(c) **Cyclical Unemployment:** The problem attains terrifying proportions during periods of general economic depression. At the present time there are more than ten million persons in the United States able and willing to work but without employment. These with their dependents easily constitute one-fourth of our population. The burden of caring for them rests upon the remainder of our people, a large part of whom enjoy but part time employment, whose wages and salaries have been reduced, whose property has depreciated and whose surplus savings are being exhausted. Care for the unemployed, whether accomplished by private charity or taxation, has awakened the public generally to the inadequacy of our economic system.

These abnormal depressions seem to occur from time to time in business cycles. Their causes have been the subject of voluminous studies. Waiving psychological causes, which rather attend and accentuate these depressions, the primary causes are usually considered by economists under three heads: First, the excessive overproduction of goods, and especially agricultural products; second, the speculative urge which grows in good times until it bursts; and, third, ill-adjustment of monetary standards. To a certain extent these depressions are not only correctives of unwarranted industrial energy, but they are punishments as well. If people choose to build apartment houses in a city far beyond the needs of its population, the reckoning of receiverships is inevitable. If an industry, by sale of securities or plowing back its earnings, increases its capacity beyond reasonable needs, it is inviting bankruptcy. If agriculture engages in an orgy of production, or the mining industry floods the country with copper, coal and oil, they must expect insolvency. And yet back of all these errors, encour-

aging them up to the moment of collapse and then accentuating the downward fall of prices, the loss of credit, the fear of despair, is the monetary standard, the idolatrous god of our devotion that refuses to temper the wind to the shorn lamb.

Problem of Unemployment

Whatever the causes of unemployment no fault can be charged to the unemployed; and whatever difficulties it may present, neither the industrial set-up, nor society as a whole, can ignore the problem it creates.

It affects society by its sequelae of pauperism and crime, and by the burdens thus imposed. The poor and criminal may always be with us, but certainly the industrious and honest ought not to be given the alternative of destitution on the one hand or becoming objects of charity on the other. Society struggles to meet this situation with poor relief from public funds, organized private charity and personal giving. But the unemployed have a right that transcends charity, for the unemployed are those who are able and willing to work and are idle through no fault of their own.

The leaders of American business generally admit that unemployment is an industrial responsibility. The United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Electric Manufacturers' Association have recently approved the principle of providing unemployment reserves. Apart from its social phase modern industry as such has two economic contracts with unemployment. The seasonal fluctuations in employment show that industry requires a certain labor reserve. The unemployed labor reserves upon which industry thus relies, constitutes a just item of industrial cost. If an industry has plants which are idle during the dull season, the cost of their upkeep is a proper charge against the operating expenses of the industry. Professor Slichter of Boston clearly presented this point before the United States Senate Committee on Unemployment Insurance November 6, 1931. He said:

"Practically we are saying to industry today. 'Hire and fire to your heart's content. Lay off men whenever you see fit to. The community will bear that cost for you.'

"To an economist that is not sound cost accounting. If one looks at it, not from a humanitarian standpoint, but from the narrow, cold-blooded, cost account standpoint, we see that we are merely rectifying our cost accounting system when we put this cost directly into the expenses of making goods."

Industry is also directly interested in the reaction that unemployment has on the consumption of goods. Markets are maintained by wages, and the purchasing power of a people depends upon its payroll. And yet the volume of wages alone is not the true measure of prosperity. If one million workers received the entire payroll of the country, however large that may be, it would not quicken the markets as though ten million were receiving the same payroll. Moreover, with the languishing of the markets comes a recession in industrial production, the discharge of workers, the lowering of the wages of those employed, and the fear of free spending that seizes the working population. Industry, therefore, is supremely inter-

ested in the diffusion of employment and the economic independence and sense of security of all who are able and willing to labor.

Social Theory of Unemployment Insurance

There are two fundamental ideas of dealing with unemployment. The first may be called the voluntary or preventive method. It has as its objective the complete regularization of industry, and contents itself with the development of employment agencies and the stabilization of production throughout the year. The other idea represents the revolt of both the unemployed and society as a whole. It is tired of waiting for industry to voluntarily act. It concedes the humanitarian impulse of many industrial leaders, but realizes their difficulties in reforms that place them at a competitive disadvantage. The unemployed assert their right to a share in the industrial income and demand a measure of legal security against an enforced idleness and its resulting destitution. Society is not unmindful of the justice of this demand and is becoming weary of bearing its obligations either through taxation or the uncertain and unequal burdens of charity. Both society and the workers subconsciously refer the primary obligation to the industrial set-up. This subconscious challenge finds popular expression in the amazement at a system where destitution is so generally prevalent amid a plethora of production. Instinctively turning from any program of communism, the American mind is considering a method of economic readjustment consonant with American institutions. It is not a question of destroying capitalism, but rather of preserving it. It is not a question of slowing up industry with forms of taxation, but of giving to industry normal activity by maintaining a diffused wage income that guarantees a market for the products of industry.

Unemployment insurance does not exclude measures designed to stabilize employment. It encourages the movement to shorter workdays and workweeks. It does not combat the mechanization of industry with its labor saving devices. It encourages wider vocational training, and all agencies for the placement of labor. Its argument is that it will stimulate the employer to stabilize employment. Nor does it purport to be a cure-all for our economic disorders. It has in view simply the mitigation of a defect in our industrial system that not only outrages honest workmen and unjustly burdens the State, but has evil reactions in the markets on which industrial activity depends.

Unemployment insurance does not contemplate protection for the sick or disabled; that is left to other forms of insurance. It does not cover either those unwilling to work or those on strike; the first class remain the beneficiaries of pauper relief and the second class are cared for by their own labor organizations. It involves primarily an additional cost of production, usually estimated as a percentage of the payroll which shall be set aside under state protection as a reserve for those who lose their employment through no fault of their own.

The creation of these reserves is in accordance with the best business principles. Well managed corporations now and for some time have set aside reserves, not merely to pay dividend requirements in lean years, but to carry

the corporation over periods of cyclic depressions. Undoubtedly this prudence will more and more characterize corporate management. And to the same end reserves should be set up by every industry employing labor, as part of its production costs, to meet the future displacements of its labor. That this may be reflected in higher prices, and this assumed by the people generally, is no argument, since the public now is sustaining the class who would become the beneficiaries of this insurance. President Green, of the American Federation of Labor, wrote the American Federationist of October, 1930:

"The wage-earner has the same right to security of employment that the stockholder has to the security of dividend payments. Both make investments in the industry. Just as reserves are accumulated to secure the stockholder, they should be accumulated to secure the wage-earner's employment."

Gerald Swope, president of the General Electric Company, testified before the Senate Committee on Unemployment Insurance:

"Senator Wagner: That brings me to a question I wanted to ask you, Mr. Swope. The system ought to be universal. Is not that your view?"

"Mr. Swope: Yes, sir."

"Senator Wagner: In other words, unemployment insurance ought to be established for workmen in all industries?"

"Mr. Swope: Yes, sir."

"Senator Wagner: You spoke of it as a palliative. By that, I take it, you meant that the desirable result of an unemployment insurance system is to concentrate greater effort toward stabilization?"

"Mr. Swope: Right."

"Senator Wagner: Which, in the end, is the problem of unemployment?"

"Mr. Swope: Right."

History of Unemployment Insurance

At the beginning of this century certain labor associations in Belgium were paying unemployment benefits. In 1902 the city of Ghent contributed to this relief fund, and the success of its operation led to its gradual expansion through the state. In 1907 the state itself provided an annual subsidy distributed among the communal associations; and in 1920 the entire system was organized on a national basis. This is known as the Ghent system and with some modifications it found a concurrent development in Denmark and Switzerland.

Compulsory unemployment insurance began with the British Act in 1911, which was first limited to certain industries. The post-war period witnessed a general extension of this compulsory insurance; and similar legislation was enacted in Austria, Bulgaria, Germany, Poland and other states. Upon the establishment of the Irish Free State the compulsory unemployment insurance was continued as part of its social economy. Other countries, as Norway, Spain, Holland, France, Finland, Czechoslovakia, and, as we have noted, Belgium, Denmark and Switzerland, created voluntary systems of insurance. Thus eighteen countries have unemployment insurance systems in operation with approximately 34,000,000 workers covered by compulsory insurance and 3,000,000 covered by voluntary insurance.

In only one country of those adopting unemployment insurance has there been a surrender of it. This was Russia. But the operation of the system in some of the countries has been the subject of certain criticism. Take the British system: Its insurance reserves were created to carry a load of 6 per cent of unemployment. While this calculation was based on studies of previous experience, the Parliamentary Act of 1921 immediately began operating in a period of unwanted depression. Growing distress among the unemployed led to the relaxation of the standard benefits contemplated by the original law. In the belief that the extraordinary depression was only temporary, there was an "extension of benefits" to those who had exhausted their standard relief, and a relaxation of conditions for receiving relief. This has resulted in a deficit in the unemployment fund that reached \$500,000,000 September 1, 1931. This deficit has developed under a system directed not merely to unemployment insurance, but also to emergency relief. Senator Wagner, in his report of April 29, 1932, to the Senate Committee on Unemployment Insurance, has this to say:

"Certain factors, however, must be taken into consideration in measuring that debt. First, almost half of the amount of the debt, namely, \$225,000,000, represents the cost of administering for over twenty years an elaborate system of labor exchanges, an interest charge of over \$50,000,000 for funds borrowed from the government, and all other overhead of the insurance system. Second, it is a fair inference that a very large proportion of the debt represents not the cost of the insurance system, but of the pure relief which was dispensed through the mechanism of the insurance system.

"It should be evident from the foregoing analysis that the British unemployment insurance system can not truthfully be called a 'dole.' Evidence in the hearings reveal that 82.5 per cent of all the benefit payments during the life of the insurance system were supplied from premium receipts and that only 17.5 per cent comprised extraordinary appropriations and loans.

"The so-called dole originally consisted of a free gift paid, not out of insurance funds, but entirely out of the state funds, to ex-service men and civilians for a period of twelve months during 1919 and 1920 to meet the special emergency of the transfer from war to peace conditions. It was entirely unrelated to the unemployment insurance system."

The operation of the German system has also been the subject of criticism. The first unemployment insurance law was enacted in Germany in 1927. It had three objectives: (1) ordinary unemployment insurance; (2) extended unemployment benefits; (3) welfare support. The law has operated during a period of unprecedented depression, and it has been found necessary to increase the premiums from the total of 3 per cent of standard wages to 6½ per cent, and to increase the government subsidies. In considering the records of unemployment relief in both Germany and Great Britain the last few years, it must be kept in mind that their unemployment systems have had to carry the burden which has been met in the United

States by organized charity and other forms of emergency relief.

The Irish Free State furnishes a better example of the operation of strict unemployment insurance. On its establishment in 1922 the Irish Free State took over the British system then in effect, and has kept the system free from demands for general relief. As a result the contribution to the fund, or premiums, have been reduced, and a respectable surplus has been built up.

None of the countries with unemployment insurance in operation would surrender the principle involved therein. An exhaustive review of public opinion abroad upon this economic adventure is set out in the admirable report of Senator Wagner above referred to.

The Movement in the United States

An unemployment fund is no new idea in our country, although it is only lately that it has become the subject of serious legislative consideration. The German American Typographical Union has had an unemployment benefit since 1884. In April, 1931, forty-eight labor unions had in operation various systems of unemployment relief covering about 35,000 workmen. There are also about fifteen industrial corporations setting aside reserve funds for the benefit of their unemployed. Among these is the Columbia Conserve Company of Indianapolis, the Crocker McElwain Company, Holyoke, Mass.; the General Electric Company, the Denison Manufacturing Company, and Procter & Gamble. These fifteen companies have about 50,000 workmen eligible to benefits.

In addition there are some sixteen plans operating under joint agreements between trade-unions and employers, insuring about 65,000 workmen. The largest joint fund is operated by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and their employers in the cities of Chicago, Rochester and New York City. The Amalgamated fund in Chicago has disbursed more than \$6,000,000 in eight years.

Substantially all of these plans are satisfactory to the parties interested; but they cover only about 160,000 workers, or one-half of one per cent of our wage-earners.

In 1916 a bill was introduced in the Massachusetts legislature to provide state unemployment insurance, and since that time numerous bills have been offered in the legislatures of the various states. In the special session of 1931 the Wisconsin legislature enacted an unemployment insurance law with the provision that it should become conditionally compulsory July 1, 1933:

"Section 1. LEGISLATIVE INTENT. (1) The legislature intends through this act to make it certain that by July 1, 1933, at least a majority of the employees of this state will enjoy the protection of fair and adequate systems of unemployment compensation. The largest organization of employers of the state having declared it to be the intention of its members voluntarily to establish unemployment fund systems, it is the intent of the legislature to give employers a fair opportunity to bring about the purposes of this act without legal compulsion. If by June 1, 1933, the employers of not less than one hundred seventy-five thousand employees have voluntarily established

plans which comply with the standards prescribed in Section 108.15 of this act, then the compulsory system provided for in Section 2 shall not take effect; otherwise, it shall take effect July 1, 1933. Should this provision for any reason be held invalid it is the intent of the legislature that the compulsory plan shall take effect July 1, 1933."

On February 14, 1932, a commission appointed by the governors of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania made a report favoring the establishment of compulsory unemployment reserves. In the Seventy-second Congress Senator Wagner introduced certain bills looking to encouragement of compulsory legislation by the states. This was to take the form of permitting employers to deduct a portion of the payments into such reserves, in their income and corporation tax returns.

Summary of Various Plans

Voluntary and Compulsory Plans: There are two principal groups among the advocates of unemployment reserves: Those who insist that action in this direction should be voluntary, and those who demand that the state should make such insurance compulsory. The Wisconsin act is, in a way, a compromise between these groups. And yet the Wisconsin act provides the schedule of premiums and benefits, or in other words, standards, which shall govern such voluntary insurance.

One of the arguments against voluntary insurance is that the adoption of a variety of premiums and benefits, or standards, would not only result in a social injustice to workers, but would create competitive disadvantages among the employers. It is also to be noted that those who advocate the voluntary plan are urging that the state and federal government relieve such reserves, and the payments thereto, from taxation.

The advocates of compulsory legislation further point out that the state itself is interested in shunting at least a portion of the burden of caring for the unemployed, back to the industry where it belongs; that the inertia of voluntary action creates a situation similar to that which led to our workmen's compensation laws; and that in justice to the employers and employed, uniform standards, both as to payments and benefits, should be established and maintained by law.

Further, if the fund is created by pure voluntary act on the part of employers, each employer will determine the amount and manner of payments into the funds, the conditions under which the benefits are paid, and the custody in which the fund shall be kept. The fund itself may thus be subject to diversion in company emergencies, like some of the voluntary pension funds. That the plans of the General Electric Company, or of Procter & Gamble, do not contain these vices, is no answer to the charge that a voluntary relief program means such looseness in the general set-up. And so the advocates of voluntary action can hardly escape the necessity of law-imposed standards of payments and benefits and legal protection for the funds.

Manner of Creating the Fund: Another line of divergence between groups interested in this

relief is the manner and extent to which such insurance would apply; that is, shall each employer create his own reserve, shall each industry pool their risks and maintain a joint fund, or shall the insurance be a statewide fund of common risks and premiums?

The divergence of views with respect to these plans arises out of two considerations; first, that such insurance properly administered ought to encourage stabilization of employment; and, second, that any pooling of premiums and risks operates as a penalty on employers seeking stabilized employment, requiring them to unjustly carry the burden of loosely operated plants of competitors. The statewide insurance pool, sometimes called the English plan, has few supporters in America.

American thought generally is fixed on two systems—first, insurance by each specified industry and, second, insurance by each employer. These systems were admirably presented by Dr. Lubin, of the Brookings Institute, to the Senate Committee on Unemployment Insurance:

"You have heard something about the plans of the American Labor Legislation Association for compulsory pooling of the unemployment risks of each industry. Each industry is to pool its own risks so that no industry will have to bear the burdens of other industries. The scheme is a simple one. All plants in a given industry must insure their workers against unemployment in a common industry fund. The assumption is that in each way each industry will be made responsible for its own employees—not each plant for its own employees, but each industry for its own employees—and that you would have a pool by industries rather than a general pool for all industry.

"The advocates of the company fund idea, as contrasted to the industrial fund idea, contend that insurance by industry has the same weaknesses as the general unemployment insurance which pools all risks. They agree that, even though each industry is relieved of the need of supporting the unemployed of other industries, the individual employer is nevertheless compelled to bear the burden of his competitors in the same industry. They contend, too, that any stimulus to regularization can be effected only as applied to the management of a given company and of a given industry. That is to say, it is the possibility of profit for the individual company which determines how active it will be in regularizing its own employment. Savings from regularization which inure to the entire industry, and are shared in part by the individual firms comprising the industry, are too removed and too uncertain to be of any great value in stimulating the expenditure of funds and effort necessary to stabilization. . . .

"In other words, you automatically put the progressive employer who regularizes his plant and has little unemployment in a position where his labor costs are less than those of his competitor who has to continue to pay premiums because his workers are continuously drawing on the unemployment insurance fund.

"It will be noted that the company fund idea operates in just the reverse fashion from the all-inclusive insurance scheme. Whereas under the all-inclusive insurance scheme the employer who gives the most employment pays the most

premiums, under the company fund scheme the employer who gives sufficient employment so as not to impair his benefit fund pays no premiums at all. There can be little doubt but that the company fund idea bears more directly upon those sources from which the will and desire to stabilize must emanate than any other scheme proposed for providing for the unemployed. The gains from regularization will go to those who are responsible for its realization; and the relationship between the success attained and the savings which will result is rather an exact one. It eliminates the possibility of the neutralization of possible gains because of the lack of progressiveness on the part of others either in the same industry or in other fields, as might be the case under a scheme of insurance by industry or under an all-inclusive insurance scheme."

The American Association of Labor Legislation favors funds maintained by industries with credit allowances to each employer on the basis of his regularized employment. The Wisconsin plan permits that each establishment shall maintain its separate fund.

Sources of Contributions: Finally, there are three further group ideas: (1) That the employer shall provide the fund by a premium or charge of a certain per cent of his pay roll, at least until the fund is sufficient under the standards of the law. (2) That the employer and employee should each contribute to the fund. (3) That the employer, employee and the state should each contribute to the fund.

There is little insistence that the state should contribute to this fund. The theory that reserves for unemployment is, in sound economy, an industrial cost item, presupposes that industry will bear the burden. On the same theory, however, the contributions, as items of cost, ought to be recognized in the payment of profit taxes; and, on the further theory that the fund itself has an eleemosynary service, it should be relieved from taxation. To this extent the state may contribute, if this be a true contribution; and further, the cost of operation may be in part borne by the state by administration of the law through existing industrial boards.

With respect to the conflict of the ideas that the employer alone should contribute to the fund and that both employer and employees should contribute, the pioneer legislation of Wisconsin offers a compromise. It is best explained by Prof. John R. Commons in an address delivered April 1, 1932, and issued by the University of Chicago Press:

"The Wisconsin law requires only that employers shall set up establishment funds and provides for no common fund administered either by the state or by an employers' mutual insurance company. The law does not provide for contributions by the workers or by the state, because it is reasoned that neither the state nor the employees can do anything whatever to prevent unemployment. The employers alone, under this theory, are in a position to prevent unemployment, because they are alone responsible for management. And the only effective method by which they can be induced to prevent unemployment is by making the system operate on profits.

"Even so it is recognized at several points

in the Wisconsin law that the responsibility to which employers can reasonably be held is very limited. The law applies only to employers with ten or more employees, partly because it has been found that the largest instability of employment is in the larger establishments, and partly because it is felt that small employers can not be expected to devise means of prevention more than they are now doing.

"The law also excludes all establishments which operate less than four months a year, which practically excludes those markedly seasonal industries, like pea canning which operate usually less than four months in the year. It further excludes employees receiving more than \$1,500 per year, and there are several other exclusions. The state government and subordinate cities and counties, however, come under the same rules as the private employers.

"The Wisconsin law, furthermore, places the premiums to be paid by employers at what may seem the ridiculously low figure of 2 per cent on the payroll, and places the limit of benefits at one-half the lost wages for a period limited to ten weeks. Evidently, 2 per cent is not enough to build up reserve funds or pay benefits anywhere near approaching these maximum benefits of the law.

"Thus the law can not possibly be called a relief measure and can not possibly take care of all the unemployed, as would have been the case if it had been an insurance law like the British and German laws. The German law has high total premiums of 6 per cent of the payroll, paid jointly by employers, employees and the state. Both in Great Britain and Germany, moreover, there are extra benefits paid by the state in periods of business depression. The Groves law is only a moderate prevention law, not calculated to provide adequate relief in periods of abnormal unemployment. . . .

"The important thing is that employers should begin to set their minds to work on the prevention of unemployment by all the well-known devices, such as efficient employment exchanges, diversification of product, staggering employment, not hiring more employees than they can expect to retain, and so on. The psychological effect of the Wisconsin law will be more important than the puny contribution figure of 2 per cent of the pay roll, because it operates on the margin for profit. Such, at least, has been the effect of the workmen's accident compensation laws—which, although the premiums are low, have done more than ever was done before in creating the "safety spirit" which reduces premiums by preventing accidents. We need now an "employment spirit," and to enact legislation, like the Groves Bill, which will help to create an employment spirit, like the safety spirit.

"The Wisconsin act goes far toward creating an employment spirit, by favoring voluntary systems if they provide benefits to employees and costs to employers not less than those of the compulsory system. One company has already announced a voluntary system whereby the employer pays 5 per cent and the employees 5 per cent. This is a higher contribution rate, permitting higher and longer benefits, than is found under any known system of unemployment insurance.

"If employees contribute they should not be

compelled to do so by law, and are not so compelled by the Wisconsin law, though they may agree voluntarily with their employers to contribute, in order to increase the relief features of the system. And if employers set up voluntary systems it is reasonable to expect that they will go beyond the compulsory 2 per cent of the law."

Other Considerations

Labor Covered: There will be the inevitable exclusion of certain employees, such as farm labor, domestic service, employes engaged in interstate transportation and the like. Concerns employing less than, say, ten persons, may likewise be excluded. Further limitation may be based upon the wages or salary received, excluding those who have for the year preceding the layoff, earned \$2,000 or more.

Benefits: Two standards are available for estimating benefits: One fixed at subsistence cost, and the other, by a percentage of normal earnings. The latter is more in accordance with the American idea. A waiting period is usually designated after the layoff before the benefits become operative; and a maximum period of a certain number of weeks in each year is fixed for the payment of benefits. This period, or the benefits payable, or both, may be made dependent upon the condition of the fund. It follows that the law must provide that the right to benefits shall not accrue until after a period fixed for the establishment of the fund.

Malingering and the Settlement of Disputes: The objection that such a system will lead to malingering on the one hand and unjust deprivation of benefits on the other, is easily met by provisions of the law. Disputed claims may be adjusted in the same manner that claims for workmen's compensation are now adjusted. The law may operate in conjunction with an employment exchange and provide that no claimant shall be eligible to benefits for unemployment if he refuses to accept a similar or suitable job. The law should provide that such a job should not involve taking the place of one engaged in a strike, and the law may further well provide that no worker shall be entitled to claim benefits if he had lost his employment by his own misconduct. If the employment secured for him pays less than he received for the lost employment, partial benefits may be allowed.

Mobility of Labor: No system should result in chaining the worker to one job. Voluntary insurance by industrial concerns has a tendency in this direction. In a state established system, whether it require the establishment of reserves by industries or by employers, there should be reasonable provisions protecting the freedom of the employee. To that end the tribunal charged with settling disputes should be given authority to approve changes in employment that shall not forfeit benefits. Thus the Wisconsin Act has provisions regulating the liability of successive employers. Upon this point Senator Wagner has wisely said:

"Every system of employment reserves or insurance should protect the mobility of the worker and his freedom of action. Voluntary individual company systems where benefits depend upon the length of employment in a particular establishment and where benefits are lost if the employee should terminate his em-

ployment have a tendency to fasten the employee to his job and to destroy his willingness to change his employment even where it would be conducive to his self-improvement. Such systems, a few of which are at present in force, are, of course, better than nothing. The advantage of having insurance compulsory, state-wide and nation-wide, is that the benefits follow the worker from job to job."

Constitutionality

Federal Legislation: Our dual form of government, with their separate jurisdictions and with constitutional limitations on both federal and state legislatures, creates both real and imaginary barriers to many social and economic readjustments. The real barriers are disclosed in the decisions of courts of last resort, and the imaginary barriers exist in the minds of legislators who are restrained by threats of litigation and fears of adverse decisions upon such experimentation. On the whole the courts have been as liberal and courageous as the legislatures.

Control of domestic trade lies within the jurisdiction of the state, and yet practically all our industrial problems are national in scope. The regulation of industry, with respect to hours of labor, employment of children, working conditions, and the like, are referred to the various states although their reactions are nation-wide; and the competitive inequalities created by the variety of state regulations, or the failure of certain states to act, has furnished the principal argument against such economic reforms. This is illustrated in the competitive inequalities of mining laws. Another illustration is found in the history of Workmen's Compensation legislation. It was long argued, and is still pointed out, that liberal legislation on this subject in some of the states, has given an advantage to industry in other states with less concern for economic welfare of workmen. And this argument is being made today with respect to legislation creating unemployment insurance. However, it is to be noted that the first Workmen's Compensation Act was passed in 1911, and it now operates in all but five of the states.

The enactment of such legislation lies with the state just as was the case of workmen's compensation; and the answer must be the same in both cases: that economic justice, like virtue, has its own reward, and that ultimately an industry will prosper best in a state whose laws best promote a satisfied and intelligent working population.

Unlike the scheme of Workmen's Compensation, however, state systems of compulsory unemployment reserves can be fostered and encouraged by Federal legislation. This is pointed out by Senator Wagner in the report above referred to:

"The principal responsibility for unemployment insurance rests with the states. The federal government can make two important contributions toward the establishment of insurance systems.

(1) Congress should enact legislation now pending (S. 2687) for the creation of a federally integrated system of state-operated employment offices. An efficient nation-wide employment service is prerequisite to the success of any system of unemployment insurance.

"(2) Congress should pass legislation permitting employers who provide unemployment insurance to deduct a portion of their payments into unemployment reserves or toward unemployment insurance from income tax. That will reduce the cost of insurance to the employer and therefore reduce the apprehension of the employer that he is burdening himself with a competitive handicap by providing unemployment insurance."

State Legislation: State legislation must proceed on the general theory underlying Workmen's Compensation laws, namely, that it lies within the police power of the state.

The police power of the state is not exhausted by caring for order, peace, health, morals and safety of the community. It extends to legislation looking to the general well-being of society. In *Noble State Bank vs. Haskell*, 219 U. S. 104, in upholding the Oklahoma Bank Guarantee Act, the Supreme Court said:

"It may be said in a general way that the police power extends to all the great public needs. It may be put forth in aid of what is sanctioned by usage, or held by the prevailing morality or strong and preponderant opinion to be greatly and immediately necessary to the public welfare."

The following quotations disclose the theory upon which Workmen's Compensation laws were accepted by the courts, and at the same time show the compelling analogy between such laws and laws creating unemployment reserves. In *Re Duncan*, 53 Ind. App. 270, the court said:

"Prior to the enactment of the Workmen's Compensation Act the consequential and financial losses to workmen engaged in industrial activities were borne by the workmen themselves, by their dependents, or by the state at large. The legislature by the passage of this act indicated its belief that this loss should be borne by the industries causing them, or more accurately by the consumers of the products of the industry causing the loss."

In *State vs. Industrial Com.*, 92 Ohio State 434, the court said:

"The theory upon which the compensation law is based (which is now generally accepted) is that each time an employee is killed or injured there is an economic loss which must be made up or compensated in some way, that most accidents are attributable to the inherent risk of employment—that is, no one is directly at fault—that the burden of this economic loss should be borne by the industry rather than by society as a whole, that a fund should be provided by the industry from which a fixed sum should be set apart as every accident occurs to compensate the persons injured, or his dependents, for his or their loss."

It is obvious that the considerations of public welfare, which have called into play Workmen's Compensation insurance, will justify legislative regulations providing for unemployment reserves.

It may be noted that while compulsory compensation acts have been sustained in some of the states, in other states they are operating only as optional or voluntary acts; and that in some of these states compulsory unemployment insurance may be held unconstitutional. This may be true, for it is not possible to foretell the judgments of courts. But two consid-

erations should relieve anxiety in this respect. First, in most of the states with so-called optional compensation statutes, both employers and employees remaining outside the law are rudely divested of rights of action and defense to the point that the statutes are actually coercive if not compulsory in terms. As such they have been sustained, and in these states the so-called constitutional limitations are maintained only by a transparent fiction.

Second, since the early decisions of certain state courts holding compulsory compensation acts to be unconstitutional, a decided change has taken place in the legal conception. In construing such acts as valid under the constitutions of the various states adopting them, the decisions of the state supreme court is conclusive. The limitation in the state constitutions generally relied on provides that no one shall be deprived of his property without due process of law. But it is also true that these statutes can be attacked under the Fourteenth Amendment to the federal constitution, which also prohibits the state from depriving any person of his property without due process of law.

The compulsory law of New York came before the United States Court in *New York Central R. R. vs. White*, 243 U. S. 188, and was sustained as against the due process clause of the federal constitution. The court said:

"And we recognize that the legislation under review does measurably limit the freedom of employer and employee to agree respecting the terms of employment, and that it can not be supported except on the ground that it is a reasonable exercise of the police power of the state. In our opinion it is fairly supportable upon that ground. And for this reason: The subject-matter in respect of which freedom of contract is restricted is the matter of compensation for human life or limb lost or disability incurred in the course of hazardous employment, and the public has a direct interest in this as affecting the common welfare. 'The whole is no greater than the sum of all the parts, and when the individual health, safety and welfare are sacrificed or neglected, the state must suffer.' Holden vs. Hardy, 169 U. S. 366. It can not be doubted that the state may prohibit and punish self-maiming and attempts at suicide; it may prohibit a man from bartering away his life or his personal security; indeed, the right to these is often declared, in bills of rights, to be 'natural and inalienable'; and the authority to prohibit contracts made in derogation of a lawfully established policy of the state respecting compensation for accidental death or disabling personal injury is equally clear."

"This statute does not concern itself with measures of prevention, which presumably are embraced in other laws. But the interest of the public is not confined to these. One of the grounds of its concern with the continued life and earning power of the individual is its interest in the prevention of pauperism, with its concomitants of vice and crime. And, in our opinion, laws regulating the responsibility of employers for the injury or death of employees, arising out of the employment, bear so close a relation to the protection of the lives and safety of those concerned that they properly may be regarded as coming within the category of police regulation."

The compulsory law of the state of Washington was brought before the court in *Mountain Timber Co. vs. Washington*, 243 U. S. 219, and was sustained; the court saying:

"Certainly the operation of industrial establishments that, in the ordinary course of things, frequently and inevitably produce disabling or mortal injuries to the human beings employed, is not a matter of wholly private concern. It hardly would be questioned that the state might expend public moneys to provide hospital treatment, artificial limbs, or other like aid to persons injured in industry, and homes or support for the widows and orphans of those killed. Does direct compensation stand on a less secure ground? A familiar exercise of state power is the grant of pensions to disabled soldiers and to the widows and dependents of those killed in war. Such legislation usually is justified as fulfilling a moral obligation, or as tending to encourage the performance of the public duty of defense. But is the state powerless to compensate, with pensions or otherwise, those who are disabled, or the dependents of those whose lives are lost, in the industrial occupations that are so necessary to develop the resources and add to the wealth and prosperity of the state? A machine as well as a bullet may produce a wound, and the disabling effect may be the same. . . .

"We are clearly of the opinion that a state, in the exercise of its power to pass such legislation as reasonably is deemed to be necessary to promote the health, safety and general welfare of its people, may regulate the carrying on of industrial occupations that frequently and inevitably produce personal injuries and disability, with consequent loss of earning power, among the men and women employed, and, occasionally, loss of life of those who have wives and children or other relations dependent upon them for support, and may require that these human losses shall be charged against the industry, either directly, as is done in the case of the act sustained in *New York C. R. R. Co. vs. White*, 243 U. S. 188, or by publicly administering the compensation and distributing the cost among the industries affected by means of a reasonable system of occupation taxes."

The situation is, therefore, this: The constitutional provisions upon which the opponents of compulsory compensation acts have relied in certain states, and upon which they will rely in attacking unemployment insurance acts, are similar to the federal constitutional provisions passed upon by the United States Supreme Court with respect to this character of legislation. The Supreme Court of each state continues free to make its own application of the provisions of its state constitution. But that decisions of the state's courts will in the future conform to the holdings of the United States Supreme Court can be asserted with a confidence borne of respect for the courts.

With the general acceptance of Workmen's Compensation laws and their judicial approval; with the correspondence between such legislation and unemployment reserve laws; with the states now taxing and borrowing to provide unemployment relief; with the subject so patently involved in the public welfare and so admittedly an obligation of industry itself; it is difficult to believe that the objective of such

legislation and reasonable provisions to promote that objective, would be denounced by the courts.

The Attitude of Organized Labor

It seems foolish to say that unemployment insurance will operate against the organized labor movement. The great purpose of union labor is to bring to all our workers the American standard of wages and working conditions. Attainment of this objective through the organization of labor is frustrated by the preponderating pool of the unemployed. The pressure of these for jobs, coupled with the fear of many of those employed that they may lose their jobs, constitute the real barrier to the organization of all industrial workers. The lack of self-protective organizations of workmen in a country and time so highly characterized by organization, is the strangest phenomenon of our society. The virtue, service and necessity of such labor organizations are universally recognized, and their development will be promoted by whatever lessens the fear of hunger and destitution among the working classes. This thought led to the restricted immigration policy of the American Federation of Labor. It underlies the demand for the shorter workday and workweek. It furnishes one reason for legislation against child labor. "In order that the slack of unemployment may be taken up."

The American Federation of Labor demands a national conference of employers and labor to stabilize the processes of production. What would contribute more to such a movement than laws compelling the establishment of unemployment reserves. Neither the arguments nor the power of organized labor have led to a stabilization of industry. Let the power of the state be directed to this end. Out of his legislation should come, not merely direct benefits to the employed, but a demand for its extension in the joint assumption of this responsibility by employers and employees. This joint adventure would require that labor should speak with a collective voice.

(Signed) JOHN L. LEWIS, President,
PHILIP MURRAY, Vice-President.
THOMAS KENNEDY, Secretary-Treasurer.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Calumet Waterways

Resolution No. 14—By Delegates Chas. M. Paulsen of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Frank E. Doyle of the South Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly, John Posschl of the International Union of Operating Engineers, F. A. Ackerman of the Chicago Federation of Labor, Chas. M. Rau of the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada and John F. McNamara of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers.

WHEREAS, The United States Army Engineers, pursuant to a bill introduced in Congress

for a survey of the Calumet Waterways to determine the availability of the same for utilization as an integral part of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Waterways, have completed their task and are preparing to submit their report to the Secretary of War and then to the Congress of the United States; and

WHEREAS, It is believed that this comprehensive physical survey reinforced by an economic survey conducted by the United States Department of Commerce will recommend that such waterways, namely, the Calumet-Sag Canal, the Little Calumet River, and the Grand Calumet River and the Calumet River, together with the south one-third of Lake Calumet, be made a part of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Waterways System, and

WHEREAS, Preliminary information is to the effect that this project will provide for improvements entailing an expenditure of approximately fifty million dollars; and

WHEREAS, This project providing for the widening of the Calumet-Sag Canal from its junction with the main Chicago Drainage Canal to the Little Calumet River, the straightening, widening and deepening of the Little Calumet River and the Calumet River and the building of a rail-lake barge terminal in the south one-third of Lake Calumet, will provide adequate terminal facilities for the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Waterways in the heart of Chicago's great manufacturing area, the Calumet District on either side of the Illinois-Indiana state line; and

WHEREAS, Such a project will tend to furnish employment for large numbers of men and will attract industry and commerce to the Chicago area, as well as to create a new taxing value for the Chicago area, thereby aiding in some measure in helping solve the vexatious tax problem; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge upon all Representatives in Congress of the United States to lend their wholehearted support to the passage of all necessary legislation and appropriations to further this great project when Congress convenes.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment

Resolution No. 15—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh and Emanuel Koveliski, Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

RESOLVED, That we shall work first and foremost for the entire repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, to the end of casting out this sumptuary statute, the intrusion of which into constitutional realms has so severely hurt our country. The question of whether prohibition or regulation is the more effective relation of government to the liquor traffic is utterly subordinate to the distortion of our Federal Constitution by compelling it to carry the burden of a task which is an affair for the police powers of each of our forty-eight separate and sovereign states, and never should be the business of the Federal Government.

The ultimate goal of the American Federation of Labor lies beyond the mere modification of any enforcement statute in any jurisdiction, state or federal. The cancer of the present and the threat of the future remain with us until this invasion of our Federal Constitution is repealed and removed. We will not stop in our efforts until the operation is complete.

In passing we favor any and all modifications of enforcement acts corollary to the Eighteenth Amendment which will temper the fanatical excesses and absurdities of these acts. Sensible and creditable modifications of this kind will soon become facts. But they will be aided by us solely as measures of temporary and partial relief, antecedent to the ultimate and entire repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

That, in place of the federal prohibition, we favor the installation by the states of a method of controlled and restricted distribution which will prevent the exploitation of the liquor traffic for unconscionable profits and not only do away with prevailing speakeasies and secret drinking, but prevent the reappearance of any unregulated system and the political iniquities which accompany it.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Glass Act For Modification of the Volstead Act

Resolution No. 16—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh and Emanuel Koveliski, Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, The Democratic Party, in convention assembled, adopted a program that called for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment and the immediate modification of the Volstead Act, a law which has caused the hotel and restaurant industry untold hardship and loss of work to thousands of our people; and

WHEREAS, Immediately after adjournment of the Democratic Convention the Hon. Carter Glass introduced an act that would modify the Eighteenth Amendment, but in this proposal the consumption of wine and beer is NOT PERMITTED on the premises where sold; and

WHEREAS, Such an act will be of no benefit to our people in the hotels, restaurants, etc.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we are opposed to this feature of the Glass amendment, and we endorse a bill which will provide that where beer and light wines are permitted by law it will be permissible to consume same on the premises where sold, if said premises are bona fide hotels and restaurants.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Unionising of Hotel and Catering Establishments

Resolution No. 17—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh and Emanuel Kovel-

eski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, In these days of struggle and strife for improved working conditions and employment, many of the affiliations of the American Federation of Labor are found patronizing hotels and catering establishments that are unfair to and opposed to employing members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance; and

WHEREAS, Because they see fit to do business with these unfair institutions and thereby ignore the existence of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance, it oftentimes happens that the local officials of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance in opportune time demand the withdrawal of said business—banquet, social function or patronage—from such houses; and

WHEREAS, While these demands are at times made just prior to the holdings of the occasions, they for this reason are not relished by those involved and are often classed as unfair, the action of the local officials of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance in protecting the right of employment for their membership, even at the discomfort of those who proceed to carry on negotiations with hotels or catering establishments that do not employ members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance, is in every sense justifiable and fair and in keeping with the policy and principles of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the efforts of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance to organize all hotels and catering establishments within their jurisdiction and call upon all of its affiliations when holding banquets, functions, or patronizing hotels or catering establishments, that they see that said establishments are fair to organized labor and employ members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance; and be it further

RESOLVED, That any organization affiliated with the A. F. of L. that fails to comply with the above shall be suspended from the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Organizing Culinary Workers

Resolution No. 18—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh and Emanuel Kovelleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, It has been repeatedly brought to the attention of thousands of men and women, members and officers of all organizations affiliated with the American Federation

of Labor, as to the unorganized condition of the hotels and restaurants and beverage employees receiving the patronage of a large number of trades unionists; and

WHEREAS, This condition has greatly retarded the progress of organization work in the industry, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby urgently requested to inform all of its affiliated International, National, Local and Federal Unions of the existence of an organization which has jurisdiction over the culinary workers employed in hotels, restaurants and cafes, i. e., the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance, and that their co-operation is asked to bring about the organization of these establishments in their particular localities.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Proposing Formation of Food Department

Resolution No. 19—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh and Emanuel Kovelleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, The food industry employees are largely unorganized, not because of any lack of intelligence or training on their part, but because all too often they are working at cross purposes, creating a grand tangle of conflicting interests with complete lack of coordination in the midst of which organization work suffers; and

WHEREAS, To unite the various workers in a food department is one of the most essential and effective ways of organizing the millions of unorganized in those industries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, by instructions of this convention, call a conference of representatives of the various International and National Unions concerned, for the purpose of investigating as to the practicability of the establishment of a Food Department.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Machinists-Carpenters' Agreement

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate McDonough, Building Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The cardinal principle enunciated when the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor was instituted, it was specifically stated that the Building Trades Department would have autonomy governing all matters of trade jurisdiction in the building industry; and

WHEREAS, That enunciated policy in the past has proven very beneficial in a great measure to the interest of the great majority of the affiliated unions in the department, and

WHEREAS, The Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor has at no time, to our knowledge, petitioned the American Federation of Labor to alter or amend the method of defining jurisdiction as prescribed in the Constitution; and

WHEREAS, On pages 63 and 64 in the report of the Executive Council of the American

Federation of Labor to the Fifty-second Annual Convention, there appears under the caption "Machinists and Carpenters" and action and conference between the Carpenters and Machinists which indicates clearly to the presenters of this resolution that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor was in error in becoming a party to this stated tentative understanding and addenda and should have requested the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor and its Affiliated Trades to have participated in this conference, which is purely a Building Trades matter; and

WHEREAS, The tentative understanding and addenda, if permitted to be endorsed or approved by the American Federation of Labor Convention, will cause serious conflict involving possible strikes and lock-outs throughout the nation in the building industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to acquaint the officials of the American Federation of Labor of the error and possible consequences; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Affiliated Unions of the Building Trades Department be directed to instruct their delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention to put forth every possible effort to defeat that portion of the Executive Council's report bearing on the subject quoted in this Resolution, thereby maintaining the constitutional rights granted the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Modification of the Volstead Act

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate M. J. McDonough, Building Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The year of 1932, now drawing to its close, is recording a nation-wide general depression unparalleled in the history of our country; and

WHEREAS, Building reports indicate that the total volume of construction in the United States this year will aggregate less than one-quarter of the average active building year, with present indications that the year 1933 will show little or no improvement; and

WHEREAS, Active building must await general economic improvement and building statisticians cannot venture an opinion as to just how long it may take in the present period of low activity to lead to shortages which will bring new health to building industry; and

WHEREAS, The one thing, and the only thing that stands out in bold relief as calculated to give impetus to the resumption of building activity is the immediate modification of the Volstead Act, permitting the manufacture and sale of light wines and beer; and

WHEREAS, The legalizing of the manufacture of light wines and beer would automatically create a demand for stone, brick, cement, wood, metal and other materials, made neces-

sary by new and repaired building construction, also the machinery, engines, boilers, tanks, vats, piping, etc., used in the process of manufacture; and

WHEREAS, The labor incidental to the fabricating, handling, hauling, transporting, housing and installing these materials would take countless thousands from the army of the unemployed; and

WHEREAS, The immediate modification of the Volstead Act would provide further additional employment to the incalculable thousands engaged in the raising, handling and distributing of brewing ingredients, barrel and bottle makers, and the vehicles, both horse-drawn and motor, necessary to the industry; and

WHEREAS, Were the Volstead Act amended so as to permit the manufacture and sale of light wines and beer, there would automatically be created a purchasing power through the medium of paid wages that would immediately make its presence felt in the store, the factory, the mine and the mill; be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the Building Trades Department assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, this 18th day of November, 1932, both petition and demand of the so-called "Short Session" of Congress, convening in December, that it take the proper legislative action necessary to immediately modify the Volstead Act and thereby legalize the manufacture and sale of light wines and beer; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officials of this Department place copies of this resolution in the hands of the President of the United States; also the Speaker of the Senate and the House of Representatives; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Building Trades Department delegate to the American Federation of Labor Convention introduce this resolution, or subscribe to one that embodies both its principles and purport.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing that All Wage Agreements Expire on Same Date

Resolution No. 22—Delegate Thomas F. Martin, of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The trade-union members of various local unions of the international organizations that are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor must present a vigorous and more united effort to combat the unpatriotic and unjust repudiation of wage agreements entered into by the various trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor during the economic depression by self-scheming and designing international bankers, so-called American financiers and corrupt politicians, who uphold property value to the utter degradation and suffering of liberty-loving union men and women employed in the various industries where our members are employed; and

WHEREAS, The members of the trade-union movement are fighting with their backs to the wall and must of sheer necessity adopt

a policy which will bring all the working agreements of every international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to expire on a specific date in order that we can effectively combat the type of so-called patriotic citizens who have conspired to reduce the scale of living in our country to that of European peasants; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates in this convention assembled recommend to the various international trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, as well as all the various international unions not affiliated, to extend their best efforts to have their various wage conference agreements entered into with their employers expire on a given date, which they believe would be most advantageous to the entire trade-union movement.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Tax on Automatic Machinery

Resolution No. 23—By Delegate Thomas F. Martin, American Flint Glass Workers' Union.

We have the greatest country under the sun. It is crowned with gold and silver, undershod with coal, oil and natural gas. The warehouses and granaries are filled full of the good things of life that labor has created or brought forth with their stooped bodies and horny hands. Notwithstanding this fact, there are millions of idle men, multiplied millions of ragged wives and hungry children, which is a blot upon civilization that can never be obliterated.

The hungry mobs are storming the city halls of our country, crying for bread, and we conscientiously believe that we are in a permanent industrial depression and from year to year the army of unemployed will grow larger and larger due to the fact that automatic machinery is being extended into all lines of industrial activity and industries are doubling their output about every five years.

The production of automatic machinery is on the increase while the consuming power of the workers is on the decrease. Unless there is some action taken in the immediate future, we see no hope for those that toil and we believe in order to make the Declaration of Independence a reality, which means the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, the working class must be protected against automatic machinery in exactly the same way that the tariff protects them from the pauper labor of Europe; so, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and delegates assembled in the fifty-sixth annual convention of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union urge upon the American Federation of Labor with its national legislative committee to carry into our legislative halls a bill to place a direct tax upon all automatic machinery and the revenue therefrom be taken to pay benefits to the unemployed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Panama Canal Leave Privilege

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate Charles

F. Wahl, of the Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Section 103 of the so-called Economy Act reading:

"All rights now conferred or authorized to be conferred by law upon an officer or employee to receive annual leave of absence with pay are hereby suspended during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933."

as interpreted by the Comptroller General of the United States, is an injustice to all Government employees, particularly to those engaged in tropical service for the Government on the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, 7,000 American citizens, dependents and employees of the United States Government in the isolated tropical service on the Isthmus of Panama 2,000 miles from home, have, by this economy act suffered the loss of travel, sick and annual leave for the fiscal year 1932, which leave is granted for the purpose of recuperation necessary after periods of tropical service and not for recreation; and

WHEREAS, The high mean temperature, humidity and the constant intense rays of the tropical sun are detrimental to white men, women and children who remain in the tropics more than two years, making cancellation of such leaves certain to lower the efficiency and morale of the employees of the Government on the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, There were on July 1, 1932, in the United States on vacation leave approximately 400 employees, many of whom had their families with them; and

WHEREAS, Approximately 200 more employees, many with their families, arrived at New York on the Panama Railroad S.S. Cristobal shortly after July 1st, and many others would normally arrive thereafter; and

WHEREAS, The Comptroller General, by decision dated July 9, 1932, has interpreted the provisions of Section 103 of Title 1, Part 2 of the Legislative Appropriation Act approved June 30, 1932, as preventing such employees from receiving pay for any leave during the fiscal year 1933, whether earned prior to July 1st or subsequent thereto; and

WHEREAS, Such decision imposes an extreme and unjustified hardship upon such employees and their families; and

WHEREAS, All the large corporations operating in the American tropics have found it profitable and necessary to allow their employees extended recuperative time in a cold climate, in some cases more extensive than that allowed by the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, The shorter workweek, or 5½ day week principle has not been allowed the employees of the Panama Canal, and the Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama; and

WHEREAS, Joint Resolution No. 471, introduced in Congress on July 12, 1932, and reading:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled that the term 'annual leave' as used in Section 103 of the act

approved June 30, 1932, shall be construed to relate only to the leave of Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees on the Isthmus of Panama designated as 'annual leave' and shall not apply to 'cumulative' and 'travel' leave to which such employees are entitled under their contracts of employment."

Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, go on record as being opposed to the application of Section 103 of the Economy Act to all civilian employees of the United States Government in tropical service on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad; and that it be further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to endeavor to have Congress of the United States at its next session enact into law Joint Resolution No. 471 to allow all civilian employees of the Government in the tropics on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad full travel and cumulative leave privileges for the fiscal year 1932.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Thirty-Year Retirement Act For Panama Canal Employees

Resolution No. 25—By Delegate Charles F. Wahl, of the Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Climatic conditions of employment on the Panama Canal are very severe, due to the high temperature, high humidity and the actinic rays of the sun; and

WHEREAS, The effects on the health of white men, women and children of such a climate are cumulative as an employee grows older and his resistance is undermined, and

WHEREAS, Numbers of employees now entering the service of the Government on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad are all of such an age as will make it necessary that they work more than thirty (30) years in the tropics to reach the compulsory retirement age of sixty-six (66); and

WHEREAS, A Senate Bill No. 4461 has been introduced to provide an amendment to the Panama Canal Retirement Act approved March 2, 1932, as follows:

"BE IT ENACTED BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:

"That the first sentence of the second paragraph of Section 2 of the act entitled, 'An act for the retirement of employees of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Company on the Isthmus of Panama who are citizens of the United States' approved March 2, 1931, is amended to read as follows: 'All employees to whom this act applies who have rendered at least thirty years' service, computed as provided in Section 7 of this act, shall be eligible for retirement on an annuity as provided in Section 6 of this act.'"

Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to make every effort to have this amendment

passed for the benefit of Government employees on the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Extending of Retirement Provisions to Widows of Retired Panama Canal Employees

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate Charles F. Wahl, of the Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Senate Bill No. 4240 amends the Civil Service Retirement Act of May 29, 1930, providing that the widow of an annuitant shall receive three-quarters of the benefits to which the deceased was entitled and receiving at the time of his death; and

WHEREAS, Senate Bill No. 4278 amends the Panama Canal Retirement Act of March 2, 1931, to provide the same benefits for widows of retired Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees, as follows:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the act entitled, 'An act for the retirement of employees of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Company on the Isthmus of Panama, who are citizens of the United States' approved March 2, 1931, is amended by inserting between Sections 6 and 7 thereof the following new section:

"Sec. 6-A. In the event of the death of any person entitled to the benefits of this act, his widow shall receive until her death or remarriage an annuity equal to three-fourths of the annuity which the deceased (1) was entitled to and receiving under this act at the time of his death, or (2) would have been entitled to under this act had his application for annuity been adjudicated in accordance with the provisions of Section 12 of this act immediately prior to his death';" and

WHEREAS, Tropical climatic conditions are peculiarly detrimental to the health of a white woman, tending to aggravate nervousness and disorders common to them, and

WHEREAS, In many cases wives of employees must be sent back to a cold climate for more extensive periods of recuperation than is commonly necessary for their husbands; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, instruct the officers of the Federation to make every endeavor to press legislation on Senate Bill No. 4461 during the next session of Congress of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing That the Federal Prevailing Wage Law Be Made Applicable to the Panama Canal

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate Charles F. Wahl, of the Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The present Federal prevailing wage law applies only to public buildings of over \$5,000; and

WHEREAS, A large portion of the many millions of Federal funds appropriated for public works on the Panama Canal is for public works other than buildings; and

WHEREAS, The past fiscal year has seen the exploitation of many hundreds of American workers employed on the construction of Madden Dam and Albroom Flying Field; and

WHEREAS, This exploitation of these American workmen and low rates of pay with poor working conditions is swelling the ranks of the unemployed and tropical floaters here to an extent never before known on the Isthmus of Panama; and

WHEREAS, The above condition will ultimately prove a burden to the administrators of the Canal Zone Government and the Government of Panama and to the small American population of the Panama Canal; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled hereby authorize the Executive Council to petition Congress to amend the present prevailing rate of pay law so as to make it applicable to all public works, including dams, locks and roads on the Panama Canal Zone.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Urging Patronage of Pequot Products

Resolution No. 28—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, John P. O'Connell and Emil Rieve, of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Two thousand members of the United Textile Workers of America, in Salem, Mass., are seriously handicapped, and threatened with unemployment owing to the competition of non-union mills making a similar product, with longer hours and lower wages; and

WHEREAS, This local union and the International Union are making every effort to convince the membership of the American Federation of Labor of the importance of this question to the trade-union movement, and suggesting a means whereby our organization can be protected against the attack of those who would destroy our union and place this mill in the same class as the other cheap mills, which drive their workers with the speed-up plans in order to secure mass production with the inevitable glutting of the market; it is, therefore,

RESOLVED, That if the International Union and local unions so affiliated will record themselves with this appeal to their membership, we will out-sell all scab competitors, and increase our purchasing power to other trade-unionists; and be it further

RESOLVED, That trade-unionists agree to the philosophy of co-operation, so that higher wages and shorter hours may be the means to increasing membership in the American Federation of Labor movement; and that a copy of this Resolution be mailed to all affiliated organizations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 29—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, John P. O'Connell and Emil Rieve, of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Millions of workers are without any means of livelihood, in the midst of plenty in the richest country in the world; and virtually no provision is made for workers when laid off or fired, except degrading charity, which is inadequate and thoroughly unsatisfactory from every standpoint; and

WHEREAS, The report of the Committee of the United States Senate which investigated this subject, although controlled by men hostile to the principle of social insurance, is forced to recognize the inescapable need for such legislation; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor demands Compulsory Unemployment Insurance at the expense of the State and the Employers, to be administered in part by committees on which Labor is represented; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this Resolution be sent to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and that the delegates to this convention be instructed to work for Unemployment Insurance; and, it is further

RESOLVED, That the recent action of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in announcing support of compulsory unemployment insurance measures to be supported, in part, out of Federal funds, is approved.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Mooney Case

Resolution No. 30—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, John P. O'Connell and Emil Rieve, of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Tom Mooney is still held in prison, and all attempts by interested parties and groups in the labor movement to liberate him and restore him to the labor movement have been in vain; be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor affirm its belief in the innocence of Tom Mooney and demand his immediate liberation by Governor Rolph of California; and be it further

RESOLVED, That our delegates to the Convention stand instructed to use everything in their power to bring favorable action on a resolution which would bind the entire American Federation of Labor to work for the liberation of Tom Mooney.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Banking

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Speculative bankers in their desire for large profits and quick returns have

diverted money from productive industry into the field of speculation; and

WHEREAS, This anti-social and unsound economic policy has not only curtailed productive industrial activity, but at the same time has given an added impetus to speculation as well as to a policy of unprecedented inflation which helped to precipitate the present industrial panic or depression; and

WHEREAS, These speculative financiers, in their mad desire to accumulate more wealth, induced a trusting public to invest in billions of dollars of worthless foreign securities; and

WHEREAS, These same bankers are mercilessly capitalizing the present financial needs of cities by refusing to lend them money until they receive exorbitant and wholly unjustifiable interest rates, or unless cities radically curtail their necessary constructive functions and reduce salaries of public employees, whether earning a living wage or not; and

WHEREAS, The control of credit, the lifeblood of industry, by private corporations interested primarily in profits rather than social welfare, is menacing to the existence of government and orderly progress; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor that we urge upon Congress and the President the enactment of legislation which shall enlarge the powers and duties of the postal savings banks so that they may engage in all forms of banking on a parity with private banks; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor inaugurate a nationwide campaign with a view of exposing these efforts of the bankers to undermine American education and constructive local governmental activity, as only through government control of banking and credit can the manipulation of our financial structure for private ends be terminated.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Financial Support of Schools

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, During the past year or more there have been successful efforts over the entire country sharply to reduce the expenditures for tax-supported education, efforts which continue unabated; and

WHEREAS, These reductions have, in nearly all cases, resulted in a curtailment of the services rendered by the schools or a lowering of the quality of those services and in either case have compelled the teachers to carry part of the burden which should be assumed by the community; and

WHEREAS, In most cases of these curtailments they are not due to any inherent poverty of the community, since it is often one whose aggregate wealth is high in proportion to its school expenditures; and

WHEREAS, The public schools are universally admitted to be necessary for social sta-

bility and progress, which are effectively served only in proportion as the services of the schools are maintained and extended; therefore, be it

RESOLVED by the American Federation of Labor, That (1) we protest against the false economy of curtailing the services of the schools and of reducing the incomes of the educational staff of these schools; and that

(2) We believe that the available statistics of our national wealth and income, reduced as the latter is at this time, show that the individual states and that the nation as a whole are able to maintain without distress the aggregate of expenditure for public schools which they made in school year of 1929-30.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Payment of Chicago (Ill.) City and School Employees

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The public employees of the City of Chicago, including the teachers in the public schools have not received a large part of the salaries due them for services performed during the past eighteen months although considerable reductions in their wage scales have been made; and

WHEREAS, Such salary payments have not been made because of delayed tax collections caused by tax strikes of the larger taxpayers and because of the refusal of the Chicago banks to loan money to the city by the purchase of tax warrants although the security for such loans is adequate and the interest rate high; and

WHEREAS, The banks of Chicago announce that they have large sums of money they are unable to loan at good rates of interest with sufficient security and that they are discouraging further deposits by lowering the interest rate on savings accounts and by refusing deposits of the postal savings banks; and

WHEREAS, The refusal of these banks to furnish loans to the City for salary payments must be construed as a desire to curtail still further the diminished salaries of the public employees and as a deliberate attack upon public education; and

WHEREAS, The tacit conspiracy in which bankers, politicians and tax dodgers shift responsibility and do nothing to remedy the situation is causing great suffering to the public employees of Chicago and the people with whom they have economic relations and is a standing menace to the education of the children throughout the land; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor calls upon the government and the banks of Chicago to act immediately to end the intolerable situation that exists in Chicago by furnishing money to pay the city and school employees for the services they have rendered.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Vocational Education and Guidance

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate Florence

Curtis Hanson, of the American Federation of Teachers.

In these days when educators are beginning to appreciate the growing significance of vocational education and guidance, we regret the reduction in the appropriations by the various states for vocational education and by the federal government for the Federal Board for Vocational Education; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates urge their respective state legislatures and the Congress of the United States to increase rather than to decrease appropriations for vocational education and guidance.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Increased Cost of Public Schools

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, At this time the panacea for all economic ills is reduction in governmental expenditures; and

WHEREAS, The increase in the cost of public school education during recent years is being given wide-spread publicity without due emphasis on the cause of this increase; and

WHEREAS, The greatest increase in school population has been in the secondary schools where the cost is greater than in the elementary schools, as, for example, in Chicago where the increase in total school population in the last 16 years has been 63%, while the increase in the high schools has been 263%; and

WHEREAS, Much of the increase in school expenditures is due to the higher price levels, since as late as December, 1931, the dollar was worth 70 cents on the 1915 base in Chicago, where according to the Columbia University Survey, 39% of the increase in the total school expenditures for the last 16 years was due to increased price levels, and

WHEREAS, Classes for anaemic, blind, crippled and subnormal have contributed to the school costs in many communities; and

WHEREAS, When the schools are paying for medical and dental inspection, school nurses, and are providing penny lunches in various localities, they are carrying the financial burden which should be borne by other governmental bodies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor advertise and in every possible way bring to the attention of the public these and other contributing causes for the increase in public school expenditures.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Protesting Against Curtailment of Public School Educational Facilities

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The demands of our modern society have become so severe and so complex that the problem of the schools in preparing

their students for living under present conditions has become tremendously involved; and

WHEREAS, Because of the changing economic situation, many of the skills and arts formerly taught in the home have been transferred to the schools; and

WHEREAS, The enrichment of the curriculum made necessary to meet this complex civilization has been achieved by the addition of (1) vocational and industrial studies, (2) by instruction in the fine arts, (3) by health programs, (4) by training, in the social studies and understanding of social, economic and political organization, (5) by vocational and educational guidance to help the student adjust himself to the community in which he must live, and by other extensions of school service; and

WHEREAS, The shorter day in industry will mean that the generation in schools must be prepared for the right use of its leisure; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take vigorous action to guard against any curtailment of the school curriculum, or elimination of any educational activities, and that, furthermore, it work in every possible way to explain in all local communities the value of a diversified and purposeful course of study.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Protecting the School Year

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The school year of ten months has grown out of urban conditions; and

WHEREAS, The first step in economy in a time of financial stress is the attempt to shorten the length of the school year; and

WHEREAS, Under present conditions of unemployment which have resulted in the demoralizing of many homes, the school meets a social need in keeping the children occupied with educational activities of benefit to the individual, the state and the nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take all possible steps to inform the public of the dangers inherent in any shortening of the school year.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Urging Provisions For Raising Revenue For Adequate Educational Systems For Children of School Age

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, During the past two years, due to the industrial depression, a tremendous increase in school membership has shown itself largely in the junior and senior high schools; and

WHEREAS, The education of these workers, forced out of employment by industrial conditions over which they have no control, is a proper responsibility for the community to assume; and

WHEREAS, The increased burden on the schools has been accompanied by a decrease in school revenues; and

WHEREAS, Public and private businesses have long used loans and bond issues as a means of financing; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor recognizes as serious the emergency, created by a vast increase in school membership and a decrease in school revenues, and urges the expenditure of money by Boards of Education in sufficient amounts properly to maintain adequate systems of education for all children of school age even though payment for this education must be made at some future date through issuance of bonds or by loans.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, Secretary-Treasurer American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, We are in the midst of a serious and prolonged economic depression which is causing untold suffering to American workers; and

WHEREAS, Millions of workers are walking the streets in vain search for the opportunity to work and millions of others who may not be altogether jobless are working a very limited part of the time and therefore at greatly reduced wage aggregate; and

WHEREAS, All economists of any standing now recognize that even in the best of times, no matter what measures for the stabilization of employment may be taken, there will be for years to come many hundreds of thousands of workers unemployed; and

WHEREAS, The maintenance of these workers, many of them displaced by new machinery designed to benefit society, is rightfully a charge upon industry and society, and such workers if protected from unnecessary suffering can be expected to co-operate in social and industrial progress; and

WHEREAS, The conditions creating unemployment can be dealt with only if society as a whole through governmental action concerns itself with the problem; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring a system of unemployed insurance inaugurated and controlled by the states and supported and supervised by the Federal government, said system of unemployment insurance to embody the following features:

1. The insurance to be a charge on industry in the same way as workmen's compensation for accidents. If it is legitimate that a business should accumulate reserves in good times so as to be able to pay dividends in periods of depression, it is equally legitimate that indus-

try should accumulate reserves to tide over unemployed workers during slack times.

2. Contributions to be graduated, industries and establishments having more unemployment to pay a larger percentage of their payrolls into the fund.

3. Unemployed workers to receive no less than 40 per cent of their prevailing weekly wage, with 10 per cent additional for a wife and 5 per cent for each child up to two. Insurance to be paid for not more than 26 weeks in each year.

4. Anyone who has worked and for whom contribution has been paid in the state for a period of 35 weeks during a period of two years prior to claim shall be entitled to insurance.

5. Workers receiving insurance to be free to refuse to take jobs where a strike is in progress, or jobs involving a lowering of union standards.

6. Administration of the funds to be in the hands of a Bureau of the State Department of Labor, assisted by an advisory board consisting of two employers, two representatives of organized labor, to be in each instance appointed by the Governor, and one of the public, chosen by the aforementioned representatives of employers and labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Unemployment

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The question of unemployment presents the outstanding problem and challenge to America's collective intelligence and statesmanship; and

WHEREAS, Under modern technology every worker should have his ordinary needs fully satisfied since we are living in a surplus economy era; and

WHEREAS, Unemployment due to our economic system and those who control it for gain, forces the innocent worker and his dependents to bear an unduly heavy if not impossible economic burden; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That, pending the evolution of a saner economic system dominated by the idea of co-operative service instead of individual gain, American Federation of Labor urges upon Congress the adoption of the following program to be made effective at once:

1. The establishment of the six-hour day and five-day week without reduction of earnings, to be justified by the existence of a national emergency greater than war or flood.

2. The establishment of a unified system of government employment agencies working in close co-operation with similar state agencies to avoid duplication.

3. The enactment of legislation for unemployment insurance maintained by the Federal Government or the states with or without Federal aid, including the creation of a reserve to pay the unemployed in crises involving expenditures in excess of the unemployed reserves.

4. The establishment of economic councils on which labor shall be at least equally repre-

sented with industry, to plan for the stabilization of industry—public or private.

5. The long-range planning of necessary public works under federal and state appropriations.

6. The issuance of loans to states to help them finance public works and unemployment relief at least to the extent given to industry.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Modification of the Volstead Act

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate J. H. La Force, San Francisco Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States at the coming session will have under consideration modification of the prohibition law to permit light wines and beer; and

WHEREAS, Such change is of great importance to producers of grapes, barley and hops, and particularly to the grape industry which in California alone is the second largest agricultural industry, engaging 25,000 growers, embracing 500,000 acres of land, and representing an investment of \$350,000,000 in vineyards and wineries; and

WHEREAS, Of the two million tons of grapes produced annually in that state there is a surplus of as high as 455,000 tons, which surplus ruins the market for raisin, table and wine-juice grapes and is resulting in abandoned vineyards, foreclosures and bankruptcies; and

WHEREAS, Through modification of the prohibition laws to legalize light wines and beer, a large additional market will be opened to grape growers everywhere for the sale of their products; and

WHEREAS, Legalization of light wines, which are non-intoxicating, in fact, will promote true temperance and will not bring back the saloon; and

WHEREAS, Legalization of light wines will immediately put to work thousands of men now out of employment, not only in production of wine, but also in related industries; and

WHEREAS, Legalization of light wines will add millions of dollars to farm land values, will add millions of dollars to the annual income of grape growers, and will provide still more millions in income to related industries for bottles, barrels, lumber, printing, transportation, hotel, restaurant and public utility services; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we hereby go on record in favor of the immediate modification of the Volstead Act to allow the manufacture and sale of light wines and beer, and that we urge upon the senators and representatives in Congress to work and vote for such modification.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Finance Reconstruction Corporation Loans to Employers to Provide Employment For Workers

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate John J. Kane, of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The countless industrial plants, the workshops and mines throughout the nation are closed down because the proprietors of these enterprises believe that it would be impossible to operate at a profit; and

WHEREAS, Much industrial and economic stagnation has been caused through lack of adequate credit facilities for many corporations who could resume operations if funds were available, and

WHEREAS, There is absolutely no possibility for a business revival until men and women are back at work and earning some wages; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instructs its officers to attempt by all possible means to urge upon the United States Congress a proposal that the National Government shall launch a campaign, such as was done to halt hoarding, to induce employers of labor to resume operations on the basis of non-profit, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Finance Reconstruction Corporation be so reorganized as to advance credits to employers of labor who are prepared to give jobs without earning profits.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Treaty on Safety of Life At Sea

Resolution No. 43—By Delegation of the International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, Article 54 of the Treaty on Safety of Life at Sea, reads as follows:

"Every ship holding a certificate issued under Article 49 or Article 50 is subject, in the ports of the other contracting governments, to control by officers duly authorized by such governments in so far as the control is directed towards verifying that there is on board a valid certificate and, if necessary, that the condition of the vessel's seaworthiness corresponds substantially with the particulars of that certificate; that is to say, so that the ship can proceed to sea without danger to the passengers and the crew. In the event of this control giving rise to intervention of any kind, the officer carrying out the control shall forthwith inform the consul of the country in which the ship is registered of all the circumstances in which the intervention is deemed necessary", and

WHEREAS, From the foregoing it is plain that in ratifying the treaty we agree to surrender any right to go beyond visualizing the certificate; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, in the interest of safety earnestly protest against this Treaty of Safety of Life at Sea being ratified.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Supporting King Bill to Extend Application of Exclusion Laws to Seamen

Resolution No. 44—By Delegation of the International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, Neither the exclusion laws nor the laws against importation of contract labor has any application to the seamen; and

WHEREAS, Because of this thousands of aliens arrive in the United States, later to be hunted down, arrested and deported; and

WHEREAS, Senate 7—King Bill—will when enacted repair this oversight and close the channel through which immigrants come illegally, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federa-

tion of Labor in convention assembled, respectfully urges Congress to enact Senate 7 into law.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Independence of the Philippines

Resolution No. 45—By Delegation of the International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS The bill providing for the independence of the Philippines passed the House during the last session; and

WHEREAS, This bill contains a provision for the immediate exclusion of all Filipinos from the United States; and

WHEREAS, There seems to be a question as to the time necessary to bring about independence; and

WHEREAS, This bill is by unanimous consent and agreement to be taken up in the Senate at once; and

WHEREAS, There is some question as to the number of years which is to be given for the arranging of independence; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled that we urge upon the Senate to make the waiting time for independence as short as possible; and further be it

RESOLVED, That we must respectfully urge the immediate passage of the bill.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Legislation Regulating Banking

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS The development of the banking business has brought bankers into many fields of industrial and commercial activity in addition to the receiving of deposits and the making of loans; and

WHEREAS, Through the development of modern business methods, credit in enormous amounts has been secured from bankers by corporations; and

WHEREAS, In connection with the advancing of such credits the bankers have more and more asserted their control over credit to demand representation on boards of directors of borrowing corporations; and

WHEREAS, The rapid development of this practice has given the banker, the source of credit, far-reaching control over business policies and methods of conducting business; and

WHEREAS, This has also resulted, to a widespread extent, in bankers' domination over terms of employment and conditions of labor; and

WHEREAS, It has become notorious that the bankers of our country have largely proven themselves incompetent to enjoy the trust which had previously been placed in them; and

WHEREAS, It is becoming manifestly evident that regulatory legislation must be enacted; be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and are hereby, instructed to give their careful consideration in connection with the introduction of any Federal and State legislation affecting and regulating banking; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be requested to have prepared a legislative measure regulating banking so that the interest of depositors and those seeking credit will be protected and provisions incorporated which will eliminate the present condition under which our bankers

dominate and dictate business and industrial policy.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Federal License Law For Business Firms and Corporations

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L., through its delegates introduced a resolution at the Vancouver Convention, 1931, calling attention to the necessity of a Federal License law; and

WHEREAS, The Convention referred this resolution to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, It is advisable to summarize the conditions which make a Federal License Law necessary, and to outline some of the provisions which such a law should contain:

The great bulk of our manufacturing and our commerce is carried on by corporations, many of whom, several years ago, graduated from million to billion dollar institutions. These corporations secured their charters from those states whose laws were most liberal in the issuing of corporation charters.

There are several states notorious for the liberality of their incorporation laws, these states having greatly liberalized their statutes so that corporations would be induced to secure charters from them. As a result, there are a number of corporations whose main business and whose industrial plants are situated at a distance from the state from which they secured their charter.

Charters of incorporation convey certain specific privileges and exemptions, which make it easier and more safe for men to carry on their business than through partnerships or by individual activity and responsibility.

The individual business man is liable for all of his property for any debt he may owe. The owners of a corporation are only responsible for the debts the corporation may owe to the extent of their individual investment. The individual owner of a business is forced to lose all of his property to satisfy his debts, while the corporation stockholder is only responsible for the amount of his actual investment in the corporation.

The corporation is a collective form of doing business as contrasted to the individual's business activities and the charter of incorporation is a state grant establishing the right to organize for the purpose of carrying on business. It is also a guarantee that this right to organize carries with it privileges, an exemption from certain liabilities, which the individual business man or a partnership can not enjoy.

Our experience as wage-earners has been that it is these corporations with their charter right to organize, and their exemption from a number of liabilities which rests upon the individual, which have been the most active and aggressive factors in the program to prevent any organization among wage-earners. The corporations, enjoying their specific right to organize and their exemptions from certain liabilities granted them by their charter, have used their privileged position to place added liabilities upon wage-earners when they organize into trade unions.

Corporations and others holding a Federal license, without which they could not carry on an interstate business, would be called upon to submit at free-

quent intervals, not less than twice a year, a statement of the number of their employes, the number of man-hours worked, the total amount of their payroll for wage-earners and executives, and the total amount of their sales. This information would enable the Federal Government to possess data which would, in addition to giving statistics on unemployment, give the data which would indicate the changes taking place in the volume of business and the volume of wages. This would give the Federal Government the data now being collected by the Census of Manufacturers but instead of waiting for two years for the Census of Manufacturers to be taken, and many months afterwards before the results could be known, it would make it possible to have up-to-date information which would be as valuable a guide to the manufacturer and the business man as it would be to labor.

A provision should be incorporated providing for uniform accounting. It was not until the Interstate Commerce Commission was able to compel the railroads to adopt a uniform system of bookkeeping, that it was possible for the Commission to have any definite or any comparable knowledge of the railroads' actual business transactions and experience. It would by no means be an insuperable task to devise uniform systems of accounting for the various industrial and business organizations so that the textile, the iron and steel, the machine tool, the building and other industries, could have a uniform system of bookkeeping which was best adapted for their industry or business activity.

The Federal License Law should provide for reports from the licensees whenever the capital stock was to be increased or bonds issued.

Another general section of such a law should include what has been established by the Federal Courts or by Congress as fair and unfair trade practices. This provision would cover all the present activities of the Federal Trade Commission, and should go further.

Another general section of such a law should contain the public policy of the United States as enacted by Congress, or established by decisions of the United States Supreme Court, as they affect labor and business. It should include the substance and provisions of Section 2 of the present injunction law, which establishes the right of labor to organize into trade unions and choose its representatives free from any interference, intimidation, or coercion on the part of the employer.

We have been informed by some individuals that such a Federal License Law is revolutionary, that it is so radical it would not receive popular support. We have also been told that there was a question as to the constitutionality of some of the provisions as are being outlined.

The question of constitutionality was raised against the Ohio "Yellow Dog" Contract Law. We were informed when that measure was first given publicity, that the purpose of the law was praiseworthy but that it could not be enacted because of constitutional obstacles. The answer is that it is now the law of the United States.

As to a Federal License Law being a radical step, it will be quickly admitted that it is a most distinct departure, but as to its being radical we suggest that the radical change has already occurred. The far-reaching revolutionary methods of doing business through corporations instead of through partnerships or individual responsibility, has become the general practice.

The radical change is in the methods by which the great bulk of our business is now being transacted by corporations who could not exist except

for the special privileges granted to them by states having the most liberal laws covering incorporation. The most radical change of all is the control which these corporations have established over labor's opportunities to have a voice in determining their terms of employment and conditions of labor.

The individual's opportunities of earning a living, the standard of living he can enjoy in many instances are as fully dominated by the industrial policies applied by corporations as they are by the law of the land.

Federal laws to control the monopolistic trend of corporations to regulate their activities through anti-trust laws, have been as ineffective as the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act. It has become a growing opinion that the anti-trust laws should be repealed. There must be a more adequate law to take their place.

We are convinced that the most wise, the most practical and the most effective method of establishing necessary control and regulation, is through the enactment of a law which provides that all individuals, partnerships and corporations, doing an interstate business, must secure a Federal license, a license which would be revoked whenever the licensee violates the provisions of his license; be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby requested to have a thorough study made of the problems involved, and prepare a bill for introduction in the Congress of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Policy of Lorton (Va.) Reformatory Employing Prisoners on Skilled Labor

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Lorton Reformatory at Lorton, Virginia, is employing larger numbers of prisoners at skilled labor; and

WHEREAS, After a thorough investigation of conditions at the Reformatory, the Washington Metal Trades Council finds that this Reformatory is doing much work formerly done by trade unionists in the District of Columbia; and

WHEREAS, This Reformatory, while placing the inmates at skilled labor, is apparently preparing to greatly enlarge some of its shops in which skilled labor is done; and

WHEREAS, It is unjust that this labor should prevent honest workmen from securing employment in the industries of Washington, D. C., and vicinity; be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention approve of the efforts of the Metal Trades Council of Washington, D. C., to prevent any extension in the use of convicts on work requiring skilled labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor give all assistance possible to the efforts being made by the Washington Metal Trades Council to deal with the problem which has been created through the policy of the Lorton Reformatory, which provides for a large increase in the working of convicts on manufactured articles requiring skilled labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

At 4 o'clock the rules were suspended and the convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Tuesday morning, November 22.

Second Day—Tuesday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio,
November 22, 1932.

The Convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees—Shanessy, Birthright, Bowen, Horan, Nelson, McPetridge, Hutcheson, Flynn (T.), McLaughlin (H.), Kelly (W. J.), Harrison, Schulte, Coulter, Dubinsky, Oretsky, Katofsky, Kaplan, Wasilevsky, Gillooly, Tighe, Ryan (J. P.), O'Brien (S. P.), Lewis (J. L.), Murray, Kennedy (T.), Hartneady, Fagan, Boylan, Brennan, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Burris, Soderberg, Starr, Hatch, Fay, Jewell, Scharrenberg, Soderstrom, Taylor (T. N.), Lewis (J. C.), Reed, Iglesias, Turnblazer, Reilly, Cherry, Davis (F.), Fox (H. W.), Kutz, Patterson, Watkins, Williams, Parks, Koenig, Starkweather, Brooks, Mitchell (H.), Becker, Graham, Friedrich, Souza, Augustino, Gates, Myers, Rigby, Rivin, Hammer, Newbill, Quinn, Draper, Uppler, Switalski, Greenway, Curran, Wood, Miles, Kromelbein, Wells, Bohn, McElligott, Richardson, Meyer, Lufano, Thoman.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Secretary Haggerty, of the Credentials Committee, for a supplemental report.

Supplemental Report, Committee on Credentials
Delegate Haggerty, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

November 22, 1932.

Your Committee on Credentials has examined credentials and recommends that the following be seated:

Vonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor of Westchester County—William J. McGeory, 1 vote.

Film Exchange Employees' Local No. 16196, St. Louis, Mo.—John P. Nick, 1 vote.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

Brooklyn, N. Y.,
November 21, 1932.

American Federation of Labor,
Executive Council,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Highly approve reports on unemployment insurance as outlined in this morning's Times. Unemployment insurance a plank in the platform on which I was elected. Gladly do all in my power to help labor program.

GEORGE BLUMBERG, Senator-Elect,
Seventh Senatorial District,

New York, N. Y.,
November 21, 1932.

William Green,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Netherland Plaza Hotel,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

The National Kindergarten Association in annual meeting convened send greetings to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor and best wishes for the success of all efforts put forth for the advancement of child welfare.

BESSIE LOCKE,
Executive Secretary.

Santa Rosa, Cal.
November 21, 1932.

William Green,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

California grape growers and workers in grape products and allied industries on behalf of this and other grape-growing sections of the United States and on behalf of 80 million citizens to whom wine is a staple article of diet appeal to you asking that light wines be included in any recommendation American Federation of Labor makes to Congress with respect to changing Volstead Act. Twenty-seven thousand grape growers engaged in California's second-largest agricultural pursuit with \$350,000,000 investment in vineyards and plants positively face ruin unless light wine included with beer in modification issue. Legalized sale of light wine means employment for thousands of workers in grape-wine and allied industries throughout the United States. Failure to include wine would cause irreparable damage to state and nation's grape industry and discrimination against non-beer consumers. American Federation of Labor support means light wines will be included in any prohibition modification.

CLARENCE F. LEA,
Member of Congress.

The Governor of the state of Nevada, F. B. Balzar, sent a telegram inviting the Federation to hold its next Convention in the city of Reno. The telegram stated that the invitation was extended on behalf of union labor and the state of Nevada.

President Green: The Chair wishes to announce the addition of the name of Delegate Leo E. George, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, to the Committee on Education.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-Second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

In compliance with Section 4. Article 3. of

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

149

the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, the undersigned, representing your Auditing Committee, and consisting of three delegates appointed by the presidents of their respective national and international organizations, at the request of President Green, herewith submit the following report for your consideration:

We have very carefully examined and audited all the books and records of the American Federation of Labor, covering financial transactions for the fiscal year beginning September 1, 1931, and ending August 31, 1932. We are pleased to report that all books and records were found correct in every respect.

The total receipts and disbursements for the respective accounts are as follows:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand on August 31, 1931		
Per capita tax	\$312,809.17	\$370,842.07
AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST	94,284.97	
Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions	17,048.90	
Initiation Fees	3,659.95	
Reinstatement Fees	159.50	
Supplies	3,905.03	
Interest	12,011.13	
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.	5,014.89	
Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts	2,381.64	
Dividend No. 1 Union Labor Life Stock	75.00	
A. F. of L. Building Fund	15,000.00	
Total Receipts	466,350.18	
Grand Total	\$837,192.25	

EXPENSES

General	\$391,832.87	
AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST	71,871.04	
Defense Fund:		
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions	868.00	
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions	4,175.37	
Total Expenses	\$468,747.28	

Balance of funds on hand August 31, 1932	\$368,444.97
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RECAPITULATION

In General Fund	\$ 33,949.88
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions	334,495.09

Balance of funds on hand, August 31, 1932	\$368,444.97
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WHERE FUNDS ARE DEPOSITED AND INVESTED:

The bank balances of the Secretary and Treasurer were confirmed by statements from the respective depositories.

We find the funds of the American Federation of Labor to be deposited and invested as follows:

U. S. Treasury Bonds (3½%)	\$125,000.00
Premiums on U. S. Treasury Bonds	1,289.07
Total investment in U. S. Treasury Bonds	\$126,289.07
\$102,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4¼%) — Par value \$100.00 @ 86½%	\$ 88,230.00
\$80,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4¼%) — Par value \$100.00 @ 93¾%	74,200.00
\$18,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (4¼%) — Par value \$100.00 @ 85½%	15,390.00
Total investment in Federal Land Bank Bonds	\$177,820.00
On Deposit in the First National Bank, Kansas City, Mo., (Subject to check)	47,335.90
Union Labor Life Insurance Company Stock	15,000.00
On deposit in Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C., subject to check of Secretary Morrison	\$ 10,330.87
Outstanding checks	8,330.87
	2,000.00
Total	\$368,444.97

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Office of the Treasurer

Kansas City, Mo., September 8, 1932.

Mr. WILLIAM GREEN, President,
American Federation of Labor,
A. F. of L. Building,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir and Brother:

This is to certify that in accordance with your instructions and the directions of the Executive Council, the undersigned International officers examined the funds of the American Federation of Labor in the possession of Treasurer Martin F. Ryan of Kansas City, Missouri, on September 8, 1932, for the year ending August 31, 1932, and submit the following report:

United States Treasury Bonds, including premium\$126,289.07
 Federal Land Bank Bonds..... 177,820.00
 Stock—The Union Labor Life Insurance Company 15,000.00
 Checking account—First National Bank, Kansas City, Missouri, September 3, 1932, certified by Assistant Auditor Chas. F. Traf-ton 47,335.90

Total amount in hands of Treasurer, \$366,444.97
 Respectfully submitted,

(S) FRANK DUFFY,

First Vice-President, American Federation of Labor, General Secretary, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

(S) JOHN J. PFEIFFER,
 General Secretary-Treasurer, United Leather Workers' International Union.

(S) CHAS. F. SCOTT,
 Secretary-Treasurer, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.
 Subscribed and sworn to before me this 8th day of September, 1932.

(S) MABEL SMITH,
 Notary Public.

My commission expires Nov. 3, 1932.
 SEAL:

WOODROW WILSON MEMORIAL FUND

On August 1, 1925, an appeal was issued in accordance with instructions of the El Paso Convention, to all affiliated organizations, for financial contributions to be used for the construction of a suitable building on the grounds of the Woodrow Wilson Memorial College to be used for such educational development as may be determined upon by the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and that the same should be in memory of the late President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson.

It developed that this project was abandoned. Consequently, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, at its August, 1931 meeting, authorized the return of the money paid in to the original contributors.

RECEIPTS

Total contributions, August 1, 1925, to December 31, 1931.....\$ 1,558.91
 Interest 179.45
 Total Receipts\$ 1,738.36

EXPENDITURES

Contributions returned to original contributors\$ 1,536.91
 Amounts contributed by directly affiliated unions; transferred to

general account of the American Federation of Labor, due to said unions being out of existence at time transfer was made..... 22.00
 Accumulated interest; transferred to general account of American Federation of Labor..... 179.45
 Total\$ 1,738.36

RECAPITULATION

Total amount received (contributions and interest)\$ 1,738.36
 Total amount expended (refunds and transfers) 1,738.36

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid has been mailed to each contributor.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

GOMPERS MEMORIAL FUND

By direction of the Forty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council, an appeal was issued under date of December 26, 1928, to affiliated organizations for contributions to be used for the erection of a suitable memorial to the late President of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers:

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including August 31, 1932 \$115,964.23
 Interest on fund investments..... 12,101.39

Total Receipts\$128,065.62
 Total Expenses, January 12, 1929 to and including August 31, 1932.... 29,865.50

Balance on hand August 31, 1932..\$ 98,200.12

Funds deposited and invested as follows:

Mount Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C., checking account..\$ 1,775.12
 United States Treasury Bonds\$ 95,000.00
 Premium on U. S. Treasury Bonds..... 1,425.00
 Total investment in U. S. Treasury Bonds 96,425.00

Total\$ 98,200.12

The United States Treasury Bonds bear interest at the rate of three and one-eighth (3 $\frac{1}{8}$ %) per cent.

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid will be mailed to each contributor when this fund is closed.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported. We personally inspected and counted the United States Treasury Bonds and the checking account bank book, and found them correct.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
BUILDING FUND:

Balance on hand August 31, 1931..\$	62,729.19
To A. F. of L. General Fund, February 17, 1932.....	15,000.00
	<u>\$ 47,729.19</u>
Receipts	33,739.53
Receipts and balance.....	<u>81,468.72</u>
Expenses	<u>25,874.83</u>
Balance on hand August 31, 1932..\$	55,593.89

(See page 38, Executive Council's report for itemized statement of receipts and expenses.)

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

We find the balance, \$55,593.89, invested and deposited as follows:

\$40,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds (5%)—par value \$100.00 @ 94½%	\$ 37,750.00
\$8,000.00 1st 4½ U. S. Liberty Bonds @ 99 30/32.....	7,995.00
\$6,000.00 3¼ U. S. Treasury Bonds @ 99 21/32.....	5,979.38
On Deposit in Mount Vernon Sav- ings Bank, Washington, D. C., subject to check.....\$	3,885.57
Outstanding check.....	16.06
	<u>3,869.51</u>

Total\$ 55,593.89

We also personally inspected and counted the Federal Land Bank Bonds, the U. S. Liberty Bonds, the U. S. Treasury Bonds and the bank book which showed a balance of \$3,885.57 less outstanding check, \$16.06, equals \$3,869.51, and found them correct.

Your Committee believes it appropriate to conclude this report with the following observations:

The Defense Fund of the American Federation of Labor amounted to \$334,495.09 at the end of the fiscal year covered by our audit. This represents an increase of \$16,180.90 over the amount in this fund at the conclusion of the last fiscal year.

The General Fund balance has decreased from that of the previous year. This is undoubtedly due to current economic conditions which have naturally affected the revenues of the Federation. In this connection, however, we are pleased to report that the decrease in operating expenses indicated during the current year reflects the earnest efforts of those entrusted with the management of the Federation's financial affairs to maintain the necessary equilibrium between incoming revenue and expenditures.

As is pointed out in the Executive Council's yearly report, the AMERICAN FEDERA-

TIONIST, the official publication of the A. F. of L., "has weathered the depression most satisfactorily" and "has turned a substantial sum into our treasury." We commend the officers of the Federation on their excellent management of this periodical both as to literary quality and revenue producing ability. May we repeat the plea of previous auditing committees that the delegates and officers of national and international organizations continue to do all in their power to spread the influence of the magazine, for it is a bulwark of strength to our movement.

We are pleased to advise that the finances of the American Federation of Labor Building Fund reflect their customary healthy state. The building itself is in excellent condition and splendidly equipped. Trade-Unionists visiting the nation's capital will enjoy a trip to our headquarters building.

Our observations indicate that the clerical and building personnel of the American Federation of Labor headquarters is of a high standard. Both President Green and Secretary Morrison enjoy the maximum loyalty and co-operation of their assistants.

Particular mention must be made of the manner in which the A. F. of L. officials books and records are kept. Neatness, efficiency and thoroughness characterize the keeping of these records. The figures are clear and permit of no ambiguous or erroneous interpretation. Your committee wishes to congratulate the resident officers of the Federation upon the selection of such careful and efficient assistants.

In conclusion, we wish to extend our thanks to Secretary Morrison and the members of his bookkeeping department for their friendly co-operation and assistance in the preparation of this audit. Our duty was made agreeable and pleasant throughout.

Fraternaly submitted,
LEO E. GEORGE, Chairman,
WM. J. GORMAN,
DANIEL P. HAGGERTY, Sec'y.
Auditing Committee

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Chair wishes to announce that the Fraternal Delegates will be prepared to submit their messages to the officers and delegates at tomorrow forenoon's session, beginning about 10 o'clock.

Committee To Escort Archbishop McNicholas

President Green: Archbishop McNicholas.

of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, will address the Convention this afternoon at 3:30 o'clock.

I desire to appoint Brother Frank Duffy, First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor; Brother Thomas E. Burke, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters, and Brother Michael J. Casey, of the Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs, as a committee to wait upon the Archbishop and escort him to the platform this afternoon.

Some time tomorrow we expect Secretary Doak and perhaps Mr. Whitney, of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

Committee To Escort Senator Davis

President Green: I desire to appoint a committee consisting of John J. Manning, Secretary of the Union Label Trades Department; M. J. McDonough, of the Building Trades Department, and John Coefield, of the Plumbers and Steamfitters, to escort United States Senator James J. Davis to the platform.

President Green: We have with us this morning a distinguished United States Senator whom we are always pleased to have come as one of us. We consider him as a part of us because he served as Secretary of Labor and because he has been identified with the American Federation of Labor. Senator Davis joined the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers early. He suffered as many pioneers who joined organized labor suffered. He experienced all the hardships of trade unionists who have been blacklisted and discharged. He met the test, but always remained loyal and devoted to the trade-union movement. He is a trade unionist, he is one of the trade unionists who has been honored and elected to represent a sovereign state in the United States Senate. At the recent election he was re-elected by a very decisive and substantial majority, and that notwithstanding the fact that a tremendous drive was made against him by his enemies and his opponents. I am sure I voice your sentiments when I say, we are pleased to have him here this morning to address the Convention. We know he will bring to you a message of inspiration and education, and I take very great pleasure in presenting our friend, our comrade and our colleague, Senator James J. Davis, of Pennsylvania.

HONORABLE JAMES J. DAVIS
(United States Senator, Pennsylvania)

The American Federation of Labor can review fifty-one years of service. That experience

is a good guide to the future. The long—yes, sometimes lonesome road—that you have traveled in your quest for the betterment of workers has been tiresome at times, but it has been worth it because you have kept on. And so must you keep on—striving to better the conditions of the people whom you serve because when the worker prospers the country prospers.

We have just concluded one of the most heated campaigns the country has ever had. The people have spoken, and a new group will on March 4th conduct the business of the Government. From the election returns, one would say the people wanted a change.

Politics should now take a long vacation and the incoming Government should have our most hearty support on all measures which will promote the best interests of the people. During the depression it was suggested that we have a dictator. At this time that cannot be, because we will continue on as an all-American government under our constitution. I hope employment will continue on the increase, as shown by the reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Normal times—yes, prosperous times—will come to us through the stabilization of industry and agriculture. In our zeal to produce, science has played a very prominent part. Our farmers now make three blades of grass grow where one grew before. It is also harvested with less manpower. It is the same in industries. We are building factories now and operating them, not alone without skilled labor, but without manpower to handle the material from the time it enters the machine until it comes out a finished product. This means to both agriculture and industry, over-production.

We claim to be an intelligent Democracy. We know what causes this over-production and yet, we fail to regulate it or find a way to distribute it to the consumer. However, we continue to find fault with the system that permits it. Kingdoms, dictatorships and democracies have been wrestling with this problem of over-production for centuries, yet we continue on with it.

In the twelve years I have served the United States Government many changes have taken place in our economic life. I have seen prosperity at its height—I hope bad times at its worst; however, I am sure with our manpower and our raw materials and our genius, we will see prosperous times again. My many years of experience as Secretary of Labor prompted me upon entering the Senate of the United States, to introduce a bill—a bill which will seek legislation to establish the prevailing rate of wage for those employed on Government work.

That experience was crystallized into a Federal Statute, and while the bill as passed was not as originally drafted, yet it has proved its worth. I refer to the Davis-Bacon law. The measure as passed was difficult of administration, as are all innovations of the law, and I am sure you will agree with me when I say that it is being administered by the Administration through the Department of Labor as well as it is possible to do so, and has put millions of dollars into the pay envelopes of our workers.

My experience as Secretary of Labor also prompted me to secure legislation, which has for its purpose the stabilization of the Bituminous Coal mining industry. If we can get the op-

erators, miners, and business in general together on this problem, the stabilization of that industry is assured.

Three presidents, Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, have called it to the attention of Congress. Republicans, Democrats, and other parties, have it in their platforms. President Coolidge in his message said that improvement in the industry could be obtained "if regional consolidations and more freedom in the formation of marketing associations, under the supervision of the Department of Commerce, were permitted." President Hoover, addressing your convention at Boston, on October 6, 1930, spoke of the necessity of reducing the destructive competition in the soft coal industry, and added that "if our regulatory laws be at fault they should be revised."

Governor Roosevelt, in his campaign, called attention to the conditions, and said, if elected, he would help stabilize the coal industry.

The bituminous coal industry is receiving our careful, conscientious consideration. The bituminous coal industry represents an investment of billions of dollars, and this huge investment yields wholly an inadequate return to the investors and owners. In normal times seven hundred thousand miners depend upon this afflicted industry for a living for themselves and family, and upon this industry much depends for the prosperity of the Nation.

During the hearings of this legislation, known as the Davis-Kelly bill, representatives of other major industries expressed an interest in stabilization. Many of them urged an amendment to our present anti-trust laws to bring about stabilization. If that is the remedy, I am for it, because that is the purpose of the Davis-Kelly bill.

Many leading economists and industrial leaders recommend stabilization through the curtailment of production, but how can we regulate production in the United States if competing production is permitted to be dumped here by competitors in other countries? Regulating production to five days a week in the United States without curtailing foreign competitive production would mean in a short time, with our modern machinery in foreign lands, competing with us—and so, if not prohibited from dumping its product on our home markets, it would only be a short time before we will have to regulate ourselves out of more days work per week.

It is not necessary for me to go into details with you representatives of labor as to how modern machinery has increased production in the United States. However, I might say that we can now produce all the coal, textiles, boots and shoes, steel, and other basic products, needed for normal consumption in six months. Authorities inform us that if we return to normal employment today, because of modern machinery, we can employ just a little more than half of the unemployed.

It will be difficult to regulate this great industrial machine because it has developed into one of the most complicated and interlocked machines that we have ever known. I want to repeat again that if we regulate production in the United States for normal consumption to five days work, and still not take into consideration our competitors of other lands, with their competing productions, we will be confronted with the same problem again.

The discussions of the campaign are still fresh in our minds. Every phase of the Government's business was freely discussed. We talked about the tariff, prohibition, modification of the Volstead Act, peace, armaments, foreign debts, and what not. Taxes was an all-important item. I am one of those who believe that the American people do not want to assume the burden of the billions of foreign debts, but on the other hand, they want their taxes reduced. If those debtors of ours would reduce their armaments, they could in a short time pay their debts without any discomfort to them.

If our foreign debtors continue to pay us what they owe, and that's over a period of sixty-two years, they won't be anxious to start a new war among themselves during that time. If they don't pay us, this mountain of debt will always remind them of the cost of war, and it would probably be a long step towards ultimate peace. I am a member of the Naval Committee of the United States Senate. I know the cost of a battleship; I know the cost of a cruiser. If we would spend the cost of one of these during the life of the cruiser, in the form of advertising to keep the cost and casualties of war before our people, it would make us less eager to get into another great conflict.

Taxes. We carry a tremendous load in the form of taxes from the World War. At the close of the war we had a debt of 27 billion dollars, and it has been reduced until now it is about 20 billion. Retirement on the public debts and interest charges cost us about one billion a year; expenses for veterans of all wars amount to close to another billion, and the upkeep of the Army and Navy is close to seven hundred million dollars; and with a few other items of government it brings our budget to approximately three billion dollars a year. It will be difficult to make reductions in armament unless foreign governments do likewise. If the world will follow President Hoover's advice, it will mean two hundred million dollars a year reduction in taxes through the reduction of armament for us.

The problem is, where shall we cut the appropriation for Government service? Shall we cut the Labor Department appropriation? Shall we cut the appropriation for Public Works?

Shall we cut in what might be termed subventions for ships? Last winter there was a great discussion of the subvention of the mails. One of the shipping companies came to ask for a part of the subvention for carrying the mails to South America. They had what was formerly a foreign vessel. They tried to build a vessel in the United States for the amount of money they had—I think it was a million dollars.

They went to Canada and organized a concern. Then they went to New Castle-on-Tyne and built that ship for one million dollars. I said to him: "How much would it have cost you to build that ship in the United States, paying the wages of men to do that work in this country?" He said it would cost two million dollars to build that ship in the United States. Now we are going to be confronted with either having all the ships that are in use in the United States, and which fly the American flag at sea, built in foreign lands, or else we have got to make a subvention in a form such as we are now giving, or else the wages

of the shipping men will have to be reduced to the level of foreign workers. You and I should always stand for the American ship builder to have American wages for the men building his ships.

The problem now is to find a new plan of taxation for federal, state, and municipal governments. We cannot continue to put this burden on the small home and small farm. Since the deflation of wages the cry has been and will continue to be "Reduced Taxes." I am one of those who believe that good times will not return to us until the farmer and the worker receive for their products and their labor their full share of the country's economic income. The last measure to raise revenue for the government taxed the ingenuity of the Ways and Means Committee of the House and of the Senate Finance Committees. Old-timers, members of these committees, told me that it was the toughest job they had ever tackled in the many years they had been legislators.

Talk about taxing the incomes of the rich! That's a small group now. Most of them are in hock.

Although those who voted in the last election seemed to take a different view, I am entirely satisfied that President Hoover did all that was humanly possible in meeting the depression. The future will demonstrate the correctness of what I am saying.

I am for referring the Eighteenth Amendment back to the people as provided by the Constitution, and I am for immediate modification of the Volstead Act. There is no higher law than the will of the people. When a nation speaks let's give it what it wants. Giving the people what they want will give the government much needed revenue. As far as I can personally bring it about, modification will come this winter, also the proposition to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment will be before the states for action at the same time.

As I said in my primary campaign, and especially as I said to those who were opposed to repeal and modification, I thought it was only the people's right to vote for resubmission of the Eighteenth Amendment and the legalization of good beer. In fact, that I came from the home of the worker, and I have never seen a home broken up which had on its table a loaf of bread, a piece of cheese and a glass of beer.

Taxes are giving the American people nightmares. Taxes have risen in this country to an appalling extent. More than 40 years ago my father built a home just outside the town limits of Sharon, Pennsylvania. At that time the taxes on his home were six dollars a year. Now they are more than fifty dollars a year, yet no special improvements have been made, except a new macadam road that passes alongside this house. We can't for long continue this growing tax upon the small home and the small farm without making this nation a nation of tenant rather than home owners.

Cities, counties and states must find a new way to relieve this burden on the home and small farms, and all forms of government, from the village to the nation, must find new sources of revenue, revenue that is easy to collect and not too great a burden for the people to carry.

According to the report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor, we get a word of encouragement that leads us to believe that we are on the way back to normal times. This setback which we received more than two years ago, had depressed our minds as well as our business. In some quarters it has provoked a spirit of pessimism alien to anything seen before in our American history. Some have even begun to query whether we shall ever recover from the blow, while others have been telling us that our only hope lies in abolishing capitalism and setting up a new economic order based on Communistic ideas. So far as any of those theories ever being put into practice, we find the people therein suffering from the same difficulty. It seems to me that our present troubles are in a large measure due to failure of the past plan. For pessimism is a disease of the mind, so likewise is optimism that fails to consider causes and consequences. The philosopher who walked with his gaze always directed toward the stars eventually tumbled into a ditch and was badly hurt. Much of our optimism during the past few years was based on our belief that hard times could not come again, have led us to believe anything that we wanted to believe, even when it was opposed to every economic law that had been discovered in the last 150 years, has been quite as foolish as the wandering of the philosopher who, in order to keep his eyes on the stars, paid no attention to the group over which he was walking. We have defied economic laws as Ajax who defied the lightning; but we have no more overcome them than the defiance of Ajax rendered harmless the awful thunderbolts of the sky.

A wise business man plans, and a wise government should also plan. Our government in the past has only collected enough money to pay its operating expenses. It does not set aside, like the average corporation, a reserve for the proverbial rainy day which eventually descends on both individuals and peoples, and I might add, governments as well. If the government had emulated the ordinary prudence of the great corporations, and set aside even as small an amount of 5 per cent of the receipts in the last ten years, we should now have something like two and a half billion dollars ready for immediate public works.

We have under the Wagner law a Planning Board which is now functioning. Wouldn't it be well in the future, when we turn back to normal times, to set aside a certain amount of the tax collected to enable us in distress times, such as we are passing through, to create a reserve fund to be used in times of stress? I want to make it clear that we must comprehend thoroughly what planning means and do our planning in a business-like way. We must plan for the future and plan adequately, and quit this nonsense of thinking that all will go well with us. In the past we have tended to believe that we were "God's chosen people," and that our faith in ourselves would be justified whether or no we resorted to works to justify our faith. Every nation of antiquity had a similar faith, and every one of them has disappeared for good and suffi-

cient reason. As we read in Holy Writ, "Faith without works is dead."

Some people, and their number appears to be growing, seem to think that the government, if it only would, could give every man a job. This is one of the many delusions that must be guarded against. No government, not even the richest, can perform the impossible. A job is something that somebody wants done; and how is the government going to find out what is and what is not, desired by the Toms, Dicks and Harrys, who constitute the mass of our population? If governments have failed because they have often done too little, they have failed quite as often because they have tried to do too much.

The Emperor Constans decreed in the year 341 that superstition must cease in Rome, but after he had made the law he had not the slightest idea how to enforce it; and I am afraid that if the government of the United States should decree that unemployment must cease, the authorities would have as much difficulty in enforcing that law as the Roman Emperor would have had in trying to enforce a law against superstition. No government or individual is wise enough to abolish unemployment, or to provide everybody with a job.

But, our government is not, or need not be, entirely helpless in the matter of providing jobs. While it can not furnish a job to every person who wants one, it might do a great deal for industry and the jobless by forwarding the work on public buildings. That work has a vastly stimulating effect on business as a whole.

I think that our present condition is analogous to a condition that sometimes occurred at my home in my youth. We had an old-fashioned pump that in extreme dry weather would refuse to function because of the contraction of the leather valves, so we would have to pour a little water into the pump to prime it, and after it was primed we had to pump the handle vigorously to get the desired household supply. There was plenty of water in the well, but it needed that little reinforcement in order to bring it to the surface.

The government has done as much as it could in the public works line without the issuance of bonds. During the Hoover administration there were something like over two billion dollars spent in public works. It has been estimated that for every man working on a public building there are three working in some other place to serve him with the materials to erect that building. If we wish to save civilization, we must surely find some way to get rid of wars and industrial depressions. It is useless for us to say that there has always been war and industrial depressions. That is true, but wars and industrial depressions are both becoming more terrible with the years. They are out of harmony with our ideals, with every modern purpose and with all that bids our humanity to hope.

Of war Benjamin Franklin wrote that there never had been a good one, and of peace he said that there had never been a bad one. War does not fit within the frame of an in-

dustrial society, and industrial depressions are an evil which no Sophists, however clever, could find words that would constitute an honest eulogium. We must put an end to these evils, or they will put an end to society as we have known or wish to know it.

There has been progress in the world and all our hopes are bound up with the aim of further progress. The machine is both the glory and a scandal of our age. It is the glory because it enabled man to create more wealth in twenty years than the world could formerly create in eighteen centuries. It is the scandal, because after it has created enough wealth to furnish a considerable degree of satisfaction to all, many are left in a condition immensely worse than were the majority of the slaves in ancient Greece and Rome, who at least seemed to have had enough to eat and a roof with which to shelter their heads.

There is something wrong in a society in which men go hungry while the farmers are unable to sell the products of their bursting granaries; in which men go thinly clad while manufacturers are able to produce in a few months, or even weeks, garments which King Solomon in all his glory might have envied; in which men sleep under bridges or on park benches while carpenters, bricklayers, and stonemasons are lying idle.

But I am not seeking to solve the social problem. That is a task too difficult for one man. But I believe with all my heart that the creation of a Sinking Fund to be used by the government in times of depression, such as the one we are now passing from, providing for the erection of much needed public works is a modest proposal, would do much to restore business confidence and aid labor. We are all equal, and it is better to give men work than charity and every true American worker would prefer it. We have been generous to other governments, and to their citizens as well, with our dollars, and we have scaled down their debts and given them long terms of payment at a low percentage. They have in turn paid out money in doles, relief and public improvements. Most of their governments have gone into business, while our motto has been less government in business and more business in government. We have been helpful to the world and we are now beginning to realize that our first duty is to see that our own people are well housed, well nourished and well clad, and we should strive to do so by all the means possible, but best of all by providing them with work.

The Planning Board is now organized. Let's see to it that when normal times return that a part of the revenue is set aside to meet emergencies such as we are sure to meet in the depressions that are to come.

Representatives are here not alone from every quarter of the United States, but every part of the North American continent. Our Canadian brothers are interested in the prosperity of the United States, because prosperity in the United States means prosperity in Canada and vice versa. Much has been said today about the new tariff barriers between the United States and Canada. Canada's tariff on one particular item is three

times as high as the tariff in the United States. I do not believe it is a tariff of retaliation, but purely one of protection to their workers. They want protection from the cheap labor of the rest of the world. Canada, like the United States, will not permit its workers to compete with the cheap labor of other countries. Canada and the United States are two powerful nations. Canada has a larger area than the United States. They, too, want peace. They have had enough of war. These two tremendously rich countries have given to the world the greatest example of how two powerful nations can exist side by side in peace and happiness. Three thousand miles of common boundary separate our two nations, yet nowhere along this tremendous stretch of border can there be found a rifle or charge of gunpowder to protect one nation from the other. On this side of the land no one would dare suggest the building of a fortification against Canada, and I am sure that sentiment prevails in Canada. War—we don't want it. War to me is terrible. When the United States entered the World War its national debt was \$1,250,000,000. At the end of the war that indebtedness had increased to something like \$27,000,000,000. Had it not been for the World War the annual budget would be about one and one-half to two billions of dollars instead of nearly five billions.

I again repeat, war is costly. We, the people of the United States and Canada, feel our primary goal is human happiness, and that comes only by peaceful relations. We are full-fledged brothers in the cause of peace, and this friendly relationship and understanding will continue. I am sure, to flourish for the centuries to come, and will be looked upon as the model, peace-loving people of the world.

I shall conclude by pointing out to you again that the United States is the largest employer of labor in the world. It employs, including the Army and Navy, nearly one million men and women, and its annual payroll is about \$1,300,000,000. I am satisfied it can safely be said as a whole that it is a model employer of labor, and my friends, it is our business to keep it so. No one can deny that the President of the United States has stood by and has used the power of his office to maintain the worker's wage. Sometimes it is a thankless task, but where one serves faithfully and honestly, even though not appreciated at the time, will in the end do him justice.

May I conclude by saying that I have been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for over 40 years. The first Chairman of the group that organized it also gave it its name, discussed its principles and its future in the home of my father.

There is one representative to this Convention whom we will miss. That one is the former Secretary of the Amalgamated Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, David J. Davis. A more careful, conscientious exponent of trade-union principles could not be found. He was a good husband and father, a good neighbor, a good citizen and a tower of strength in the movement for the betterment of the worker. His name will no longer be upon

the roll of this organization. He will never again discuss these great principles with you, but I am sure his spirit will be with you, and as long as his spirit is with you, you will carry on.

The name of David J. Davis, Secretary-Treasurer of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, and his work for that association will live on and future generations will be benefited by it. The passing of this stalwart trade unionist will be a distinct and irreparable loss to the American labor movement.

May we continue along on our way, striving with all our might to reach the common goal that the average man desires, and that is to give the worker a wage that is enough for comfort, enough to make his house a home and enough to assure him that the struggle for existence will not crowd out the things worth existing for. Let us hope that when the new administration takes hold on March 4, that the Department of Labor, Statistical Bureau, will continue to say we are on the road to better times.

President Green: I wish to thank Senator Davis on behalf of the officers and delegates of the Convention for his visit this morning and for the message which he delivered to us just now. We always regard Senator Davis as a part of our great organized labor movement. He has accepted invitations extended by the President of the American Federation of Labor to attend the annual conventions of the Federation for many years. You who were in attendance at the Vancouver Convention will recall that he made a trip all the way across the continent to attend the Convention of the American Federation of Labor. We are grateful for his presence. We appreciate his message. We wish him continued success in his work as United States Senator.

Memorial To Deceased Members

President Green: It has always been the custom of the American Federation of Labor to hold a brief memorial service for our departed fellow workers who have passed away during the previous year. The list of names of those who passed away is always read and then we stand for a moment in silence, paying our tribute of respect to our departed fellow workers. We are always bowed down with sadness because we realize that when the list is read that it seems to be increasing. This year we have an unusually large list.

As the names are read by the Secretary, most of you will recall the presence and the voice of some departed brother who attended our convention so many years. I hope all will be seated while we reverently pay our tribute of respect to our departed brothers.

I will call upon Secretary Morrison to read the list, and if we have omitted any names due to an oversight or because of failure to report, I wish that a friend or delegate might rise and give the names so they may be inserted in the record.

List of Labor Officials and Representatives Deceased Since Vancouver Convention, 1931, and Date of Death

J. F. Curley, President, American Wire Weavers' Protective Association. December, 1931.

Max Freund, Executive Board Member, Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union. January 31, 1932.

Howard M. Shine, President, Kankakee Federation of Labor. February, 1932.

Frank McCarthy, Special Organizer, American Federation of Labor. March 23, 1932.

Herman E. Wills, Legislative Representative, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. March 26, 1932.

C. P. Ford, Chairman, Executive Council, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; President, Union Co-operative Insurance Association. March 27, 1932.

Charles A. Cullen, Third Vice President, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America. April 10, 1932.

Henry F. Hillers, Special Organizer, American Federation of Labor. April 12, 1932.

Arthur R. Burns, Vice President, International Molders' Union of North America. May 5, 1932.

Max Zuckerman, Former Secretary, Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union. May 5, 1932.

James J. McKee, First General Vice President, United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada. May 11, 1932.

Benjamin Schlesinger, President, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. June 6, 1932.

John A. Hickey, Eastern Broker Division, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union. June, 1932.

James E. Roach, Special Organizer, American Federation of Labor. July 15, 1932.

Miss F. M. Dickman, Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, Metal Polishers' International Union. July 20, 1932.

J. C. Skemp, Former Secretary-Treasurer, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America. July 24, 1932.

Daniel J. Ahern, Vice President, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders. September 2, 1932.

George H. Knell, Trustee, Union Printers' Home. September 6, 1932.

John T. Mugavin, Delegate, American Federation of Labor Conventions from National

Association of Letter Carriers, 1917-1931, September 19, 1932.

Mark L. Crawford, Delegate to 1881 Convention of American Federation of Labor, and was chosen as one of the Convention's secretaries; 1882 Convention, appointed one of the auditors; 1882, Secretary of the International Typographical Union; 1883, President of the International Typographical Union; Secretary of the Old-Time Printers' Association of Chicago when he died. September 20, 1932.

A. Baroff, Former Secretary-Treasurer, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. September, 1932.

M. J. Keough, International President, International Molders' Union of North America. November 3, 1932.

David J. Davis, Secretary, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers. Friday, November 19, 1932.

Mrs. Minnie McMahon, Business Representative, United Garment Workers' of America on the Pacific Coast. August 3, 1932.

Charles Staff, Executive Board Member, Brewery Workers' Union. November 22, 1932.

James LaVeer, President Cooks and Waiters' Union, Springfield, Illinois, and District Organizer, A. F. of L. November 11, 1932.

J. D. Bowen, General Organizer, Lathers' International Union. June 10, 1932.

Patrick J. Berrell, Third Vice President, International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs. July 21, 1932.

James M. O'Connor, Lithographers' International Union. February 14, 1932.

William P. Mansell, former General Secretary-Treasurer, Order of Railroad Telegraphers, New York Central Railroad, Buffalo east. July 19, 1932.

Abe L. Wood, Secretary Central Labor Body, Jacksonville, Ill. for 32 years, member of Typographical Union. October 15, 1932.

The delegates and visitors, at the request of President Green, arose and stood in silence for a moment in tribute to the deceased.

Delegate Donnelly, Secretary of the Ohio State Federation of Labor, asked all delegates present from the various State Federations of Labor to meet with him after adjournment of the session.

No further business coming before the Convention, Delegate Canavan moved that the rules be suspended and an adjournment taken to 2:30 o'clock p. m.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 11:45 o'clock the Convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m.

Second Day—Tuesday Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees—Mullaney, Shanessy, Birthright, Bowen, Nelson, McFetridge, Hutcheson, Flynn (T.), McLaughlin (H.), Harrison, Schulte, Coulter, Tighe, Hagan, Moore (G. T.), Ryan (J. P.), O'Brien (S. P.), Fljozdal, Carroll, Duncan (M.), Finnson, Lane, Kelly (M. J.), Lewis (J. L.), Murray, Kennedy (T.), Hartneady, Fagan, Boylan, Brennan (M. F.), Hannah, Turner, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Jones (G. W.), Soderberg, Starr, Evans, Fay, Jewell, Scharrenberg, Soderstrom, Taylor (T. N.), Graham, Reed, Iglesias, Turnblazer, Reilly, Cherry, Davis (F.), Fox (H. W.), Kutz, Lang, Watkins, Williams, Parks, Starkweather, Brooks, Mitchell (H.), Becker, Graham, Friedrich, Souza, Augustino, Gates, Myers, Rigby, Rivin, Duncan (M.), Hammer, Newhill, Quinn, Draper, Upplerger, Switalski, Greenway, Corcoran, Carlson, Welsh, Wood, Miles, Kromelbein, Wells, Bohm, McElligott, Richardson, Meyer, Lufrano, Thoman.

We, your Committee on Credentials, desire to report that we have received the credential of A. Philip Randolph, representing the Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 18068, of New York City, and recommend that the delegate be seated with 1 vote.

We also have examined the credentials of the following and recommend that the delegates be seated:

Toledo, Ohio, Central Labor Union—John J. Quinlivan, 1 vote.

Paterson, N. J., Central Labor Union of Passaic County—Charles Alexander, 1 vote.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Substitution on Committee

President Green: M. J. Gillooly, of the Flint Glass workers, who is a member of the Committee on Resolutions, will not be in attendance at the convention.

Duncan McCallum, representing the Air Line Pilots, is to be added to the committee.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

William Green, President,
The American Federation of Labor,
Netherland Plaza, Cincinnati.

As you assemble in your annual convention may I assure you that we share with you a deep sense of moral responsibility toward the eleven million of our fellow citizens now suffering through unemployment both within and outside your ranks. Therefore I would, in behalf of Episcopal Church of the United States, express to you and to the whole company of the unemployed, my sense of profound admiration for their heroic self sacrifice and patient self denial during all these long months. We should be unworthy of their sacrifice if we did not do our utmost to minister to their needs both physical and spiritual, and as well strive to prevent the

recurrence of similar disasters. In your efforts to formulate an adequate program of prevention and in providing real security for our workers, you have my sympathetic interest and pledge of any possible co-operation and I am sure those of all other church men. May God bless your deliberations.

James DeWolf Perry,
Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

Presentation of Badges To Fraternal Delegates

President Green: I want to pause for a moment while we present the special badges we always prepare for the Fraternal Delegates. You know that each year we prepare a badge designed for the Fraternal Delegates. These badges are especially made, are gold plated, and can be kept as souvenirs of the Convention. I am happy indeed to be able to present these badges to our Fraternal Delegates who are in attendance at this Convention. It gives me great pleasure to present these badges to these different Fraternal Delegates. This one I hold in my hand is for Brother Dukes. I will hold it up so that you may see it. Another is for our friend Brother Holmes. I have another one for Brother Turnbull when he arrives.

We have a distinguished visitor in attendance at this Convention, the representative of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor. I am going to ask Miss Mary Anderson, who represents that Department, to deliver an address to the Convention at this time. I will ask Brother Henry Perham and Mrs. Hanson to act as an escort to Miss Anderson.

Miss Mary Anderson was escorted to the stage by Delegates Perham and Hanson.

President Green: I esteem it a very great pleasure to present to you a loyal, devoted member of the American Federation of Labor, and one who serves in a very responsible position. Miss Anderson has long been identified with our great trade-union movement. It is a school of training for her. Like most of us, it was the educational university in which she and we received our training. I have watched her carefully in all her work and in all her actions, and she has manifested a devoted loyalty, not only to the aims and purposes and principles of the American Federation of Labor, but to the American Federation of Labor as well. We are glad she serves in such a responsible and honored position. I take great pleasure in presenting to you Miss Mary Anderson, a representative of the Women's Bureau.

MISS MARY ANDERSON

(Director, Women's Bureau, Department of Labor)

Mr. Chairman and fellow members of the trade-union movement. I am very glad always to come to the American Federation of Labor, because, as your President has said, it has been the education for me and it has fitted me, if I have done anything in the world in behalf of women workers—it has fitted me for this job.

I want, today, to say something about our movement and also the work that we are doing in the Department of Labor in the Women's Bureau. We are gathering, not what I call statistics exactly, but we are gathering information with regard to the employment of women. We have found that women in industry have increased enormously in the last decade. Two million and a half more women were employed in 1930 than were employed in 1920. The wages given to women are not nearly as high as would be given to men if they were employed to that extent. Women are getting from one-third to one-half less wages than men are getting for practically the same kind of work. Now, that is not the fault of either the women or the men. The women do not want to work for three, four, five and six dollars a week, as they are doing today. They have to work, they have to earn a living, not only for themselves but for dependents, and for that reason they have to have a job. And they have to take whatever they can get, because they are the minority in the labor movement. I don't mean in the trade-union movement, but they are the minority that are getting the jobs.

You will remember, I know, that the competing minority at one time were the immigrants. I was one of those myself. The immigrants had to take whatever they could get. Today that is not so. Today it is the women in the labor market, and now we are beginning to have the Negro women and the Negro men in the labor market who are obliged to take the jobs even cheaper than the women are working today.

In the last two years of depression the cost of living has gone down about 18 per cent. Employment has gone down 33 per cent and wages have gone down 54 per cent. Those of the population and employers that are saying that the people ought to work cheaper because of cost of living has gone down so tremendously do not realize, or perhaps do not face the question, that wages have gone down almost three times as much as the cost of living has gone down. The whole wage question is very precarious, and, as your President said yesterday in his stirring talk, if we cannot raise the wages so that we can get purchasing power in this land of ours, we are not going to make a dent in the depression.

In 1927 the Commerce Department gave out some figures on the exports. The export at that time, and it was a banner year, was less than 10 per cent of all that we made. That means, of course, that we as a nation have to consume the 90 per cent of what we make, and that, it seems to me, gives the impetus of the purchasing power. If we cannot create a purchasing power that is going to buy 90 per cent we are absolutely going to stay in the depression, we cannot help ourselves.

The shorter work day and better wages, real purchasing power among the workers—because, after all, they are the large majority—are the cardinal things that will have to go hand in hand if we are to emerge from the depression we are in now.

I am very glad to have been able to say these few words and add my testimony to that of others who have spoken on this subject.

President Green: We thank you, Miss Anderson, for your message and we thank you for your visit. We always feel the affairs of the Women's Bureau will be capably and sympathetically handled so long as Miss Anderson is Director of the Bureau.

Secretary Morrison read the following:

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Non-Partisan Political Policy

In the Executive Council report to the Vancouver Convention last year the Council urged that every labor organization and every member in the country participate in the national elections in 1932. It pointed out that as a rule approximately fifty per cent of the voters visited the polls in a presidential election and suggested that the slogan be:

"GET OUT THE VOTE."

It also recommended to the Convention, and the recommendation was adopted, that a strong declaration be made calling upon all members and their friends to follow the non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor, which is:

"Stand faithfully by our friends and elect them. Oppose our enemies and defeat them; whether they be candidates for President, for Congress, or other offices; whether Executive, Legislative, or Judicial."

As a result of these recommendations the officers and members of trade unions of every city and town in the country took a very active part in the election of President and members of Congress. Thousands of letters were received requesting copies of the legislative records on measures of interest to labor of both members of the United States Senate and the House of Representatives.

The Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee submitted planks to be placed in both political parties' platforms. Of the twenty-six subjects suggested eight were ignored entirely by both parties.

We were quite successful in the primaries.

Senator Blease, of South Carolina, endeavored to come back, but was defeated by Senator Smith, whom we supported. Senator Broussard, of Louisiana, was defeated by Representative Overton, the latter having a one hundred per cent labor record. Congressman Crisp lost the nomination to Governor Russell, whom we also favored in the State of Georgia.

The legislative records of all members of Congress were sent into their respective states and districts except in some cases in the South where nomination was equivalent to election. The records were sent in before the primaries. A statement of the American Federation of Labor's non-partisan political policy accompanied these records. In addition to the sending of the records we actively supported the following candidates for the United States Senate by the assignment of speakers and workers, through the distribution of literature and through the exercise of every other legitimate means at our command, and particular support was given to the following: Hugo L. Black, Carl Hayden, Hattie Caraway, Alva B. Adams, Rep. A. Lonerger, S. W. Brookhart, A. W. Barkley, J. H. Overton, T. L. Oddie, Percy H. Steward, R. F. Wagner, G. P. Nye, Gov. Russell, R. J. Bulkley, Elmer Thomas (Okla.), F. Steiwer, J. J. Davis, E. D. Smith, E. D. Thomas (Utah), J. J. Blaine.

Letters were also sent out for certain members of the House of Representatives who were encountering difficulties. Letters in opposition to the election of the following candidates for the United States Senate were sent to their respective states and all were defeated:

Ralph Cameron, Hiram Bingham, Chas. R. Crisp, Jas. E. Watson, Wesley L. Jones, Edwin S. Broussard, Geo. H. Moses, Coleman L. Blease, Reed Smoot, Otis F. Glenn.

Of those candidates for the United States Senate whom we supported, all were elected except three.

An analysis of the election returns shows that practically every member of the United States Senate who was up for re-election and who voted for the confirmation of Judge John J. Parker to be a member of the United States Supreme Court, has been defeated. As a whole, labor fared exceptionally well in the election.

Our success in the senatorial campaigns was equalled in the defeat of the enemies of labor in the lower House.

Fourteen trade unionists become members of the next Congress.

It is believed that all the results stated above

were obtained as a result of the Executive Council's recommendations and their adoption by the 1931 Convention, and we again recommend that the non-partisan political policy adopted and reaffirmed by the Convention be continued.

President Green: This supplemental report just read will be referred to the Committee on Resolutions. We will now have the Secretary read the second supplemental report.

Supplemental Report, Executive Council, American Federation of Labor, to the Cincinnati Convention

Hatters—Cap Makers

Our report to the El Paso (1924) Convention contained a section recording an agreement entered into between the United Hatters of North America and the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union regarding their respective jurisdiction claims. That agreement was maintained for a number of years.

However, since the agreement was entered into changes in the industry and methods of production have developed new points of jurisdictional claims.

Since the early part of this year President Green has made repeated efforts, through correspondence, through personal conferences with the officers of both organizations, as well as through conferences in which special representatives of the American Federation of Labor appointed by him, participated, to prevail upon the two organizations to come to an understanding. These efforts were unavailing. The last conference was held in New York City just a few days prior to the opening of this Convention. The New York Representative of the American Federation of Labor took part therein. The conference lasted the greater part of two days. All phases of the question in dispute were exhaustively discussed. No agreement was reached. Report thereafter was made to President Green.

During our meeting here in Cincinnati before the opening of this Convention we went into the matter very thoroughly and considered it from every angle. We now submit for your consideration the following recommendations:

That the President of each organization submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor the names of three representative labor men, no one of whom is connected in any way with either the United Hatters of North America or the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery

Workers' International Union, but who has some general knowledge of the industry represented by the two contending organizations;

That, The President of the American Federation of Labor from the six names thus submitted select one name to represent the United Hatters of North America and one to represent the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union;

That, The President of the American Federation of Labor select a third man to represent the American Federation of Labor and to serve as Chairman of the committee thus created;

That, The three men so selected shall compose a Board of Arbitration;

That, This Board of Arbitration shall visit the shops now under the control of both organizations, investigate the work in dispute, interview employers and employees, and such other persons as may be able to give helpful information;

That, Based upon the information thus obtained the Board of Arbitration shall render its decision;

That, The decision of the Board of Arbitration shall be accepted by both organizations in good faith.

This supplemental section of the Executive Council's Report will be submitted to the Committee on Executive Council's Report. The representatives of the two organizations affected and such others as may be interested will be privileged and invited to appear before the Committee when this matter is being considered. I urge that the representatives of the two organizations directly concerned who are affected so seriously by this jurisdictional controversy meet with the Committee on Executive Council's Report for the purpose of arriving at an understanding mutually acceptable to all parties concerned.

President Green: I have the report of Brother Frank B. Powers, Fraternal Delegate to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. You will recall that Brother Powers was elected at the Vancouver Convention of the American Federation of Labor to serve as Fraternal Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. He discharged his duty and filed with me his report. It is not customary to read the reports of Fraternal Delegates. Instead, we submit them for the record to be printed in the daily proceedings. Following the usual course, this report will be submitted to Secretary Morrison for inclusion in the printed proceedings of today's convention.

REPORT OF FRATERNAL DELEGATE TO TRADES AND LABOR CONGRESS OF CANADA

Chicago, October 12, 1932.

To the President and Members of Executive Council, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Greetings: As fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Labor to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada Convention in Hamilton, Ontario, September 12-17, 1932, I wish to submit the following report:

The 48th annual Convention opened in the Royal Connaught Hotel at 10 a. m., Monday, September 12th, with 338 delegates in attendance. Only one previous Convention, that of 1919 in Hamilton, exceeded this number of delegates.

Addresses were made by Hon. W. A. Gordon, Minister of Labor for Canada; Hon. J. D. Monteith, Minister of Labor for Ontario; Mayor Peebles of Hamilton, and W. J. Burr, Chairman of the Local Trades and Labor Committee.

The agenda of 126 resolutions covered every phase of the problems now facing Canadian labor, but outstanding problems discussed were unemployment insurance, Dominion government control of banking and credits, and the government-owned railroad.

After considerable interesting debate, it was the unanimous decision of the Convention that a national system of contributory unemployment insurance be inaugurated. Provinces and cities are no longer able to take care of the unemployed and a greater portion of the burden must be undertaken by the Dominion, it was felt. Efforts by a minority to secure non-contributory unemployment insurance did not meet with response and they decided to accept the majority decision.

Because the delegates felt that the banks now control the government, a resolution was adopted which supports the principle of national control of the banking system.

The most important question coming before the Convention was the Duff report on amalgamation of the Canadian railroads. The report was filed with the government while the Convention was in session, but only a brief summary was made public. Nevertheless, the Congress passed a resolution demanding that the government keep hands off the people's railroad, the Canadian National, and pressing for "adequate wage-workers' representation of a non-political character on the proposed reconstructed Board of Directors."

It was apparent that the delegates to the Congress felt very strongly on the protection of the publicly owned railroad, it being declared that at least 80 per cent of the economies already affected by the Canadian National represented "reduced earnings of employees and the elimination of terminal facilities which hit directly at the small properties of wage-earners."

During the course of the Convention, other prominent speakers appeared, including Hon. T. J. Arcand, Minister of Labor for Quebec, and Stanley Hirst, fraternal delegate from Great Britain. Mr. Hirst, who is financial secretary of the National Union of Transport

and General Workers of Great Britain, the largest union in the British Empire, declared that the defeat of the Labor Party was due to misrepresentation of the attitude of Labor members in Parliament. He declared that when the Labor Party comes back, legislation will be introduced which will establish by law the shorter workweek, probably 40 hours or less.

Your delegate extended the fraternal greetings of the American Federation of Labor, and discussed briefly the similarity of unemployment and other problems in the United States and Canada, reviewing the progress of the shorter workweek in the United States.

The sessions of the Congress were very interesting, and President Moore a most able and business-like executive. The tremendous amount of business, involved in 126 resolutions and a long Executive Council report was out of the way by noon on Saturday, the 17th, despite considerable debate on some of the questions. Every resolution and report was read in English and French, but it was remarkable how rapidly business was handled. A five-minute debating rule was well observed without action by the Chairman.

All officers were returned by unanimous election. Hon. Humphrey Mitchel, M. P., was elected as fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress and W. V. Turnbull, Vice President of the Maintenance of Way, fraternal delegate to the American Federation of Labor. President Moore was re-elected for his 14th term, and Secretary-Treasurer P. M. Draper for his 32nd term. The next Convention will be held in Windsor, Ontario.

It was a never-to-be-forgotten experience to represent the American Federation of Labor at such a representative gathering of Canadian trade unionists. The many courtesies extended and the kindly manner in which I was received indicates the friendly feeling which exists in the Dominion of Canada towards the international movement.

I desire to extend through the Executive Council my sincere thanks to the delegates of the Federation for the honor which was extended to me in Vancouver.

Fraternally yours,

FRANK B. POWERS,

Fraternal Delegate to Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

Most Reverend John T. McNicholas, Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Cincinnati, was escorted to the platform by the committee named by President Green.

President Green: I am sure that we all deeply appreciate the very great honor bestowed upon us this afternoon through the visit of His Grace, Archbishop McNicholas. We are glad indeed to have him come this afternoon just at this hour to bring to us his message. I recall with feelings of very great pleasure the visit we had with His Eminence, Cardinal O'Connell, last year at Boston, when he delivered an address to the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor who were in attendance at the special service arranged for them—

indeed, an inspiring address. Very few labor men could have delivered a more progressive, aggressive, constructive and educational address in behalf of labor than that delivered by Cardinal O'Connell.

I want to say to Archbishop McNicholas that we extend to him a most cordial, warm and sincere welcome this afternoon. We await his message with exceeding great interest. We know it will be inspiring and helpful.

I take pleasure in presenting to you His Grace, Archbishop McNicholas, of Cincinnati.

Address Delivered by His Grace, the Most Reverend Archbishop McNicholas, Archdiocese of Cincinnati.

I am happy to address the delegates of the American Federation of Labor in Cincinnati. There is no need to tell you that the Catholic Church, in whose name I come to you, is and ever will be the champion of the rights of the laboring and trade classes.

You have been a potent factor in increasing union membership in the United States, and yet your work is only begun. The increase in Europe during the past two decades has been far greater than in our own country during the same period. Pope Pius XI has expressed his satisfaction at the increase in the number of organized workers and at the spread of associations among farmers.

Increase Membership

I wish, indeed, that labor in our country would realize fully the advantage of a sane organization of all workers into unions. If during the last two or three decades practically all of our workers had freely enrolled themselves under the standard of organized groups, and had continued to take a keen interest in their affairs, we could have prevented in some measure the present social and economic debacle. If even now, in these tragic days of depression, we can begin to bring about a local, state and national organization of our workers, with a voluntary enrollment many times its present membership, we shall have taken an important step toward the reconstruction of the social order. It seems incredible that at present approximately only 15 per cent of our workers are organized.

Three Groups

These organized groups should embrace, first, the workers in our cities, and, secondly, the toilers of the rural districts. Complementary to these there should be, in the third place, the bond of union between nations, founded not on Bolshevistic principles, but on Christian justice and charity. As Pius XI says: "The nations of the world should promote a healthy economic co-operation, since in economic matters they are largely dependent on one another and need one another's help."

If workers throughout the world would take this comprehensive view of the dignity of human labor and its native rights, of the rights of all peoples and all nations arising from their common brotherhood, effective measures would undoubtedly be taken to correct the

abuses of capitalism and corrupt governments. This is not preaching Bolshevism or Communism. It is, rather, advocating strong measures to prevent the success of their present campaign for world domination.

Rights of Labor

You have reason to be gratified that the rights of organized labor have recently been accorded a larger measure of recognition. The demand for still greater recognition will grow. I do not like the terminology which attributes this to liberal thought or so-called liberal judges. I much prefer to think of it as a restoration of the older order wherein justice was accorded organized labor. You need not be told how the guilds of the Middle Ages flourished; nor of the privileges they enjoyed and the rights which they defended.

It was a modern economic philosophy which became openly hostile to all labor associations. Holding the theory of producing where they could most economically produce, and of selling at the highest price that their efficient organization could establish, these industrial leaders debased human labor to a mere commodity. They, lest through group action labor might control the open market, they barked back to the old Roman theory which tolerated no associations among tradesmen and workers other than burial societies. The old plea was heard: An empire within an empire is dangerous to the commonweal. They then added the theory that the open market—free, individual competition, without any control whatsoever—was needed for the progress of modern industrialism. It was this pagan economic philosophy that reduced labor to a condition as Leo XIII said, little better than that of slavery. Pius XI has characterized it as "hard, cruel, and relentless in a ghastly measure."

Slow Growth of Unions

The progress of labor and trade unions was slow. Powerful influence was brought to bear to prevent such unions from receiving legal recognition and to frustrate collective bargaining. When after a time the workers gained a measure of success in group bargaining, strenuous efforts were made to render impossible collective bargaining by specific trade organizations in the nation. Collective bargaining by labor organized on national lines is looked upon with disfavor in many quarters even to this day. Leo XIII in 1891, and Pius XI in 1931, emphasize that organized groups, with the right of collective bargaining, offer one of the true means of reconstructing the shattered economic fabric.

Hold fast to your unions. It is the hope of those who have your best interests at heart that vocational groups will grow stronger in your federation. If a specific industry has the right to have at its command the best thought and the best counsel, and can agree in a national way in matters of policy, and even fix the prices of commodities, and determine dividends, surely the laborers must be free to organize in a national way, to develop, as Pius XI suggests, vocational groups, to bargain both for a just family wage and a share in the profits of industry.

Test of Sanity

All members who freely enter a union should regard it as a duty to take an interest in its affairs, and to see that it is guided by those competent to direct its course of action. Members of a trade union or labor federation should insist that its corporate action be directed by a sane judgment, which the fair-minded American will always approve. Every decision arrived at should be put to the test of sanity, taking into consideration all the attendant circumstances. You may be sure that the Catholic Church will ever espouse a just cause and will carry on warfare against injustice, especially that done to the poor and laboring classes.

In these dark days, when men are being sorely tried, it is truly heartening to be assured that the insidious propaganda of Communism has made little if any impression upon the rank and file of American workers. That the unemployed laboring man, even when unable to procure for himself and his family the bare necessities of life, has not seen in Bolshevism or Communism a cure-all for the economic evils of our day, reflects great credit upon such Federations as yours. Among our intelligentsia, in our universities and so-called liberal and smart publications a very effective and subtle propaganda is being carried on which, if accepted by the masses would inevitably lead to Communism. That you stand as a strong bulwark against the inroads of this destructive radicalism merits for you the commendation of all classes, and especially of capitalists and industrialists.

Dangerous Universities

You can thank God that you, and let us hope your sons, have not been cursed with the dangerous instruction given in some of our universities and colleges, and that you have not degraded the noble faculties of your mind with the radicalism that is rampant. Your federation has sought and is seeking justice. And now it will seek a new ideal, provided it be a square and honest deal, as laid down by two of the greatest leaders who have ever championed your cause—Leo XIII and Pius XI.

World War

I am sure we do not fail to understand that we are in the very depths of a depression that has confounded human wisdom. We must realize, first of all, that God must pull us out of it. In a hideous world war Christian governments sent millions of their finest men to be slaughtered on the field of battle, as if they were of less value than even the beasts of the field. With an insane judgment, they squandered the wealth of nations as if it were exhaustless. All the ingenuity of highly developed intelligence was organized to destroy—and still to destroy, endlessly! After the war, ignoring its inevitable consequences, and failing to recognize the need of reconstruction and the obligation of making a new beginning on the principle of justice to individuals and nations, governments, capitalists, those at the head of great industrial corporations, sought the acquisition of wealth as if it were the

supreme end of life, and plunged into a veritable vortex of speculation.

Day of Reckoning

The present crisis means merely the day of reckoning. So far as human endeavor goes, we must all pull together to get out of the depths into clear daylight once more. Your group need not be told that this common effort must serve the common good. Would that capitalists and industrialists could see this as clearly as you see it. I venture to call your attention briefly to some principles that I know you have heard discussed and that your leaders, I know, have seriously studied.

First, the old order must give way, not by its destruction, as Communism urges, but by abolishing its abuses and by establishing a reign of legal and social justice.

I do not wish to seem a pessimist, but I think our country is much more seriously menaced by Communism than we realize, and that the danger will increase unless the three points insisted upon by Pope Pius XI be observed:

1. Riches must not remain in the hands of a few. The people and the Government of this country must never again permit the accumulation of the fabulous fortunes that have been possessed by individuals during the last few decades. The Head of the Catholic Church says that as it would be flagrantly unjust for labor to seize all the profits, so, likewise, it is flagrantly unjust for capital to seize all the profits. In the past, capital has in most instances done this. The so-called profit sharing has for the most part been a deception. It has merely been an incentive to speed up work beyond human endurance. The Pope further insists that the "mutual relations of capital and labor must be determined according to the laws of the strictest justice, called cumulative justice, supported, however, by Christian charity." If this is observed, we shall have no financial colossus feeding on the very life-blood of the nation; but with justice we shall have open records of business and finance and a fair distribution of the profits earned; nor shall we then have a few rich men controlling the wealth of the nation as trustees and directors of invested funds, which they administer, as Pius XI says, at their good pleasure.

2. The second abuse to be corrected as the old order gives way is that of a few rich men holding and controlling "money" so as to be able to govern credit, determine its allotment, for that reason supplying, so to speak, the life-blood of the entire economic body, and grasping, as it were, in their hands the very soul of production, so that no one dare breathe against their will."

3. The third abuse is "the natural result of limitless free competition," which makes might right, and which in most instances makes the mighty without conscience. A few men possessing enormous wealth, and the power that goes with such wealth, become in our democratic country, economic dictators. It is a curious contradiction that the people have been fooled by much talk of democracy and of making our form of government even more democratic, while at the same time our men of wealth have been allowed to become absolute rulers in their respective spheres and thereby to undermine the very foundations of democracy. It is to be hoped that your Federation will fight for

more real democracy in the industrial world. These few rich men wish to grasp still more power by controlling the State, not in the sense of serving the people as their officials or their legislators, but by demoralizing government agencies and making them subservient. And still their appetite is not sated. They want international domination, which must inevitably lead to war.

Every willing and able-bodied man has a right to employment. He has, we may say, a greater right to it than he has to the bread of life, since it is the means of giving him the very bread that sustains life. God has been infinitely generous in giving power to the earth and in storing away in nature, hidden forces which will supply man's every need. Man has been given reason, and genius to deal with these forces. One after another has been discovered in the course of ages. It is clear today that our country could sustain many times its present population, with the assurance of reasonable comforts for every family. The falsity of the position of the birth controllers, who would restrict especially the families of the laboring and trades classes, must be apparent to every thoughtful man. What we must condemn is not large families, but the economic system which does not allow an honest, decent man a wage sufficient to maintain a normal family in comfort. We must abhor that philosophy of life which tells men like you that a family is a luxury that you cannot afford, and that to you must not be given the priceless wealth of dutiful and loving children.

Cancerous Growth

One of the reasons for fighting the present economic system is to give every man who enters the sacred contract of marriage the opportunity to have a real home, with moderate comforts, and to be able to rear his children in such a way as to fit them for their duties in life. The Catholic Church has in the course of her long life, dealt many times with the question of birth-control. Centuries ago she fought Manichaeism and Albigensianism, both of which carried on this propaganda. But today she finds that the modern economic system has developed the cancerous growth of birth-control throughout the world. I would say to your groups: Do not accept the false philosophy of the intelligentsia and many of the rich. Fight for an economic system which by a fair distribution of wealth will mean for the members of your class, justice, comfort, security, and the dispelling of fear of a large family.

Wages

With regard to wages, the general principle is that the workman should be given a wage sufficient to support him and a normal family in reasonable comfort. The unmarried man has also a right to a family wage, so that he may have something laid aside when he enters the married state. Older children, as they approach manhood and womanhood, naturally can help to support the family. In the rural districts occupation is not lacking in the large family; but in our cities young men and young women, condemned to idleness, have been intrigued into ways of crime, especially when an insufficient income has made home conditions unbearable. Today a wage contract determines for

the average man the extent of his participation in production or his share in the riches of nature. Such a contract does not necessarily imply injustice; but on the other hand, the acceptance of a contract which may be practically forced upon a poor man does not establish its justice.

By family wage one must understand a wage sufficient to provide for moderate comforts, the education of children according to standards approved by reasonable parents and educators, for sickness, accident and old age, and some few possessions to leave to those dearest in life. Children in their tender years, and wives and mothers, should not be constrained by an insufficient income to work outside the home.

Contract Partnership

Pope Pius XI urges "that the wage contract, when possible, be modified somewhat by a contract of partnership. . . . In this way wage-earners are made sharers in some sort in the ownership or management or the profits."

Accepting a new arrangement on the basis of a contract or partnership, labor naturally cannot wait until the net profits are determined. An average wage must be determined in which the average skill and strength of the worker, on the one hand, is considered; while on the other, the average net profits are to be measured, so that both capital and labor will get a fair share. This would mean that capital would have to be satisfied with a smaller return. Of course, capital investment is to be considered, also depreciation, the establishment of a moderate reserve fund to meet crises such as we are now passing through, some protection against sickness and accidents, a just provision on retirement for those who for years have been bound by the contract partnership.

This may seem to make excessive demands upon our economic system. But we should insist that labor and capital betake themselves from the battlefield and sit down at the conference table as Christian brothers, there to set up a new order of vocational groups, meeting not only by mutual consent, but under the authority of the State. Pius XI insists that in these associations the common interests of the whole group must predominate, and that the activities of the group be directed to the common good.

The Pope is pleading, remember, for a larger influence of labor in controlling industry. He is pleading that labor, in the future, have a voice in the distribution of wealth, and that its voice shall be equal to that of capital, under governmental authority. I say without a moment's hesitation that the greatest friend that labor has in the world today is Pope Pius XI. You may not accept his plan at first reading, but it is worthy of your most serious consideration.

Overproduction

If you can unite with capital, under governmental approval, in controlling industry, you can regulate its output. Some tell us that we should give our inventors a holiday. Some say that the balance of things in the world is disturbed by the excessive number of engineers. Many place the disturbance of the balance between supply and demand on the machine, which is causing overproduction. The greed of the comparatively few rich who, through unrestrained competition, control the wealth of this nation; has made the giant machine a curse instead of a

blessing, as God and nature intended it should be. The machine and its output must be measured in terms of humanity and the common good. If individuals and corporations wish to multiply machines merely for gain, without regard to unemployment and the consequent misery of human beings, it should be the duty of vocational groups and of the State to restrain them.

Regulate Machine

The machine must be regulated. Through it comfort should be extended not merely to the few, but to the masses. The drudgery of life, and especially of the home, will be done away with through the machine. Whatever will lighten the burden of individuals and make the home more attractive must be regarded as a distinct contribution to society. One can realize how the wheels of industry would again revolve if in every home of our rich land labor-saving machinery were introduced which would give leisure to overworked wives and mothers. If the captains of industry of all nations of the world were interested in the welfare of the common people instead of their own selfish ends, what a blessing would be the multiplication of machines! If our industrialists were guided by the fact that the whole economic question is, first of all, a moral one, involving human beings whose actions have a spiritual value and can merit eternal life, there would be speedy settlement of all our difficulties. If the moral world can have no influence upon them, then only the penalties of Government can control them.

Merging of Industries

An abuse that has been brought about by our huge modern machines is the merging of industries. Competitors are bought out at ridiculously high prices, and watered stock is then sold to an uninformed and unsuspecting public. This has meant the relocation of factories, mills and offices, transferring them to one central point. The ghost cities and towns of our country stand today as monuments to the greed of malefactors of great wealth. Workmen with families have put the savings of years into their modest homes, only to find themselves obliged by this centralization of industry either to move to other localities, or perhaps be deprived altogether of work. Those intent on mass production in too many instances have given no thought to their unfair treatment of human beings, or to the destruction of homes and the misery consequent upon it. Their chief concern has been machines, and still more powerful machines, in order to produce at the lowest possible cost. Let all who would make use of our huge machines be controlled by the principles of Christian morality. Let justice and love of their fellow-man guide them.

Five Workdays

The machine, if controlled by vocational groups, under legal enactments, can and should shorten the working hours of the laborer. It can and should reduce the working week to five days, and even a shorter period if a proper balance can not be established between production and consumption. This does not mean, however, that the wage of the worker should be reduced proportionately. He must still be given a family

wage. If this change should be effected, as it must be eventually, the Catholic Church can think with satisfaction of the period when her yearly program obliged her children to observe practically two days of each week as feast days or holy days. Before the Napoleonic wars the Church had in the course of the year forty-eight holidays of obligation, when servile work was forbidden. The Concordat with Napoleon, which was forced upon Pope Pius VI and Pope Pius VII, reduced the number of feast days to six. It is true that these were set aside first for the worship of God; but they also had a great social value, offering opportunity for the relaxing of man's spirit, for rest, and for the strengthening of home life. Leisure days of the week, instead of being detrimental, are beneficial to body, mind and soul. This is much better than having periods of excessive production, alternating with long periods of unemployment. For, as Pope Pius XI reminds us, "Unemployment, if widespread and of long duration, is a dreadful scourge; it causes misery and temptation to the laborer, it ruins the prosperity of nations and endangers public order, peace and the tranquility of the world."

No Class Strife

I am sure it is not necessary for me to say that I have uttered no word with the thought of stirring up strife or of carrying class against class. My only thought has been to speak a word in the cause of justice. I am sure we all realize that in this moment, when we are hoping for the dawn of a better day, and when every man who has the love of his brother man in his heart is deeply concerned about the unemployed millions and the untold suffering of the destitute, patience, good will, sane judgment, a great sense of justice, charity that knows no bounds, and a willingness to deal with actual conditions must characterize us. While we demand a new order in which there will be the square deal of justice, supported by charity, we must not forget that the present moment is one of transition—we hope to better things. A common endeavor on the part of all groups is necessary. Let there be the full light of publicity on all movements tending toward the restoration of the social order, that they may receive the keenest analysis of public-spirited citizens.

I pray that God may guide your deliberations, that you may with confidence in Divine Providence formulate principles which cannot justly be rejected.

President Green: The officers and delegates in attendance at this convention have been permitted to enjoy a real intellectual treat. I am happy indeed that the distinguished Archbishop selected this stage and this setting for the delivery of this scholarly, constructive, educational address. I am sure these words of wisdom, his expressed opinion, carrying as they will exceeding great weight, will make a most profound impression upon your mind and upon the public mind. He has, in language that can not be misunderstood, declared himself as a friend of the great organized labor movement. He

recognizes in our great movement a constructive force for good, a bulwark against the evil forces that would assail and destroy all that is dear to human life and human hearts. I am glad indeed to know that we have in this great city such a distinguished representative of a great Church, a champion of the cause of the oppressed. We are glad to listen to this address, to be permitted to incorporate it in the proceedings of this Convention, to retain it as a part of our official records, so that we can refer to it on many occasions and offer it as an answer to those who denounce the American Federation of Labor.

In the name of the great American Federation of Labor and in your behalf, I wish to express to Archbishop McNicholas our sincere thanks for the magnificent address which he delivered and to express our very great appreciation of his visit with us this afternoon.

A representative of St. Xavier's University announced that a football game would be played by that school and the Haskell Indian School. He suggested that, inasmuch as it was a holiday and no sessions of the Convention would be held, the delegates might like to attend. He stated that tickets could be procured in the Netherlands-Plaza Hotel and at the cigar counters of the other hotels.

President Green: It now appears that we have completed our program for today. You will understand that the real work of the Convention will begin when the committees are ready to report.

Tomorrow morning we will be privileged to receive the addresses of the Fraternal Delegates who are in attendance at this Convention, and in addition to that I am sure that President Whitney, of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, will be present at some hour tomorrow to deliver an address. Please keep these announcements in mind. Brother Spencer Miller, of the Workers' Education Bureau, will deliver an address at some time tomorrow forenoon.

Delegate Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor, announced that a meeting of all delegates representing State Federations, and all delegates connected with State Federations who may be representing other organizations, would be held at 7:30 o'clock Tuesday evening in Parlor H.

RESOLUTIONS.

The following resolutions were introduced and referred to the appropriate committees:

Construction and Fabrication of Vessels and Material For National Defense Should Be Done in United States Navy Yards

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Los Angeles and Boston Conventions of the Metal Trades Department declared in favor of having ships and munitions necessary for national defense manufactured by the Government instead of private industry; and

WHEREAS, The Boston Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorsed the position which had been taken by the Metal Trades Department A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, There are professional pacifists, professional militarists and patriots for profit who endeavor to influence public opinion and Congress so that legislation affecting national defense will be enacted to suit their desires; and

WHEREAS, The Shannon Committee, appointed by the last session of Congress, has been holding nation-wide hearings upon the question of "Government in Business"; and

WHEREAS, Private shipbuilders and manufacturers of munitions have appeared before the Shannon Committee and demanded that the building of vessels for the United States Navy and the manufacture of munitions shall be taken out of the nation's navy yards and arsenals and turned over to private industry; and

WHEREAS, There can be no sane program for national defense until private profit has been eliminated from warfare and from the munitions and ships required for national defense; be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention endorse the principle approved by the Convention of the Metal Trades Department just adjourned, which holds that a sane, constructive policy of national defense is only possible when private profit for the construction and fabrication of necessary ships and munitions is eliminated; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be, and is hereby, requested to give its active support to the Metal Trades Department in the determination of its representatives to prevent any action by Congress as the result of the submission of the Shannon Committee's report, which would permit private industry to construct or fabricate vessels and material for national defense which can be produced in the nation's navy yards and arsenals; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention endorse the principle that private profit must be eliminated from the production of material for national defense before the sinister activities of the war mongers and patriots for profit can be abated and eliminated.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Amendments to Revenue Act of 1932

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate Paul Scharenberg, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Congress has recently passed the Income Tax Act of 1932 containing several excise taxes without specifically exempting therein states and state agencies; and

WHEREAS, Congress has recently passed a law placing a tax of 3 per cent on all electric

energy sold for domestic or commercial consumption, said tax to be collected by the vendors; and

WHEREAS, The Treasury Department has ruled that these taxes affect every state and state agency and every city in the United States that owns or operates and distributes from a municipal light and power plant, but the precedent, if established and allowed to stand, will affect every city in the country including those that own waterworks, parks, playgrounds, sewerage systems, airports, in short, every state and the United States, by breaking down our dual system of government, and by impairing the borrowing power and credit of securities either issued or contemplated; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 52nd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby goes on record against said ruling and urgently request all senators and representatives to support the following amendments:

1. "In the enforcement of the Revenue Act of 1932 the Federal Government shall not impose an obligation upon any state or territory or political subdivision thereof, or the District of Columbia, or of the officers or employees of the aforesaid."

2. "The term 'political subdivision' includes any district created under the laws of a state or territory for the purpose of constructing or operating any public utility."

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Constitutional Amendment Providing for Five-Day Week and Six-Hour Day

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate Paul Scharenberg, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The emergency of war gave us the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States; and

WHEREAS, At the present time we are confronted by another emergency, an economic crisis unparalleled in the history of the United States, a crisis due solely and wholly to our inefficiency and incapacity to properly distribute the wealth so bountifully provided by Divine Providence; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 52nd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we favor a Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States limiting working days to five in each week and the working hours to six per day.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Marine Hospital Service for Seamen

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate Paul Scharenberg, California State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in 52nd annual Convention assembled at Cincinnati, Ohio, goes on record as endorsing the following bill for passage by the Congress of the United States, to-wit:

AN ACT to extend facilities of the Public Health Service to seamen on government vessels not in the military or naval establishments, and to seamen on dredgers engaged in dredging harbors as aids to commerce.

BE IT ENACTED, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled: That hereafter seamen not enlisted or commissioned in the military or naval establishments, who are not now entitled by virtue of any law to medical relief by the Public Health Service, shall, when employed on vessels of the United States Government of more than five-tons' burden and on state school ships, and on dredgers engaged in dredging harbors as aids to commerce, be entitled to medical relief by the Public Health Service in the same manner and to the same extent as seamen employed on registered, enrolled and licensed vessels are entitled.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Limiting Advertising on Radio

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate Paul Scharenberg, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There has been a steady decrease of employment in the newspaper printing field which is not all due to the present depression, but is due to the ever-increasing amount of advertising business that is being drawn from newspapers and transferred to the radio; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government has created a radio commission whose duty it is to regulate and control the use of air channels thereby establishing the principle of control and regulating the use of the air as a means of communication and publicity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 52nd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that this subject matter be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to make a careful study thereof, and if feasible and practical, attempt to secure national legislation that will have for its purpose the prohibition of long advertising lectures and speeches over the radios of the country, limiting advertising by radio to an announcement of the name of the sponsor of the program and the product or merchandise such sponsor may be selling.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Legislation for Regulation of Saving Banks and Building and Loan Associations

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate Thomas J. Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The wage earners of the United States have suffered grievously during the past three years because of the failures of thousands of banks and many building and loan companies; and,

WHEREAS, The failure of such financial institutions have wiped out, in many instances, the life savings of thousands of those who, through a system of regular savings, were endeavoring to provide reserves for themselves and their families; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council of this Federation to give its immediate attention to the subject of so improving the banking laws of the United States as to give to depositors in banks under the

control of the United States Government a greater security from losses; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to have formulated model safety provisions for savings bank and building and loan companies to be enacted into law by the Legislatures of the various states, to the end that the savings banks and building and loan companies coming under state regulation may be made safe depositories for the savings of the citizens in the states in which they operate.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protective Tariff for the Oil Industry

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate Grafton J. Fox, Tulsa (Okla.) Central Labor Union.

RESOLVED, That in the interest of hundreds of thousands of laborers in the United States dependent directly or indirectly upon the petroleum industry, we favor legislation having for its purpose the protection of the petroleum industry of the United States against the flood of cheaply produced foreign oil coming into our markets.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Legislation to Restore Working Conditions of Federal Employees

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate Clyde M. Mills, Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The 72d Congress of the United States, without hearings and with little or no consideration of the equities of the legislation, passed an Economy Act designed apparently to adjust Federal expenditures to revenue, but which, in effect, only deprived Federal employees of benefits and working conditions secured and maintained through years of legislative activity, such as leave privilege, additional pay for overtime and holiday work, and lowered the differential pay for night work, deprived traveling employees of necessary travel allowances, and seriously affected other conditions of employment; and

WHEREAS, This Economy Act resulted in a serious decrease in purchasing power of the employees, thereby contributing substantially to the general unsettled economic conditions; and

WHEREAS, Such savings to the Government as were conserved through deductions from the pay of the employees were impounded into the Treasury of the United States and not used to assist in conserving employment, but by the impounding contributed to unemployment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby authorized and instructed to immediately after adjournment of this Convention call into special session in Washington, D. C., the Presidents, or their representatives, of all national or international unions having members affected in this act. This Committee shall give consideration to and analyze the conditions resulting from, and initiate, through

collective action or through a Sub-Committee of the full Committee, legislation designed to remedy, the existing Economy Act.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Old-Age Pension Legislation

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate Philip Ickler of the Central Labor Union of Pensacola, Florida.

WHEREAS, The unemployment situation is becoming a greater problem every year; and

WHEREAS, The machine and electric inventions are throwing human labor more and more into idleness; and

WHEREAS, The old-age limit in industry has moved from the age of 70 years of earlier days to between 50 and 45 years of today; and

WHEREAS, The machine age and mass production in almost every industry are bringing down the age limit still more; and

WHEREAS, Our Central Labor Council and its affiliated Locals of Pensacola, Florida, endorsed the Old-Age Fund, Insurance or Pensions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its 52nd Annual Convention, at Cincinnati, Ohio, be earnestly requested to use every possible means and the full power of our organization to have such insurance enacted into Federal and State Laws.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Molders Protest Attitude of Richardson & Boynton Company, Dover, N. J.

Resolution No. 58—By Delegates L. O'Keefe, Robert T. McCoy, Thomas Connelly of the International Molders' Union.

WHEREAS, The Richardson & Boynton Company, Dover, N. J., manufacturers of stoves, ranges, warm-air furnaces, hot-water and steam-heating apparatus, abrogated an agreement entered into between the International Molders' Union of North America and the Manufacturers' Protective and Development Association, of which it was a member, locking out its molders on April 30, 1928, and subsequently the union stove mounters and union polishers in its employ, since which time this company has operated a non-union plant; and

WHEREAS, The Richardson & Boynton Company has rebuffed persistently every attempt to effect a settlement of the difficulty, and continue, to manifest an extremely unfair attitude toward organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its Fifty-second Annual Convention assembled, renew its declaration of the unfairness of the Richardson & Boynton Company toward organized labor, and instruct its officers to convey this declaration to all of its city, central, and federal labor unions, requesting members of organized labor to refrain from the purchase of any and all Richardson & Boynton products.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate Philip Ickler, Pensacola (Fla.) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, We still have more than 11,000,000 unemployed, as well as several million part-time employees; and

WHEREAS; The time is now here where the unemployment situation will be permanent to a greater extent; and

WHEREAS, The scientific brain and machine progress is advancing day and night; and

WHEREAS, The machine system causing increased production automatically leads to still greater unemployment, bringing starvation to millions of our working people, lowering wages and demoralizing our standards of living; and

WHEREAS, Our Central Labor Council and its affiliated Locals of Pensacola, Fla., have endorsed unemployment insurance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its Fifty-second Annual Convention, at Cincinnati, Ohio, be earnestly requested to use every possible means and the full power of our organization to have such insurance enacted into the Federal and State Laws.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Teachers' Salary Cuts

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, at its Convention in Vancouver, reaffirmed its position in regard to the economic unsoundness and injustice of wage or salary reductions in this present crisis; and

WHEREAS, Throughout the United States severe cuts in teachers' salaries have been made, and automatic increases have been withheld; and

WHEREAS, In many cities and towns virtual decreases in salaries have been brought about by the so-called "voluntary contributions" to unemployment relief funds, and to financially distressed local governments; and

WHEREAS, It is a well-known fact that as a general rule teachers' salaries have not kept pace with the wages of other workers or with the cost of living and that at their best teachers' salaries have been far from adequate; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor continue to oppose with all its power and influence any salary cuts, whether direct or as so-called "voluntary contributions," and in places where such cuts have been made endeavor to bring about the restoration of the previous schedule.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

School Support in the Period of Retrenchment

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, A decrease in public revenue due to economic conditions has been general throughout the country during the last two years; and

WHEREAS, The retrenchment thus necessitated in public expenditures has in many communities been expressed in drastic cuts in appropriations for public schools; and

WHEREAS, These reductions must inevitably reduce the efficiency of this great institution of service at a period when its stabilizing force is most needed, and when its resources are most heavily taxed by the increased school population due to the wide-spread unemployment; and

WHEREAS, Such reductions in the efficiency of our public schools constitute a grave menace to our nation during this period of economic distress and an unfair and unwise restriction in opportunity for the youth of the nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled call, first, upon the people of America to take heed to the danger to which this policy of retrenchment in public school support is exposing the nation, since democratic government is founded on public education; that it call, second, upon all organizations and individuals to whom the well-being of our nation is sacred to throw the whole weight of their power and influence into the protection of our public schools; and third, it charge its central labor bodies, state federations of labor, national and international organizations and affiliated unions that they recognize their responsibility for awakening in their communities anew the tradition of American devotion to the public school, and that they place squarely before their fellow-citizens the danger in which reduction of school revenues will place their schools, to the end that the sentiment of the community shall demand of public officials that crippling retrenchments be not made in that public service most vital to the welfare of the community and of the nation.

Referred to Committee on Education.

**Educating the Community to Support
Public Schools**

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Taxpayers' associations and chambers of commerce are covering the country with propaganda designed to curtail school expenditures, thereby attacking the curriculum the length of the school day and the length of the school year and the general efficiency of the public school service; and

WHEREAS, Such propaganda, if successful, will deprive boys and girls in the public schools of the training which a depressed economic condition makes all the more imperative in

order that these boys and girls may have the guidance and inspiration necessary to meet the new problems which youth and the community must face; and

WHEREAS, In some sections of the country such curtailment of the public school program would operate to deprive boys and girls in the public schools of educational advantages such as are received by students in the more favored private schools, the result being a discrimination in educational advantages between the rich and poor, a condition unthinkable in a democracy; and

WHEREAS, These attacks can be defeated only by an enlightened public opinion; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor will undertake during the coming year a publicity campaign for the purpose of presenting to the public the real effect upon the rising generation of injury to the public school system in order to build up an alert public opinion on school questions.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Pensions of Spanish War Veterans

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate F. A. Ackerman, Chicago Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The people of the United States of America, since the inception of our Republic, have always been grateful to the members of its military forces which created and preserved it and fought its battles when called upon to protect it; and

WHEREAS, Such gratitude has always been manifested by rewards in the form of land or pensions; and

WHEREAS, In 1898, when war was declared against the Kingdom of Spain, our Republic requested volunteers to fight its battles and there responded over 400,000 men to the call of the President, eager to go where they might be sent; and

WHEREAS, Many of those forces not killed or wounded, were sent into malaria and fever infected regions in which they contracted diseases impairing their physical abilities from which they never fully recovered, and which affect their earning capacities in their declining years; and

WHEREAS, The medical records were so carelessly kept and the medical departments were so inefficient that it is now impossible for a veteran of that war to secure official information pertaining to the character of his ailments; and

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States, in recognition of the service of the men in the war with Spain, has passed laws granting those men a small pension if incapacitated 10 per cent or more, whether service connected or not; and

WHEREAS, An organization known as the National Economy League, composed of men who are either on the Government payroll or have members of their families drawing retired pay, is seeking legislation which will take away the pension of the Spanish war veterans, unless

their infirmities can be proved service connected; and

WHEREAS, These men are at an age where employment is generally denied them so that self-support becomes impossible, necessitating resort to charitable institutions, or soldiers' homes, either of which costs Society at large more per man than pensions; and

WHEREAS, Among the members of the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, there are thousands of men who served as volunteers in the war with Spain, and who, under the program of the National Economy League would lose the small benefits already granted them for their volunteer services by the people of the United States through Congress; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates of the American Federation of Labor, in regular convention assembled, condemn the program of the National Economy League, and we request the Executive Council to combat the said program in the coming sessions of Congress in the matter above referred to.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Draught Beer

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate James J. Doyle, representing the Coopers' International Union.

WHEREAS, That modification of the Volstead Act will be accomplished in a short period of time; and

WHEREAS, Eighty per cent of beer before prohibition was draught beer, and gave a vast amount of work to members of the Coopers' International Union; and

WHEREAS, Draught beer is primarily a workman's beverage and is less expensive and more palatable, and if this class of beer is permitted it will be the means of reopening of 1,000 former cooper shops, and thereby greatly aid the cooping industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record as favoring the permission of draught beer.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Chain Stores

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate Patrick E. Gorman of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, and the Delegation from the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union.

WHEREAS, Both national and local chain stores have for the past several years been monopolizing in all territories from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico; and

WHEREAS, Investigation has disclosed that lack of organization within the ranks of clerks of some chain store companies has in all sections worked hardship on unionized workers, particularly in the meat cutting and fresh fruit and vegetable line, local unions having been disorganized and discriminated against; and

WHEREAS, The growth of these chain store companies both financially and in number of units operated have shown remarkable growth at the expense of the people of the United States; and

WHEREAS, It is our thought that the present economic depression is due in part to consolidations, amalgamations and the creation of some mammoth organizations of chain store companies now operating in this country; and

WHEREAS, The laboring classes of the United States derive no benefit whatsoever from some mammoth combinations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its Annual Convention in Cincinnati, Ohio, direct the Executive Officers and its Organizers to foster and assist the organization of those managers, clerical help, warehouse help and truck operators, motor truck operators and all other types of labor in the employ of such national, regional and local chain store organizations; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor interest itself vitally in the problems with a view of improving the future of the employees of these chain organizations.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Rural Delivery Mail Service

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate Lester W. Royer of the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, There have been proposals from a number of sources that the rural mail delivery service be placed on a contract basis to the distinct disadvantage of 40,000 rural letter carriers whose wage and working standards, as well as their civil service status, would be destroyed, and

WHEREAS, Furthermore, the so-called star route service, which is on a contract basis and performed frequently at ruinous rates, is being steadily expanded to encroach upon and to duplicate in many instances the work of the rural delivery service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-second Convention of the American Federation of Labor instructs the Executive Council to give all necessary co-operation to the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers in carrying out its program to protect the rural carriers and the rural service against all destructive encroachments.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

To Assist Laundry Workers in Organizing Work

Resolution No. 67—By Delegates Frank J. Bacigalupi and Harry Dubecker, Laundry Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers of the United States and Canada are at this time only partly organized; and

WHEREAS, The finances of the Laundry Workers' International Union at this time

will not warrant or permit in placing any additional organizer in the large number of cities and the various states to organize the unorganized laundry workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor send out a circular letter to all the State Federations of Labor and City Central Labor Councils, and to all of the Organizers of the American Federation of Labor, requesting them to use their influence by making an effort to organize the laundry workers in their districts and localities.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Thirty Years' Voluntary Retirement in Federal Service

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate James A. Taylor, of the Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The retirement laws relative to the civilian employees of the United States Government are entirely inadequate as to voluntary retirement; and

WHEREAS, The age limits for retirement runs from 62 to 70 years, depending upon occupation, with a two-year reduction if 30 years has been served; and

WHEREAS, The age limit in some cases would require from 40 to 50 years of service before retirement, depending upon age when entering the service; and

WHEREAS, A law that requires service up to an age limit of 70 years defeats the purpose of a superannuated law; and

WHEREAS, There is no provision for voluntary retirement for length of service in the present (civilian) Federal Retirement Law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record in favor of voluntary retirement after thirty years of service, regardless of age.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Improved Government Employment Standards

Resolution No. 69—By Delegates Leo E. George, Thos. F. Flaherty, Samuel A. Matlock, John N. Bishop, John C. Sweeney, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Michael T. Finnan, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; W. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, B. G. Burris, of the Railway Mail Association; A. O. Wharton, Chas. W. Fry, R. A. Henning, Daniel Haggerty, N. P. Alifas, of the International Association of Machinists; David R. Glass, of the American Federation of Government Employees; Lester W. Royer, of the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; Andrew J. Fallon, of the International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union; Florence Curtis Hanson, of the American Federation of Teachers; Clyde M. Mills, of the Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in Government employment, relating particularly to the restoration, extension and liberalization of sick and vacation leaves; the elimination of harmful objectionable speed-up practices; improvements in the retirement law, with special regard to thirty-year optional retirement; the reduction of night work requirements; the establishment of a civil service employees' court of appeals; the improvement of postal substitute employees' and village letter carriers' working in wage conditions; the adoption of the shorter workweek principle without reduction in wages as established prior to the enactment of the economy law, and kindred betterments; and

WHEREAS, Various bills covering these objectives of the affiliated groups of Government employees have been introduced for action by the Seventy-second Congress; and

WHEREAS, These measures conform to the program and urgings of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that the Government establish and maintain employment standards comparable to those existing in the most advanced establishments in private industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-second Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its position in favor of higher Government standards and instructs the Executive Council to continue its co-operation with the affiliated organization of Government employees in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to the Committee on Legislation.

Status of U. S. Employees' Compensation Commission

Resolution No. 70—By Delegates Leo E. George, Thos. F. Flaherty, Samuel A. Matlock, John N. Bishop, John C. Sweeney, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Michael T. Finnan, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; W. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, B. G. Burris, of the Railway Mail Association; A. O. Wharton, Chas. W. Fry, R. A. Henning, Daniel Haggerty, N. P. Alifas, of the International Association of Machinists; David R. Glass, of the American Federation of Government Employees; Lester W. Royer, of the National Association of Rural Letter Carriers; Andrew J. Fallon, of the International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union; Clyde M. Mills, of the Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission was originally established largely at the urging of the American

Federation of Labor to administer injury compensation laws covering Government workers, and since its establishment it has performed its important functions in a humane way, satisfactory to all concerned; and

WHEREAS, It is now proposed as an economy measure to absorb the Compensation Commission into the Civil Service Commission, thus destroying its identity, impairing its usefulness and robbing it of that official independent status so essential to a quasi-judicial body of its kind, which must of necessity be free from political and other extraneous considerations in reaching its judgments; and

WHEREAS, The United States Employees Compensation Commission, through recently enlarged authority, now administers the Longshoremen's Compensation Act and compensation laws for the District of Columbia, thereby having jurisdiction in injury cases affecting thousands of workers outside of Government employment and in no way connected with the authority of the Civil Service Commission; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Fifty-second Convention assembled instructs the Executive Council to do all in its power to continue the United States Compensation Commission in its present official status as an independent governmental agency.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Repeal of Economy Law

Resolution No. 71—By Delegates Leo E. George, Thomas F. Flaherty, Samuel A. Matlock, John N. Bishop, John C. Sweeney of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Michael T. Finnan, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz of the National Association of Letter Carriers; W. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, B. G. Burris of the Railway Mail Association; A. O. Wharton, Chas. W. Fry, R. A. Henning, Daniel Haggerty, N. P. Alifas of the International Association of Machinists; David R. Glass of the American Federation of Government Employees; Lester W. Royer of the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; Andrew J. Fallon of the International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union; Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers; Clyde M. Mills of the Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, In its report to this convention the Executive Council said of the so-called Economy Law enacted by the Seventy-first Congress, "The American Federation of Labor will give every aid to the government employees to defeat this objectionable legislation for which there is no defense; and

WHEREAS, We are in complete accord with the Council's justifiable objections to this abortive legislation, which was hastily enacted under the spur of a hysterical clamor for a reduction in national government expenditures, and which degenerated into an attack on wage and em-

ployment standards for which organized federal workers had long struggled; and

WHEREAS, The principal savings effected by the economy bill have come from the meagre wages of the government workers, thus decreasing their purchasing power and retarding economic recovery and, furthermore, imposing undue hardships upon the employees without any appreciable reduction in government tax rates; and

WHEREAS, It is important that the government in its capacity as an employer establish and maintain high wage and employment standards as an example for private industry, and it is particularly essential that this policy be now followed in order to help build up the mass purchasing power of wage-earners so necessary for economic stability; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-second Convention of the American Federation of Labor in full approval of the Council's well-founded objection to the Economy Law hereby instructs the Council to give all possible aid to interested affiliates, not only to repeal this unsatisfactory law at the earliest possible moment, but to correct retroactively the injustices that have been imposed upon many workers by restrictive administrative rulings and practices since it has been in operation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Finger Printing

Resolution No. 72—By Delegates Leo E. George, Thos. F. Flaherty, Samuel A. Matlock, John N. Bishop, John C. Sweeney of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Michael T. Finnan, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz of the National Association of Letter Carriers; W. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, B. G. Burris of the Railway Mail Association, A. O. Wharton, Chas. W. Fry, R. A. Henning, Daniel Haggerty, N. P. Alifas of the International Association of Machinists; David R. Glass of the American Federation of Government Employees; Lester W. Royer of the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; Andrew J. Fallon of the International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union; Clyde M. Mills of the Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, At its last Convention the American Federation of Labor unanimously adopted a resolution in opposition to the rule of the Civil Service Commission requiring all applicants for positions in the civil service to be finger-printed and also in protest against the commission's proposal to finger-print those already in the service when deemed necessary; and

WHEREAS, Despite this expression against these objectionable practices and the efforts of the council to make it effective the Civil Service Commission has not altered or modified its position and is continuing the obnoxious policy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-second Conven-

tion of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its opposition to the practices of the Civil Service Commission and in view of the impending change in the personnel of said Commission, hereby instructs the Executive Council to renew its endeavors to have speedily discontinued this unnecessary and obnoxious finger-printing requirement as a condition for government employment.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Legislation to Enforce Shorter Workweek for Women Workers

Resolution No. 73—By Delegates Thos. F. McMahon, John P. O'Connell and Emile Rieve of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in Conventions assembled has labored in behalf of the shorter workweek and work-day for years by legislation and economic strength; and

WHEREAS, In these depressed times we know that the mechanization of industry has substantially lowered wages and created unemployment and diminished our purchasing power to consume the things we produce; and

WHEREAS, We believe that goods, wares and merchandise manufactured or produced in the United States and territories under long hours are detrimental to the well-being of the toilers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates in Convention assembled, instruct our Executive Council to have the Webb-Kenyon Bill technique explored and translated into appropriate proposals to bring about a shorter workweek for women and children.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Legislation to Protect Women and Children in Industry

Resolution No. 74—By Delegates Thos. F. McMahon, John P. O'Connell and Emile Rieve of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, We the delegates of the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, firmly believe that the way to relieve unemployment and bring about stabilization of industry is to reduce the hours of labor and increase wages; and

WHEREAS, At the present time much of the manufactured goods purchased by the Government of the United States and its instrumentalities is the product of sweat shops where women and children are employed under intolerable conditions and starvation wages; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, that the Executive Council is hereby instructed to petition Congress to enact legislation which will prohibit the United States Government and its instrumentalities from purchasing goods to be used by any and all government departments where women and children are employed in the manufacture of these goods after 6 o'clock post meridian or before the hour of 6 o'clock ante-meridian or more than

48 hours in any week or where women and children are employed below a minimum wage scale which provides decency and comfort.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Mooney Case

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate James A. Taylor of the Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is common knowledge that Thomas Mooney and Warren K. Billings, now imprisoned in the State of California, are the victims of a gross miscarriage of justice; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, that the executive officers stand instructed to request an unconditional pardon for Thomas Mooney and Warren K. Billings, and that in the event that a pardon is denied that a new trial be demanded.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Federation of Women's Trade-Union Auxiliaries

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, John P. O'Connell and Emile Rieve, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, It has been called to our attention that a group of Trade Union Women's Auxiliaries, acting under a suggestion from this body, met in St. Louis last February to form a Federation of Trade Union Auxiliaries; and

WHEREAS, There was represented at the first meeting held for that purpose one International Trade Union Auxiliary of Machinists, with Auxiliaries in many parts of the United States, two Joint Councils of Women's Trade Union Auxiliaries, one of St. Louis representing 12 local craft Auxiliaries and another Joint Council of Women's Auxiliaries of Denver, Colo., representing 15 local trade Auxiliaries of Denver, Colo.; and

WHEREAS, These women there formed a federated group of these various crafts who will meet again in Denver, Colo., in June, 1933; and

WHEREAS, We believe it is time for our own advancement that our women relatives who have been clothed with new importance since the granting of suffrage, and are entering all forms of civil and fraternal as well as political activities, be further organized for our benefit; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we encourage and guide these women that they be accorded the recognition of a fraternal delegate to this body; and, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention now assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, November, 1932, go on record as recommending to the Label Trades Department that they lend their assistance and co-operation to the further federating of these women and that they be operated under the direction and supervision of the Label Trades Department.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Urging Maximum Navy for the United States in Accordance With Provisions of London Naval Treaty

Resolution No. 77.—By Delegates A. O. Wharton, Charles W. Fry, R. A. Henning, Daniel Haggerty and N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The Treaty for the Limitation and Reduction of Naval Armament, signed at London on April 22, 1930, imposes upon the people of the United States the obligation faithfully to perform their duty in the maintenance of conditions which tend to insure peace progress and civilization of the world; and

WHEREAS, Due to the world depression even the strongest Governments are in a condition of instability which may result in our Government being compelled to defend its shores; and

WHEREAS, An adequate Navy is our country's first line of defense and would furnish our representatives to the prospective forthcoming and future Peace Conferences a powerful argument proportionate to the strength of our position, in insuring world peace by limitation of armament or otherwise; and

WHEREAS, We regard it as axiomatic that any organization, be it a nation or a labor union, places itself in an unfavorable bargaining position if its defenses are weakened before an agreement looking to peace is reached; and

WHEREAS, The present serious unemployment situation could be materially relieved if our Federal Government would, at the earliest practicable moment, inaugurate a naval building program designed to bring up our naval strength to that permissible under the London Treaty of April 22, 1930; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Fifty-Second Convention of the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, at Cincinnati, Ohio, that the United States Government in order to maintain our national security in a world which at present is by no means safe, build and maintain a Navy in conformity with the maximum naval strength permissible under the London Treaty of April 22, 1930; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the United States Government utilize its navy yards and arsenals to their full capacity in building and modernizing or repairing such naval vessels, ordnance aircraft and equipment as may be needed to carry this program into effect; and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed to assist in every way possible, the several National and International Unions interested in carrying into effect the provisions of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

U. S. Government Intervention for American Citizens in Foreign Countries

Resolution No. 78.—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth of the International Seamen's Union.

WHEREAS, A large number of wealthy citizens are exporting their wealth to establish in the territories of other national manufacturing

plants, and to acquire lands on which to raise and slaughter cattle, to raise fruit, vegetables and other agricultural products; and

WHEREAS, Some of the wealthy citizens are expatriating themselves as well as their wealth; and

WHEREAS, Such citizens continue to claim United States protection for their wealth and themselves, while operating and living in other countries; and

WHEREAS, Such citizens thereby shirk real citizenship everywhere, and cause serious disagreements and sometimes intervention by the United States in neighboring or other sister nations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that while we freely grant to such citizens the right to expatriate themselves and their property, we would emphatically deny to them any right to appeal for and obtain any protection from the United States; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the United States exercise jurisdiction over all persons and property within our national and territorial boundaries and we disclaim any jurisdiction over persons, except diplomatic representatives, and property within the jurisdiction of sister nations; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we respectfully urge upon Congress to embody these fundamentally American ideas into law, to the end that we may be at real peace with our neighbors and all other sister Nations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Installment Buying

Resolution No. 79.—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth, International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, There are in the United States two kinds of racketeers, both dangerous to the peace, security and welfare of our people; and

WHEREAS, One class of racketeers work within the law or in toleration of law by promoting installment selling, thereby depriving buyers of their independence, industrial and political, by excessive capitalization, mainly to disguise income and escape taxation and by organizing holding companies, who acquire control of corporations by acquiring the majority of stock and then pyramid the same by issuing stocks based upon such ownership, which stock is sold to unsuspecting simple buyers who thereby lose their savings. The second kind of racketeers base their power upon criminal acts and on their free use of the guns and other weapons and levy on victims for so-called protection against dangers which the racketeer promotes; and

WHEREAS, Both these forms of racketeering are destructive of human security and welfare; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we most earnestly advise against installment buying, that we demand from the legislature the passing of laws to strictly regulate and restrict capitalization so that stock will represent the investment of cash and products of Labor, that holding companies be prohibited, and from the Executive we demand the enforcement of law regardless of persons or class.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Pullman Porters' Injunction Fight

Resolution No. 80, By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters No. 16808.

WHEREAS, Pullman porters are some of the most severely exploited workers in the United States, having sustained a wage cut of \$5.00 a month last February, although their monthly wage at the time of the cut was only \$77.50, a wage sadly inadequate to maintain a porter's family according to standards of decency, health and comfort; and

WHEREAS, The hours of work of Pullman porters average 400 a month at a time when railroad workers have the 240-hour work month and the American Federation of Labor is fighting for the six-hour day and the five-day week; and

WHEREAS, Porters are being furloughed by the Pullman management in utter disregard of the principle of seniority, laying off men up to nine and ten years in the service, while others, four, five and six years in the service, are retained, and sometimes new men hired, under the dangerous and vicious clause that fitness and ability shall supersede seniority rights according as the superintendent may arbitrarily decide, a policy adopted obviously to exact more work for less pay from the porters, to reduce the number of porters entitled or soon to be entitled to free uniforms, to reduce the number of porters nearing the pension age, and quite frequently the number of porters active in the Union; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has instituted a suit for an injunction in the Federal Court of the Northern District of Illinois, to abolish the Pullman Employ Representation Plan or Company Union and to establish the right of self-organization for the porters, guaranteed by the Railway Labor Act and the Norris-LaGuardia Law; and

WHEREAS, The Pullman Company introduced a motion to dismiss the porters' case on the grounds of incapacity to sue and the absence of proper party, although Pullman porters operating in the service were joined as individual complainants and interveners with the Union; and

WHEREAS, Judge George E. Q. Johnston issued the following in, re the motion: "This matter coming on to be heard upon defendant's motion to dismiss the bill of complaint, the court having listened to oral arguments and considered the briefs filed by counsel for the respective parties and now being fully advised: It is ordered that the defendant's motion to dismiss the bill of complaint be and the same is hereby overruled. It is further ordered that the plaintiff may, if it so desires, have leave to amend its bill of complaint within twenty days; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its Fifty-second Annual Convention in Cincinnati, Ohio, does endorse, commend and pledge support to the significant, militant and worthy fight of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to eliminate the Pullman Company Union through injunction procedure, as did the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, which will not only establish the right of self-organization to the porters, but help break down the company

union movement in general which is a deadly menace to trade-union movement organization.

Referred to Committee of Resolutions.

Equality for Negro Workers

Resolution No. 81, By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 16808, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, Negro workers have been and are the victims of discrimination by some of the international unions through constitutional provision and practice, which has resulted in large numbers of these workers being excluded from the labor movement, thereby enabling the employers to profit from this division, sowing the dangerous seeds of race suspicion, hatred and distrust to the definite injury of both groups, white and black; and

WHEREAS, This industrial depression has fully and clearly demonstrated that the big business interests, as well as industrial fluctuations, assail and liquidate the economic and social security of all workers, black and white, Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, foreign and native, and that industrial stabilization and increased social well-being can only be elected by genuine working-class solidarity, guided by a broad, scientific and constructive program that takes no cognizance of race, creed, color or nationality, but views and considers all workers upon a basis of equality as respects their right to join a union, their right to work according as their ability and skill would warrant, and enjoy all of the privileges and immunities guaranteed citizens under the Federal Constitution; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its Fifty-second Convention assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, does, in accordance with its historical policy, expressed through resolutions and pronouncements, condemn all forms of discrimination practiced by trade unions against Negro workers, and herewith calls upon all of its affiliated unions practicing aforementioned discrimination, to remove the color bar and accept Negro workers upon a basis of equality, in order that the trade-union movement may effectively fight for industrial democracy and present a united front against the brutal oppression of gigantic capitalist industrial and financial combinations that threaten the labor movement, our democratic institutions and the most useful aspects of our modern civilization.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Friendly Society of Engravers

Resolution No. 82, By Delegate Charles A. Alexander, of the Central Labor Union of Passaic County, New Jersey.

WHEREAS, The Friendly Society of Engravers, established in the year 1874, and composed of highly skilled tradesmen who have a well established organization and are in a healthy financial condition and realize the necessity of all workers being affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The membership of this organization represent a group of workers not now directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, but who desire direct affiliation; and

WHEREAS, This organization at present holds membership with the American Federation of Labor through their affiliation with the International Metal Engravers' Union, in which International Union (the members of the Friendly Society of Engravers represent more than 80 per cent of the organization, known as the International Metal Engravers' Union) find it hard to interest and secure the affiliation of new members due to the fact that the International Union of Metal Engravers itself has at no time had, other than those constituting the Friendly Society of Engravers, more than one shop organized; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the issuance of a direct International Charter, under such name as the American Federation of Labor may deem advisable and covering such jurisdiction as the American Federation of Labor may think proper, would strengthen the Labor Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the officers and Executive Council to take such steps as are necessary to bring about the issuance of an International Charter to those now constituting the Friendly Society of Engravers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Extension of Facilities of the Public Health Service to Engineers on Dredgers

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates John Possehl, F. A. Fitzgerald, Wm. P. Walsh, L. J. Nolan, of the International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, The Engineers employed on dredgers engaged in dredging harbors on Federal work are not afforded the facilities of the Public Health Service which are accorded to other civilian employees of the Federal government or contractors engaged in marine work; and

WHEREAS, The inability of the engineers serving on dredgers in connection with the dredging of harbors, and rivers and their tributaries, to enjoy the facilities of the Public Health Service which are extended to other civilian employees engaged in marine work, is an injustice to them;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assist in securing such necessary amendments to existing Federal legislation as will provide for such engineers all the facilities provided for by the Public Health Service which are extended to other marine workers.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Compulsory School Attendance

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates Robert J. Watt of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor and Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The age limits of compulsory school attendance have been lowered in many communities during recent months; and

WHEREAS, This is an especially appropriate time to urge on all states higher standards for the preparation of our young people for citizenship; and

WHEREAS, The unemployment crisis in which we find ourselves at present, added to the fundamental fact that the ever-increasing mechanization of industry makes less necessary the use of children in order to get out needed production; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled reiterate its position of other years and go on record in favor of compulsory full-time education to the age of 16 and part-time education to the age of 18 for all children in every state, and that adequate machinery for such law enforcement be provided and maintained.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Workmen's Compensation Insurance

Resolution No. 84—By Delegate Robert J. Watt of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has properly and consistently advocated the establishment of state funds in the respective states for all workmen's compensation insurance; and

WHEREAS, The exorbitant and excessive costs of profit-making insurance companies has resulted in imposing such high costs that some employers are now imposing directly on the workers the costs of workmen's compensation; and

WHEREAS, At the recent convention of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor the State Deputy Insurance Commissioner freely admitted that in order that some workmen's compensation insurance companies be allowed to continue to operate, it was essential that all State Insurance Commissioners accept financial statements from these companies with securities valued at prices far in excess of the market values; and

WHEREAS, Such conditions justify the fear that in the future injured workers may find that the companies to which the employers have paid moneys for protection are no longer solvent; and

WHEREAS, The only protection which can be given to industrial workers is to have state funds established in each state; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of American Federation of Labor instruct the officers and Executive Council to initiate at the earliest possible moment a militant campaign with all labor bodies to secure the establishment of state funds for workmen's compensation insurance in each state.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Hatters vs. Cloth Hat and Cap Makers

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate Michael F. Greene, Martin Lawlor and Charles W. Cullen of the United Hatters of North America.

WHEREAS, For several years previous to the Baltimore Convention in 1916, the United Hatters of North America protested to the American Federation of Labor that the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America were encroaching on their jurisdiction and the Executive Council after an exhaustive study of over two years of the jurisdictional dispute between the two International Unions, made the

following recommendation to the Baltimore Convention, "that the making of all felt, straw and panama hats and the trimming of same, comes under the jurisdiction of the United Hatters of North America and the making of all cloth hats and caps under the jurisdiction of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America"; and

WHEREAS, This recommendation of the Executive Council was approved by the Committee on Executive Council's Report and adopted by the Convention, conceding to the United Hatters, the making of all headgear, with the exception of cloth hats and caps, and the Committee on Executive Council's Report further recommended that the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America be directed to discontinue the words "Millinery Workers" in connection with their title and this recommendation was adopted by the Convention; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at their meeting in 1917, agreed that the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America be expelled from membership in the American Federation of Labor, unless they complied with these decisions before January 1, 1918; and

WHEREAS, The Convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Buffalo in 1917 decided that the time of their expulsion should be extended to April 1, 1918, and the word "Suspended" be substituted for the word "Expelled" and the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, failing to comply with these decisions, were automatically suspended from membership in the American Federation of Labor, April 1, 1918; and

WHEREAS, The United Hatters of North America then having full jurisdiction over the headgear industry, with the exception of cloth hats and caps, upon the earnest solicitation of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and in the interests of peace and harmony in the industry, on October 23, 1924, entered into a jurisdictional agreement with the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, wherein the jurisdiction of each International Union in the millinery industry was clearly and definitely set forth under the articles of agreement, and was ratified and approved in the Convention of the American Federation of Labor at El Paso, Texas, November, 1924, and in consideration to the application of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America for reinstatement to membership in the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The agreement entered into provided full and free opportunity for the members of both International Unions to follow their trade in the millinery industry, irrespective of which International Union might have jurisdictional control in any particular factory and the United Hatters of North America have carefully and faithfully respected this agreement in detail, in order to avoid controversy with the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union; and

WHEREAS, The Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union has continuously violated the terms of this agreement for the past eight years, despite the repeated protests to that organization by the United Hatters of North America and have unlawfully

organized and are continuing to organize, disregarding the terms of the agreement, a number of factories which come under Section 1 of the Jurisdictional Agreement, which clearly and definitely provides that this part of the millinery industry shall be controlled by the United Hatters of North America; and

WHEREAS, This agreement was entered into mutually by the two International Unions as the instrument through which the workers in the millinery industry would be fully organized and protected, and inasmuch as the American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council, was the means of bringing about this jurisdictional agreement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the United Hatters of North America respectfully request that the American Federation of Labor, take such steps as are necessary to compel the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union to carry out the terms of the jurisdictional agreement entered into between the two organizations and approved by the American Federation of Labor in the El Paso Convention in November, 1924; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That failure on the part of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers to live up to their agreement with the United Hatters of North America (through which they gained admittance to membership in the American Federation of Labor and got their title extended to embrace the words "Millinery Workers") and as the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers don't want to live up to the agreement made with the United Hatters of North America, we respectfully request that the words "Millinery Workers" be eliminated from their jurisdiction.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Classification Legislation for Federal Employees

Resolution No. 86.—By David R. Glass, American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, It is obvious that the classification problem as a whole will not be considered during the coming Congress; and

WHEREAS, The Classification Act as amended has been applied only to the departmental employees in its entirety; and

WHEREAS, The field personnel have only departmental allocation; and in many instances the pay has not been adjusted to conform with even departmental allocation; and

WHEREAS, It is obvious that the field personnel should have the same rights to classification and appeal as accorded departmental employees, and also the same pay for identical or similar work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the classification procedure, including adjustment of salary and appeal, should be extended to the field service preferably by a Joint Resolution of the House and Senate, directing the extension, with instructions that the Personnel Classification Agency, which is now a part of the Civil Service Commission, make an immediate review of the allocation of field positions and be empowered and directed to change allocations without reference to the department having jurisdiction over the field employees, with pro-

vision that the employee affected shall have the right to appeal his reallocation, and that the proceedings and testimony in the appeal should be made of record, open to inspection by the department and the employ affected; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention direct its Executive Council to make an extended study of the classification now in effect, as well as proposed classifications, and compile a classification plan embracing all activities, both departmental and field, exclusive of those trades whose wages are or should be fixed by wage boards.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Communism

Resolution No. 87.—By Delegate George W. Perkins, Cigarmakers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The propaganda of Communism continues throughout the United States, directed from Moscow, where the Communist International, the Red International of Labor Unions and the Communist Government are one and inseparable, forming arms of the same dictatorship; and

WHEREAS, The Communist propaganda, disseminated in the United States through a score or more of major organizations and an even larger number of subordinate agencies, including a dozen daily newspapers, has for its first objects the destruction of the American Federation of Labor, American recognition of the Communist regime in Russia and the destruction of every organization hostile to communism; and

WHEREAS, The final object of the Communist propaganda is the complete destruction of democracy and human freedom and the establishment of a dictatorship in this and every other free country, subordinate to the Communist authority in Moscow; and

WHEREAS, The aims and the operations of Communism constitute a condition amounting to warfare against the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor renew its declaration of unalterable opposition and hostility to Communism, to the recognition of the Communist regime in Moscow by our Government and to every activity of organized Communism and that we counsel our membership to be zealous in refusal of all aid or comfort to any Communist organization, or to any campaign conducted by Communist organizations or by those organizations which are allied with and sympathetic to Communism through interlocking directorates or other devices and subterfuges.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

H. D. Lee Mercantile Company

Resolution No. 88.—By Delegate W. S. Kramer of the Central Labor Union of Harrisburg, Pa.

WHEREAS, It has been admitted that remarkable strides have been made in the creation of time and labor-saving machinery; and

WHEREAS, It has been most conclusively demonstrated that no new fields have been created for the absorption of labor's time resulting from such machinery; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has for its immediate goal the accomplishment in fact of a shorter workday and a shorter workweek, as a progressive strike to keep pace with modern machines; and

WHEREAS, The adoption of such work schedules should be encouraged and commended by the American Federation of Labor, its affiliates and its friends; and

WHEREAS, The H. D. Lee Mercantile Co., manufacturers of Lee overalls, unionalls, work shirts, pants and children's play suits in all its five factories at Trenton, N. J.; Kansas City, Mo.; South Bend, Ind.; Salina, Kansas, and in San Francisco, Calif., in all of which factories are employed thousands of workers—all members of the United Garment Workers of America; and

WHEREAS, In all these factories the five-day, forty-hour week without a reduction in wages prevails; and

WHEREAS, By its adoption of this shorter workweek, the H. D. Lee Mercantile Co. has proven itself a friend of labor and a good example of progressive leadership in American industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor officially commend said H. D. Lee Mercantile Co. and offer said company's success with the adoption of the shorter workweek as a concrete example to other manufacturers in the same or kindred industries; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor apprise the several locals of the National and International Unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, by mailing a copy of this resolution to such locals.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Issuance of Names of Unemployed Union Members to Special Relief Agencies

Resolution No. 89.—By Delegate W. S. Kramer of the Central Labor Union of Harrisburg, Pa.

WHEREAS, The present economic conditions have caused the creation of special agencies for remedial and relief purposes in the cities and towns of the several States; and

WHEREAS, Such agencies in their efforts to apportion work and relief to the many unemployed in the said cities and towns attempt to ascertain the number of unemployed by listing them by classification as to trade; and

WHEREAS, Many Central Labor Unions are often called upon to secure from their affiliated locals the number of said locals' unemployed members to be listed by crafts or trades; and

WHEREAS, Present conditions point to a diminished membership; and

WHEREAS, Aforesaid lists, therefore, would tend to reveal the strength or weakness of a Central Labor Union, or of one of the various Locals comprising it; and

WHEREAS, Unscrupulous manufacturers' associations or other enemies of organized labor could and probably would use such lists to the detriment of said locals in particular or organized labor in general; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as

against the issuance by any Central Labor Union of such lists as above mentioned; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be mailed to the several Central Labor Unions so that the latter may be guided accordingly.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Preparatory Technical Conference on the Shorter Work Day, Geneva, Switzerland, January, 1933

Resolution No. 90.—By Delegate E. E. Milliman of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees.

WHEREAS, The central and historic policy of the American Federation of Labor has always been to promote the shortening of the hours of work; and

WHEREAS, It is the purpose of such policy to secure the enjoyment of a larger leisure and a higher cultural life for the masses of labor; and

WHEREAS, Such a policy is made economically sound by the necessity of maintaining purchasing power to take off the market the increasing stream of production made possible by technological improvement; and

WHEREAS, The shortening of hours of labor has become during this depression an emergency measure as manifested in the "Share-the-Work" movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled favors the full and active participation of the American Government in the Preparatory Technical Conference on the Shorter Workday, which is being called by the International Labor Office at Geneva, Switzerland, in January, 1933, for the purpose of sifting out the best experience of the different countries in applying the shorter working week, and for the purpose of arriving at the most suitable form of concurrent national action that will result in the most practical way to apply the shorter workweek; in short, for formulating an international program on the reduction of hours of work that will become a part of the subsequent international economic conference which is being called in London and in which the American Government has already agreed to participate; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we favor the appointment of a representative of the American labor movement as a joint representative and member of the American delegation to said Preparatory Technical Conference on the Shorter Workweek.

Referred to Committee on International Relations.

Representation of United States in International Labor Office

Resolution No. 91.—By Delegate E. E. Milliman of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor conceived and promoted the idea of a greater participation of the workers in governmental affairs following the war; and

WHEREAS, The representatives of the American labor movement participated in the establishment of the International Labor Organization, with the late president of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers, presiding over the Commission on International Labor Legislation, a part of the Peace Conference of 1919; and

WHEREAS, The American delegates to that Commission were largely responsible for the declaration of fundamental labor principles sponsored by the Peace Conference, such as that labor should be entitled to fair and humane conditions of work, that it should have the right to combine and associate, to be consulted on measures that affect its welfare, and to be free to render work and service voluntarily; and

WHEREAS, The International Labor Organization during more than a decade of service has secured international agreements abolishing child labor, shortening the working day and week, providing the benefits of workmen's compensation and other humane conditions of employment, and thus, by raising standards in other countries, has protected the standards of American workers from competition with cheap foreign labor; and

WHEREAS, The International Labor Organization has steadfastly held to dealing with economic issues and has not involved itself in any entangling alliances with the political organization of labor, and has addressed itself directly to economic problems and issues, and has constantly stipulated for consulting the worker in all measures of social legislation; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Vancouver, B. C., in 1931, requested the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to study the advisability and practicability of having the American Government maintain an official observer at the International Labor Office in Geneva in order to see that industrial and labor conditions in America are properly understood and interpreted at that office, and in view of the "growing interdependence of men and nations" and the "accomplishments to date of organized world-wide movements in the interest of human betterment"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor urges such action on the part of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and that the Executive Council request the American Government to maintain a permanent attaché or representative of the Department of Labor at the International Labor Office at Geneva, Switzerland, to carry on active co-operation with the International Labor Organization.

Referred to Committee on International Relations.

At 4:30 o'clock Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, moved that the rules be suspended and that the Convention adjourn to 9:30 o'clock Wednesday morning.

The motion was seconded and carried and the Convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock a. m., Wednesday, November 23.

Third Day—Wednesday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio,
November 23, 1932.

The Convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees—Shanessy, Birthright, Bowen, Horan, Nelson, Wills, McFetridge, Holmgren, Harrison, Schulte, Tighe, Ryan (J. P.), O'Brien (S. P.), Lewis (J. L.), Murray, Kennedy (T.), Hartneady, Fagan, Boylan, Brennan, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Kehoe, Jones (G. W.), Soderberg, Starr, Hatch, Fay, Jewell, Scharrenberg, Soderstrom, Taylor (T. N.), Raftery, Reed, Turnblazer, Reilly, Cherry, Taylor (J. A.), Davis (F.), Fox (H. W.), Kutz, Patterson, Watkins, Williams, Parke, Koenig, Starkweather, Brooks, Mitchell (H.), Becker, Graham (J. D.), Souza, Augustine, Gates, Myers, Rigby, Sheehan, Rivin, Hammer, Newhall, Quinn, Draper, Uppleger, Greenway, Curran, Wood, Miles, Kromelbein, Wells, Bohn, McElligott, Richardson, Scannell, Lufrano, Thoman.

COMMUNICATIONS.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

Chattanooga, Tenn.,
November 22, 1932.

Secretary Frank Morrison,
American Federation of Labor Convention
Headquarters,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Chattanooga Trades and Labor Council invites the 1933 Convention of the American Federation of Labor to meet in Chattanooga. We have sufficient hotel and auditorium facilities not to mention the scenic beauties unexcelled anywhere in the country. Being an industrial center the effect of the Convention here will have good educational value with the manufacturers.

T. R. CUTHBERT, Secretary.

New York, N. Y.,
November 22, 1932.

American Federation of Labor Convention,
Netherland Plaza Hotel,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Greetings—The Virgin Islands Civic Association, 239 West 136, New York, interested in the economic and social uplift of 10,000 natives resident on the mainland and 26,000 adults reforesting labor in the islands respectfully urge support in matter of securing popular vote for men and women inhabitants and the creation of the office of Resident Commissioner at Washington as all other possessions enjoy. By instructions of meeting held 20th instant in absence of Ashley L. Totten, President.

ANDREW C. PEDRO,
Executive Secretary.

The St. Louis Convention Publicity and Tourist Bureau, through its Secretary and General Manager, Charles F. Hatfield, sent a com-

munication inviting the American Federation of Labor to hold its 1933 convention in St. Louis.

President Green: I am very happy indeed to present to you the first speaker at this morning's session. Brother Miller needs no introduction to the officers and delegates in attendance at a convention of the American Federation of Labor. He is a regular attendant at our annual conventions, representing as he does the Workers' Education Bureau. This has been a very important year for the Workers' Education Bureau, as you must all well know. We are always pleased to receive the message which Secretary Miller brings to us at each annual convention, and I know this morning he is prepared to submit a most constructive and inspiring address.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you Spencer Miller, Junior.

TECHNOCRACY: A NEW CHALLENGE TO LABOR AND EDUCATION.

BY SPENCER MILLER, JR.

(Secretary, Workers Education Bureau of America.)

This is my tenth anniversary. Ten years ago I attended the Convention of the American Federation of Labor for the first time as a representative of the Workers' Education Bureau of America when you met here in this city under the torrid roof of the Armory. No one who was present will forget those Convention days!

To some of you ten years of consecutive attendance at the Federation Conventions will seem but a brief span and yet there have been hardly more than five such decades in the whole history of the Federation. So I am thinking of myself today as having earned in part the right to be considered an old-timer to these annual Conventions. And I can say to you quite sincerely that you have treated me for a number of years now as an old friend, however, you may have disagreed with what I had to say. You will permit me to thank you on this occasion for this first decade of happy associations with you men and women of labor.

I can well remember that stirring two-hour speech of Senator LaFollette on the Supreme Court at the last Cincinnati Convention. And I can recall the remark of my friend, A. J. Berres, in the lobby of the Hotel Sinton after that address. "We have just listened," he said "to the opening gun for the presidential nomination in 1924." It was a prophetic utterance which was possible for Brother Berres to make because of his long experience in Washington with the ways and manners of Congressmen. Nor is this the only occasion when Mr. Berres

has proved himself to be a good prophet of presidential candidates. If I should indulge myself the pleasure of reminiscing I could recall other events that gave distinction to that Convention. But our yesterdays are interesting only as they throw light on our pathway of today and guide us on the road to tomorrow.

It was at the Cincinnati Convention ten years ago that you changed the constitution and provided that the annual Conventions should thereafter be held the first Monday in October of each year save in the year of the Quadrennial Election of the President of the United States when it was to be held in November, the second Monday after Election Day.

No delegate to that Convention, peering into the future ten years later, could have foreseen the great political landslide that has so recently taken place in this country. Its significance transcends the personality of any candidate for public office. It constitutes both a repudiation of the dominant party in our nation and a vigorous protest against the devastating distress to which our people have been subjected these past three years. From the standpoint of an educationalist there is something discouraging about a democracy voting its emotions in protest, rather than its intelligence in discrimination. And yet there is something very heartening as well to see the way in which a democracy can find such complete release from social pressure in so orderly a manner, through the ballot box. It is a mighty safety valve. Ballots are more civilized than bullets. Such a political upheaval represents a great catharsis or cleansing of the body politic. You will recall that the Greek playwrights recognized as early as the Fifth Century before the Christian era that this was one of the functions of the drama. We have witnessed a great political drama in our land.

But withal the national election was a popular mandate, complete and inescapable, for a new policy and a new program.

For men everywhere are looking for a new deal and not just a new shuffle! We have reached a period in our national life when in the words of Matthew Arnold, "We must recognize the forces of change and adapt ourselves to it." It would be a mistake either to overestimate or to underestimate this popular demand for a new order of life. But there it is—a mandate to act decisively on our world economic problems. It will provide the measure by which to appraise the new administration four years hence.

It is one of the interesting facts of history that during periods of social unrest, when economic systems seem to be disintegrating, that the response of the human spirit is to create Utopias. Plato's "Republic" appeared during the declining years of Athens. Sir Thomas Moore's "Utopia" during the English Renaissance of the Fifteenth Century. Bacon's "New Atlantis" during the stormy days of the Elizabethan era in England, and Rousseau's "Social Contract," just prior to the French Revolution in the Eighteenth Century, to mention but four. Each in turn was written in the midst of the social confusion of their day as a criticism of prevailing conditions and as a dream of a Perfect Society. In our time there is in the aspiration for a new deal something of the Utopian hopes of man in the face of catastrophe.

I—The Technocracy Report

But a new destiny awaits our generation! Amid the noise of the political battle there was issued late this summer through the Department of Industrial Engineering at Columbia University, though not as a university publication, a report by Technocracy which in its far-reaching significance makes the political formulas for a new deal seem like child's play. For 12 years a group of engineers and economists known as Technocracy under the leadership of Howard Scott, engineer and technician of the Muscle Shoals project, have been at work appraising our technological development and making a basic energy survey of North America; they have released the findings, in brief, on the first part of their report. It is both startling and revolutionary in its implications. It makes all our petty squabbles for the seats of power seem strangely irrelevant. It makes a forthright facing of the facts imperative.

You men of labor have long since recognized the gravity of technological unemployment and of the unregulated introduction of labor-saving devices into industry. The reasons for your misgivings are now amply buttressed by the conclusions of these engineering researches. It is their deliberate judgment upon the application of quantitative measures to our social mechanism that we are faced with the threat of national bankruptcy and perhaps general chaos in 18 months for which there is no solution under the price system.

If the conclusions and forecasts of Technocracy are true, it will be necessary in my judgment to radically recast the policy and program of labor. It will be necessary indeed to revise our whole concept of governmental control in this land. And I am informed by several of our leading engineers in this country and the factual material on which Technocracy has formulated its report are sound, though there is a difference of opinion as to their theories and proposals as to what should be done. Whatever may be one's judgment as to the next steps, the fact does remain that the report of Technocracy is of the utmost importance and constitutes a challenge so sweeping and overwhelming, both to labor and education, that it will be impossible for us to ignore it.

To get the full impact and import of their researches, may I summarize their findings, drawing liberally on their report.

For the past 7,000 years of man's social history the work of the world was done by manual labor with no appreciable change in method of doing work save as man utilized wind and waterpower. The average man was capable of an output of 1-10 horse-power per eight hours. The maximum output in ancient Egypt, for example, was 150,000 h. p. per eight-hour day, on a basis of a maximum population of 5,000,000. Up to the advent of the industrial revolution output was not substantially different from the days of the Pharaohs. But with the coming of the Steam Engine, we witnessed the advent of a revolution in our industrial life which has literally transformed the globe; it marks an epoch as definitely as does the Stone Age or the Bronze Age. Within the past hundred years the original output of the human machine

has increased nine million times, expressed in modern energy conversion units. But what is more 8,766,000 of that increase has come in the past 25 years. Once the wave of technological advance began it swept the processes of each decade into "yesterday's 7,000 years."

With the advent of technology there has been as well an extraordinary expansion of human consumption. In the days of the Egyptian and Mediterranean Civilizations and during the Middle Ages, the extreme upper limits of consumption were 2,000 calories per person each day. Today in North America "we have reached an energy consumption of 150,000 calories per capita per day."

That we have been swept along by a tide the force of which we have been unable either to measure or direct, Technocracy has pointed out, showing that our maximum period of work absorption came in 1918-19. Since then the decline in work opportunities has been steady. Wherever mechanization has taken place in a major industry, employment tends to become an inverse function of the rate of the total output. They point out, for example, that in the iron and steel industry with the same total employment in 1929 as in 1887 the output was 9.3, that of 32 years ago. The Radio industry, which began in 1920 and took up much of the slack in the depression of 1921-22, reached its maximum employment in 1925, but it did not reach maximum output of 8,000,000 sets a year until four years later. In a sheet steel rolling mill in the mid-west, there is a new machine, 2,100 feet long, operated by push buttons, which does all the work of the mill. A factory which manufactures automobile frames in Milwaukee produces 10,000 such chassis each day and requires only 208 workers, thus displacing thousands of workers. An electric lamp machine which has recently been installed has a production of 531,000 lamp globes a day—an increase of 9,000 times over previous production.

More startling perhaps is the recent erection of a factory in New Jersey for the production of rayon yarn where the operation can be carried on 24 hours a day without a single worker in the plant.

With the mechanical developments in the brick industry it would be possible for 100 men in five properly equipped plants to produce all the brick now manufactured in 2,370 plants. Since the days of the ancient brickmakers who could at best produce 450 bricks per 10 hours, a modern continuous brick plant can produce 400,000 bricks per day. If the 7,200 shoemakers in the shoemakers' guild of ancient Rome, who could make 7,200 pairs of shoes in 5½ days were to use modern machinery for the same number of days, their total capacity would be 595,000 pairs.

So one might cite case after case which would prove their conclusion up to the hilt!

For twelve years the Technocracy group have been at work, furthermore, devising some basis of measurement of our social advance. To develop a sound device they have selected 3,000 leading commodities ranging from wheat and cotton to steel and power. The

facts disclosed by these charts in terms of annual energy expended in production, number of men employed and working hours and volume produced and the rate of production point to the conclusion that the end of our unhampered era of expansion is here.

After 1850 the displaced workers could be reabsorbed in the expansion of general industrial development because machinery could only be made by hand tool methods. Today when industry becomes a technological mechanism, employment drops sharply and tends to decrease further. Indeed, it is in the newer industries such as the automobile where the productivity has been highest and the displacement greatest.

The conclusions of these researches are as compelling as some of their illustrations are dramatic.

Among others is the arresting conclusion that the fundamental cause of the depression is not political, but technological—that whereas, in the previous depressions of 1874, 1893, 1907 and 1914 and even 1921-22, the "oscillations in production when charted, show variations, ranging from 10 to 20 per cent, the present depression shows fluctuations of as much as 80 per cent." Furthermore, "the oscillations of industrial operation show increasing heights and depths occurring at constantly shorter intervals."

There is also a difference in the speed at which our mechanism is moving. We are, in a word, attempting to operate the "delicate controls of a high-powered civilization with methods which were crude enough in the Oxcart days when almost every home was self-sufficient and independent." Nor can we expect much by ignoring technology and substituting hand labor for machines. "The entire population of the United States would be insufficient to supply the foodstuffs required for the country if hand methods of tilling the soil were revived."

Beneath our present system these technicians found a social theory based upon two assumptions, both of which are invalid in our dynamic state of energy conversion. The first is that "the desires of the citizen of any mechanism are unlimited, and hence expansion of production to meet these wants can be pushed to infinity. The second was that human labor was a necessary factor in the production of wealth, and therefore, the greater the number of men at work, the more wealth tends to increase." Our technology has developed to such an extent that high speed machines can easily supply all of man's wants to a state of overproduction; and in the second place the labor cost per unit has dropped in recent years to levels approaching zero.

And the net result of these conclusions are this: that if all of our factories were running as in 1929 there would not be room for one-half of the present eleven and a half millions unemployed.

If the grim reality of this engineering report seems a little breath-taking and a little unreal, it may be informing to recall that there were more inventions for labor-saving machinery in 1931 than in any year in our history. Indeed, the only group who have been fully employed, it would seem, have been the inventors of automatic machinery, who have been busy perfecting labor-saving machinery to throw more men out of work!

Nor is that all. The Chairman of the Industrial Division of the Share-Work Movement recently made an appeal over the radio to the factories management of America to spend five billions of dollars on new tools to make their obsolete plants more efficient. The logic of this process will not escape any one who takes thought for the morrow.

Nor does this company of engineers rest their case with this devastating picture. Upon examination of our debt situation which now totals over two hundred and eighteen billion for all notes, mortgages and amortized securities, our fixed charges on our debts have risen to half the national income. In the case of the railroads we are still paying for equipment that was removed years ago as obsolete.

Technology has, in a word, caught up with expansion! And our working population operating four hours a day in four days a week can supply us with our material needs. There is no way out of this impasse save by an entire revision of the standards of value. Indeed, they go so far as to predict general chaos in eighteen months. If we make due allowance of the lag in our social habits, the problem we face is still startling. "These problems," as they assert, "transcend social theories and partisan politics—even government. They are concerned with civilization itself."

When the political speeches of the Presidential campaign have been forgotten and the issues raised by the candidates have sunk back into oblivion, the findings of the Engineering Report may emerge as of greater social significance—indeed as the most important report of our era appraising for the first time with the objective detachment of the scientist, the basis of our present paradox of misery in the presence of abundance and the categorical imperatives for a thoroughgoing transformation. They have taken the measure of our drift to automaticity and have appraised its profound social significance.

II—The Challenge To Labor

The challenge is squarely before us; we can neither avoid it nor sweep it to one side. We must meet it!

It is a two-fold challenge—to labor and education. Let me state it as briefly as possible.

To labor the challenge of Technocracy goes to the very heart of the working experience; it not only imperils skill; it imperils the whole basis of work itself. If every advance in production is going to bring an increase in unemployment, how, possibly, can we square the circle without imperiling the basis of organization itself? Strip from labor any right in the job, any opportunity to negotiate agreements, or safeguarding work standards, and what remains—the organization without life or purpose.

The second challenge to labor is in terms of an old question but with a new emphasis. I refer to the matter of wages. If we are to witness so revolutionary a change in the working life of the industrial worker through technology; if hours of labor are to decline steadily, wages must increase inversely as the hours are shortened. It would spell disaster to our national economy to accept any other conclusion. One of the weakest links in the whole Share-Work movement in this country is its effect of pushing

down to the margin of subsistence other great hosts of our workers. It becomes a movement at times not of sharing work, but sharing poverty.

The third challenge of labor is to action—to a penetration into the whole domain of finance and credit. Here is the nerve center of business control. He who controls credit, controls business. Labor's stake in the results of that control is great; it cannot hope to change the direction of that control by watching from the side-lines; it must become one of the players. Labor must learn to properly assess the place of credit and finance in modern industry and apply itself diligently to the task of understanding the manipulations and expansion of credit and the devices by which flexibility can be achieved. Here the partnership of labor gives both the semblance and the reality of power. The record of labor warrants that new relationship: the crisis demands it!

There is, in the fourth place, a challenge to a world outlook on, and world planning of, these problems. It is idle to assume that these great forces of technology will respect either industrial or political countries; they are continental in character. They must be approached in that manner. It is utter futility to expect that in a world of growing interdependence, it is possible to find either stability or complete self-support by the doctrines of economic self-sufficiency. No nation can remain prosperous in an international alms house. Every evidence in the past three years establishes both the world-wide character of the crisis and the world-wide approach which must be made. And that involves Planning which shall be purposeful and socially controlled. The amount of material on this subject now available in the reports of the World Social Economic Congress which have come recently from press, is extensive. It is authentic and pertinent to our discussions. It reinforces the need for a Planned Economy. The alternative is not whether we shall plan or not to plan, but whether we shall plan or perish. Already planning is accepted in daily experiences; it is practiced in some enterprise. We must expand the practice. It is the essence of technology to Plan.

The challenge to the Labor Movement is in the fifth place governmental in character. It involves a thorough-going change in the purpose and function of the Labor Department which is so peculiarly a Department that is linked with the destiny of labor. If so revolutionary a change is impending as Technocracy suggests, it will be the function of the Labor Department to provide those indices of work and wages of production and distribution which will provide for flexibility in the policies and practices of labor adjustments. A national system of employment exchanges will be an indivisible part of such a reorganized Department of Labor; they will serve as stations from which to get some indication of the economic weather.

Here, then, is the five-fold challenge to Labor which ranges from the internal basis of organization itself to a world outlook in social reconstruction.

III—The Challenge To Education

The challenge to education is no less explicit and compelling. In the first place, it is esti-

mated that if we add to the ranks of the unemployed the same proportionate share in 1933 and 1934 that we did in these past three years, there will be twenty million idle in the land. This would be 40 per cent of the total number of gainfully employed in the land and well over 80 per cent of those employed in industry. For those now involuntarily idle or who will be unemployed in the future the need of a broad program of adult education to provide for the wise utilization of their new leisure throws upon the adult education movement a new test of capacity to respond to this social need. It is important for the morale of these men. We need, in a word, a new education for a new America!

The second of these challenges to education is as an aid in the re-education of workers for new adjustments in industry. The rapidity with which new skills must be learned to adjust to a changing industrial life, has made such vocational adjustment a new educational responsibility. That we have done so little in the face of so great a need is added reason for stressing its importance now. A program of vocational counselling and occupational retraining of unemployed workers under public auspices is indispensable if we are to prevent the unemployed from becoming unemployable.

There is a third challenge to education as a conscious instrument for the reconstruction of our social and economic life. The purposeless character of much of our education is responsible for the purposeless character of much of our national life. Education as a preparation for life presumes a static character of that life; it is a wholly inadequate goal. Education not for a life, but in the process of living in a changing world, and in changing the world, must be the new focus of effort. If social reconstruction has become necessary it must begin with a reconstruction of our attitudes and points of view.

IV—The Work of the Bureau

In the face of so fundamental a change in our economic life and these series of basic challenges to both labor and education, it is with some satisfaction that I again report to you about the major workers' education activities which have been carried forward during the past year. While these efforts fall short of the broad demand to which I have already made reference, they do stand out in bold contrast as conscientious efforts to come to grips with our present predicament.

The full report of the Workers Education Bureau in the Executive Council Report this year makes it unnecessary for me, in view of this long preamble, to dwell in detail upon all of the phases of our work. I shall select two for special emphasis this morning—our Labor Institute program and our radio project.

Three years ago, when I first laid before this Convention for its consideration a proposal to utilize the facilities of some of our colleges and universities for short courses or Labor Institutes of a week's duration for the members of labor to consider together with university instructors some of the pressing economic problems of the day, the plan received generous approval. We began modestly with two projects the first year; it was a notable success. In the second year we have broadened both the scope

of these institutes and their geographical distribution. We have not only repeated the Rutgers Institute, but held on the campus of the University of Michigan a notable institute on unemployment which both labor and university men of the state count as a most useful meeting of minds on a grave economic question. We have also embarked on a project of holding one-day institutes in connection with the conventions of State Federations of Labor. In each case there has been a unanimous expression of opinion by labor of the unique value of these institutes in giving a perspective to these problems and a new impetus to collective action. We shall continue to spread these institutes to new centers during the coming year as you give us your mandate to proceed.

My second report has to do with a unique educational experiment which was inaugurated during the year. It is the development of a labor program over the facilities of the Columbia network under the auspices of the National Advisory Council of the Radio in Education. A special Labor Committee was created under the chairmanship of Matthew Woll that selected the subjects and invited the co-operation of the speakers. This series of radio addresses, known as American Labor and the Nation, were divided into two groups of ten addresses each, the first of which were historical, the second of which were contemporary in character.

The addresses were delivered over a nationwide network station for ten Sundays each from May Day to July 4th, and from Labor Day to elections. One-half hour was set aside for the broadcast. The main address occupied about eighteen minutes and was followed by about ten minutes of question period by the Secretary of the Bureau. On two occasions we tried the method of question and answer presentation. Through the co-operation of the University of Chicago Press, copies of each of these addresses were printed and the telephone mechanical transcriptions were made of each of these addresses. Thus we have preserved both a printed and mechanical record of these notable addresses. I had hoped to give illustrations this morning from these addresses. Due to the shortness of time, we have planned a special program on Monday evening when all of these records will be reproduced for the delegates.

The extraordinary device of the radio has brought a new and unique opportunity for labor to present its message to the American people. It will undoubtedly interest this Convention to know that the Columbia network and the National Advisory Council of the Radio in Education estimate that from their returns about 2,500,000 listened to their educational programs. It is a service of great proportions. The letters received from people all over this country and Canada from the President-elect of the United States down to coal diggers in far away mining camps in Wyoming, have given evidence of the value of the project. We have been invited to continue this series next year and I trust that you will indicate your wishes in connection with this program by some recommendation to the Convention.

May I observe in this connection that there has been going on now for a number of years

a notable series of projects in workers' education under the auspices of the Affiliated Summer Schools for Women Workers. The pioneer work among these schools was begun eleven years ago upon the campus of Bryn Mawr College; it has continued year after year maintaining a high standard of instruction for approximately one hundred girls each year. In all, between eleven and twelve hundred girls have been sent back into industry from this one center with a clearer vision of the economic situation and a greater devotion to the labor and education movement. Eleven years ago you commended this project as it was beginning its work; I believe that it would be quite appropriate upon the basis of their splendid record to add a fuller measure of endorsement for what they have achieved and what indeed they have set in motion among the other universities of this land.

We are looking forward to Des Moines to co-operate with the Iowa State Federation of Labor in setting up a rather unique adult education project in co-operation with the public school system, which is embarking on a significant five-year program which will include labor as an important link.

One word more. We have watched with considerable interest the development in recent years of the new aspect of Workers' Education in Europe by means of organized group travel. Through the development of a Workers' Travel Association, the Workers' Educational movement has added a new and important activity. We have had the advantage recently of a personal visit and consultation with the General Secretary of the Workers' Travel Association of Great Britain and discussed with him the possibility of an American development with similar aims and objects. As soon as conditions permit experiments will be made in the direction of reciprocal visits of groups of representatives of workers organized for the study of social and economic conditions. The assistance of all sides of the American Workers' movement in this new work is anticipated.

During the past year the National and International Unions have, with but few exceptions, continued their generous support of our Bureau in the face of great financial difficulties. I cannot permit this occasion to pass without expressing my deep appreciation for this evidence of your loyal support and your tangible evidence of continued interest in education.

IV—Conclusion

I conclude this review as I began by calling to your special consideration something of the gravity of the problem which faces all of us who are called upon in however modest a way to teach or lead in our day. While it is not given to man to divine the future, we can by taking thought see something of the problem that lies ahead. It is tremendous both in size and significance!

As we meet in this city upon the eve of the fourth successive winter of unemployment in this land, with twelve million of our fellow citizens unemployed, exhibiting extraordinary patience and self control under great

provocation, and on the other hand witness the great unleashed force of mechanization sweeping forward in a relentless manner, no man who has eyes to see can fail to be deeply conscious of the great task that is before us all in the transformation of our social and economic life.

In the presence of these greater forces let us be done with lesser things! We as a people are wasteful of men and material, but we can build! We can build a new world if we will. We, who in our day, have built the modern skyscraper as the symbol of energy triumphant, as the cathedral of the Middle Ages was the symbol of the church militant, will not fail in the face of this new challenge.

Our response to this challenge of Technocracy must be a willingness to face the future fearlessly in a spirit of brotherhood and co-operation.

President Green: I assure you that we are deeply pleased to listen to this splendid message from Secretary Miller this morning. It is most instructive, educational and suggestive, if you please. We will consider it as a most valuable contribution to our study of economic problems. We will be fortunate indeed in being privileged to include this splendid address for future study, analysis and consideration in the permanent records of the Convention. I am deeply grateful to Secretary Miller for his visit to us, and I know I voice your sentiments when I say we very, very greatly appreciate his splendid address.

Now we are going to hear from our very dear friends and co-workers, the Fraternal Delegates who come to us from the British Trades Union Congress and from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. We are always pleased to have these Fraternal Delegates present at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. I have referred on previous occasions to the uninterrupted custom of exchanging Fraternal Delegates on the part of these organized labor groups of Great Britain, Canada and the American Federation of Labor. It is difficult indeed to apply any rule of measurement to the great benefits which will have followed the exchange of Fraternal Delegates, but I am sure that very great good has been accomplished. We have developed an understanding, a deep, mutual interest, a fraternal relationship between the organizations of these different countries and our own.

Our Fraternal Delegates come this morning with their messages of inspiration and hope. They will tell us something about their own difficulties and we will be able to comprehend and understand them better. I am very glad

indeed to present to you first of all, Brother Charles Dukes, J. P., who comes to us as one of the newly accredited delegates from the British Trades Union Congress. You have been privileged to know him and to see him during the days that our convention has been in session. Now we are going to receive his message. I present to you with very great pleasure, Brother Charles Dukes.

MR. CHARLES DUKES.

(Fraternal Delegate, British Trades Union Congress)

Mr. President, Fellow Trade-Unionists: I regard it as a great privilege to be elected as the representative of the British Trades Union Congress and to convey to you the fraternal greetings of your fellow trade-unionists across the water. I wish also to add my thanks for the many kindnesses which have been shown to us since we entered your country a few weeks ago, and I shall carry back again to the old country many happy memories of the pleasant associations that we have created during our brief stay in your land.

We have listened at this Congress to speeches which revealed that the great labor movement of America is now confronted in a very serious way with those circumstances arising out of world economic conditions with which we have been grappling in the old country during the past twelve years. We are, of course, an old country. A commercial crisis is no new phenomenon. We suffered from depressions during the years before the War. We have had a century of alternating cycles of trade boom and trade crises. And during all these years the most serious minds of our country have been occupied in an attempt to provide a solution and all sorts of theories have been put forward. In the years immediately before the war, despite our remarkable industrial and technical development, the standards of life of our people tended to become static. Britain was content to be the workshop of the world, and her great leaders of industry insisted that that position will be held by Great Britain for as far ahead in point of time as they could see. But those that had been active in the labor movement knew and understood that, latent in that system, existed the very difficulties which expressed themselves in such a dramatic and potent form in the immediate post-war years.

From 1911 until 1914 we were not free from industrial strife. Not because we went out to look for it, but because it was imposed upon us by the conditions which existed. Wages remained practically stationary; prices tended to increase, and even during the period of industrial prosperity we always had the grave problem of unemployment to contend with. It is known, of course, that in Great Britain in 1911 we secured our first Unemployment Insurance Act. We secured that Act by the pressure of organized labor. It was not a concession to social justice; it arose from an insistent demand on the part of organized labor that those who were unable to secure their livelihood within the industry should be made provision for out of industry and out of the revenues of the

state. We were forced into that policy, just as we were forced to take other forms of protective action, by the circumstances of a ripening order of capitalism which has expressed and developed all those malign influences which are creating disaster throughout the world today.

During the War the mind of the country was concentrated upon that great calamity. All the money, the revenue, the wealth which labor had demanded should be utilized for the means of social progress, and which we were informed, had they been expended in that direction, would have ruined our land, was poured out in a Niagara of expenditure. Then the demands for destruction had been proclaimed.

The lesson of that experience has not been lost upon the labor movement of Great Britain. We were told in those early years before the War it would ruin the state to concede to the unemployed workman maintenance for himself and his family, it would ruin the state to feed the necessitous school children, it would ruin the state if we advanced education, but when the tocsin was sounded the expenditure demanded for social reform paled into insignificance by the amount of wealth given to destroy life rather than the opportunity we demanded to build up life.

We passed through the catastrophe. Millions of men were taken from the workshops, but during that four years of war we enjoyed the highest standards of living that the British working class has ever been permitted to enjoy. It is said, I know, by certain theorists, that we lived on our capital. Many of us challenge that view. We created and produced everything that was used during that period. While debts were piling up by the processes of bookkeeping, we not merely supplied the engines and instruments of destruction, we gave to the working class a higher standard than had been supplied them in the days of peace.

We emerged from that war. We emerged into what was described as a new social order. We emerged, in the promises of statesmen, into a land fit for heroes to live in. It demands a hero to live in it now! We enjoyed a short-lived trade boom. We commenced to fill up the markets of those few secondary requirements of life which had been unattainable during the war, and in less than a year the bottom had fallen out, a new trade crisis had occurred and our unemployed commenced to express themselves by hundreds of thousands. The discharged and demobilized soldiers and sailors returned, in the hope that they would be able to return to the factories and workshops. They were disillusioned, they were bitterly disappointed, they were disappointed because during those four years industry had been developed and brought forward at a rate which might have demanded, under ordinary circumstances, a decade of development. We had rationalized our industries. We had discovered new means of production. The output of our workshops was in excess of the demands of the market, and the men returned from the war to discover, not only that there were no jobs for them, but there were not enough jobs to go around, even among those people who up to that time had been fully employed.

The government of that day, instead of rec-

ognizing its obligations to those men, threw the liability of their maintenance upon our insurance fund, and a fund which at that period stood with a credit balance of 25 million was wrecked in the course of a year and we commenced to run into debt. That was the cause of the coming of the dole, about which you have heard so much on this side of the Atlantic, and about which I will have a word to say later.

That industrial crisis was not merely an effect of the war, it was a mere release of these forces latent within the systems of production, and which had expressed itself even in the years before the war in the existence of an army of unemployed. In fact, under the capitalist system we have never been without an army of unemployed. We had our Blanketeers in the days of the Luddites, we had our Chartist movement, but we always had unemployed. The freedom of Great Britain has been brought about by organized labor. We have not suffered privation, due to the intervention of man-made laws which have prevented the distribution of that enormous wealth which we have been able to create.

Let me come back again to that period of 1920. Those acts of social insurance which had not been designed to meet the problem of three millions of unemployed rapidly ran into debt, and many employers of labor began to demand reduction in wages. It became the official policy of organized capital that labor should be forced down to the 1914 standard. We were not alone in that policy. All industrialized countries contributed their quota to that suicidal policy of declining wages and falling prices, instead of realizing the expansion that had taken place in the field of production, and expanding wages, salaries—in a word, purchasing power—to meet that increased production.

We entered into a nationalist competition. We had left the conflict of arms merely to revert to the economic conquest of markets. In a word, we reverted to those economic causes which lay at the root of that world catastrophe, and from which we had suffered so much in pre-war days.

We went from conference to conference, meeting one body of employers today, another body of employers tomorrow, all telling the same story—"Let us reduce labor costs and Britain will establish her place as the workshop of the world."

We knew that day would never return. It cannot possibly return. In fact, the world had emerged from that war more nationalistic, more bellicose, more economically self-sufficient than even before we entered that catastrophe. Every country had determined in her own mind never to return to that free exchange of commodities, that world intercourse of commerce which lay at the root of the old economic order in Great Britain.

All our concessions, all we were forced to concede only increased the appetite for further demands upon our wage standards and our standards of life, and in the course of a few short years the wages bill of the workers of that country had been depressed by 700,000,000 pounds a year. Germany pursued the same policy, so did France, so did the Scandinavian countries, in fact, all over the world capitalists

demanding that the liability of the war should be placed upon the backs of the working people. In their greed they destroyed the markets upon which industry is dependent.

There is no great mystery about this. The day has come to face the brutal facts of the situation. When you take ten shillings, or three dollars a week out of the wages that the wage-earner must take home, you take less to the store, there is less demanded by the store from the manufacturer, and the manufacturer commences to put workers on shorter time or unemployed, and when you multiply that by the thousands affected you won't need to be a political philosopher to discover the germs of the international crisis.

Greed, the hunger for profit, the desire for big dividends lies at the root of this world catastrophe and no sophism will get us out of that difficulty, it must be faced. We stand, Mr. President, in a position of responsibility. We are regarded as leaders and we must lead, we must not be pushed from behind. That is our function, it is our responsibility.

We went on, resisting where we could, capitulating where we were compelled, but all the time wages went down and down and down. What were our financiers doing? What were the political leaders doing? Hastening the day of the return to the gold standard so that those who lived on interest-bearing securities might be able to double their income. The money that was loaned to prosecute the war, a war which conscripted life but which borrowed wealth, was written up to double its value. Where is the protest against that? It must be sounded. We have made our sacrifice.

We have sacrificed, not only economic security, we sacrificed the prospects of our children. We carry a grave responsibility in our day and generation. The British trade-union movement, led by the General Council of the Trade Union Congress set its face resolutely against that policy. We sought every possible occasion to petition government to confer with economic experts. We made little or no progress. It was that feeling that we were being forced down which drove the great British labor movement into the field of political activity. I say to this conference that no man representing my country can place before an American audience a true picture of our difficulties without realizing that, not from choice, but from compulsion, we were compelled to seek protection by political activity. And we will go on, despite all that has happened. We entered the arena of politics, for what? We entered it to secure by the force of the state the protection of those primary necessities for our people and our dependents. We have built up a great system of social services; we have proclaimed the right to work and the right of maintenance.

After all, my friends, let us realize the state of the world that we are living in. We are living in a world order in which the trust and the combine is predominant. We are moving in a world in which the international cartel, mapping out its sphere of influence, dominating the markets of the world, has gone a long way to remove that old competition which was based upon the earlier advent of the machine production.

In the highly developed industries today it

is difficult to say who the owner is. The personal contact is gone. We are living in a day in which industrial magnates wield an influence which was never exercised by monarchs, not even in the day of the divine right of kings. We have got to issue a challenge to that authority, because those people wholly dominate over the lives of millions of men and women. There is no mystery about that. Shylock said, "He owns my life who owns the means whereby I live." No matter how you gild that, the man deprived of the right of earning his living is a slave. Every generation must fight for its own freedom. Our problem is not that of our grandfathers, it is the problem of our day and we must free ourselves and free our children.

We went into Parliament, not as a detached political movement, but as an intricate part of the great labor movement of predominantly trade-unionists. What was our experience? For the first time from 1919 to 1924 we changed the political psychology of our country, and for the first time wages tended to increase. They increased at the rate of half a million a week. Let me illustrate that influence by a little story.

It fell to my lot to be fortunate in the ballot. In four Parliaments labor men had made an attempt to secure protection for the widow, to say that in one of the wealthiest lands of the world the widow should be conceded her mite in the form of a pension, and four Parliaments fought down the widow. We were a minority, but we became a power in the state. We brought in that measure for the pension for widows. For the first time in the history of politics not a labor opponent dare walk into the lobby in opposition. I beg you to ponder the significance of that. In nine months we were defeated. The budget, which should have contained that provision, was never introduced. We had secured the promise that widows' pensions would be conceded on a non-contributory basis. We went out. Our opponents in office dare not entirely turn their backs on that measure, but instead of financing it out of the revenue they placed the liability of that pension bill upon the social insurance by taking four pence per head per week from unemployment contributions and diverting it into financing the Widows' Pensions Bill.

They were not content with that. They abolished the non-contributory old-age pension and put the liability of that on the fund. And these are the people who talk about the dole! These are the people who destroyed the insurance basis of unemployment fund! They threw the liability upon that fund, and later financed schemes which rightly should have been financed from the revenue and took the funds necessary out of the contributions of the workmen and employers. Can you wonder that the fund for social insurance ran into debt? I said we were an old country. We are. We are old parties, old industries, we are an organized state. We have passed the day of pretense, we have reached the day that when we meet the employer of labor we not only discuss wages; we meet to be told that unemployment insurance, the health services, the pension, the education liability is part of wages, and we don't deny it. It all comes from industry finally, but we have

determined to say in our country that unless the workman can be guaranteed the right to win from industry his livelihood, we will use the power of the state to protect him and his dependents.

We have built up our social service—we have called it that. They are the cockpit of conflicts, both in the field of industry and in the field of politics, and in this world of limitless production, day in and day out, the complaint of the employer is that high taxation is ruining his industry. It is not true. If you add the total wages bill of a thousand four hundred million pounds and put onto that the total cost of the social services if you put together every mite of income, it even then doesn't reach half of the total income of the country. In other words, rent, interest and profit still take more than the total income of the 16,000,000 working class families of the country.

We have traveled far along that road. In that Parliament of 1924 we introduced for the first time amendments to the Unemployment Insurance Act, demanding the right to work or the right of maintenance.

I am tempted here, Mr. President, to stop for a moment to relate a little experience. In the early days of our movement we used to carry banners proclaiming the right to work, and I remember the French trade unionists parading on the first of May. At the head of their procession they had this slogan: "Too long have we demanded the right to work; it is time to demand the right to leisure."

We have got the work psychology and we have got it bad. We are called the working class because there has been little else in our lives. The higher we push up the standards of life, the better it will be for the social order. We made that attempt in 1924. We said, "To every man who is genuinely seeking work and can not find it benefit shall be guaranteed." But we were new in the game. It went through and we went out, and our opponents in office said, "Genuinely seeking work." They said to the individual applicant for benefits, "You must bring evidence that you are genuinely seeking work." Men would tramp from factory gate to workshop, begging of foremen who were discharging men to give them written evidence that they had been there applying for a job. Those of you who have been in the workshop can understand the reply of a foreman when the fourth and fifth had applied. Men tramped from mining villages which were derelict into other mining villages, where all the mines had closed down, in the futile attempt to secure evidence that they were willing to work but could not secure it. But it sufficed to put 200,000 men and women out of benefits.

Then came our fight of 1926, the general strike, the episode which was supposed to have been an evil born in the minds of one or two men. You can not lead a million men without a grievance. The miner's wage of that year had fallen down to forty shillings and a penny a week, seven and one-half dollars. They were desperate. The movement responded. We were defeated, but not dismayed, and the reply to that defeat was the second labor government of 1929. *

It is not difficult to see how the point of focus moved. We are not alone in the use of political power to win economic security. We have learned in the bitter school of experience. For half a century our men have paraded the lobbies, fooled in one Parliament by the Liberals, fooled in the next by the Tories, and we decided if you want a job done well you must do it yourself.

We returned in 1929, and the first act of that government was to restore to benefit the 200,000 men and women who had been deprived of their benefit by our political enemies. You see, my fellow delegates, that there is no pretense about the economic conflict in Britain, we are in it. We have tried every expedient. There has been enough good sentiment and enough tears to have washed away all our difficulties. We have come out, as one of my colleagues is fond of saying, through the university of adversity. We understand our problem. We brought in our amending measures for unemployment insurance. We attempted to raise the school age of our children to 16 years, we attempted to protect the housewife from the exploiter of the big stores, and we brought in our Consumers' Council Bill. We attempted to reverse that iniquitous Trade Union Bill of 1927 which was designed to cripple us politically. We attempted to take into the state land which was idle, undeveloped, but which was merely being held up to secure a higher market price and all the forces rallied against us. We knew that a new political crisis was developing. Every week of that Parliament we were showered by petitions from every form of anti-labor organization, warning us of the evil effect of high taxation, but the complaint was always about taxation for social services. The bill for education, for the health services, for the pensions, for unemployment, they were always the evil, but the Fighting Service Bill of one hundred and twelve millions was never mentioned. The fact was never related that our national debt had increased rather than diminished, that the interest of three hundred and sixty millions a year on the national debt, three times the value of the expenditure of social services, had been doubled in value by the precipitate return to the gold standard. We received no bankers' manifestoes on that, we received no instructions from the great employers' organization on returning the pound up to twenty shillings when it was below eleven shillings and nine pence, when the money was borrowed.

I hope that position is understood. We did enrich the wealthier class, the class who live on fixed interest bearing securities, and we had forced the workmen down to a miserable standard, measured even by capitalist economists, only 14 per cent over pre-war. And when you add to that that percentage is fixed on a rate, not on the earnings—when you add to that the depleted income to the homes from unemployment, from short-time work, it isn't difficult to imagine where the standards of the working class of Great Britain have gone in a period in which our capacity to produce is beyond all human experience.

We were not only appealed to to reduce wages. We talked rationalization, industrial

development. Our plants were rationalized, the less efficient were closed down, mining areas, chemical areas, engineering districts became derelict and all through the country the slogan ran, "Production the Gate to More." We secured a Niagara of production, and today the world is surfiting in its own fat. There is no privation arising from want, there is no privation arising from our inability to produce, and the only reply that can be given to organized labor is, "Produce more and accept less." In other words, another dose of the poison.

We have traveled a long road to develop the consciousness that exists. We went down again in a political storm, deliberately engineered against us. We knew that those social services stood as a bulwark against further encroachment upon our wage standards. I want to reveal that in all its nakedness so that you may understand. Our wages had been forced down in many industries below the forty shilling level and we paid unemployment benefit for a man, wife and three children of thirty-two shillings. The margin between the man in work and the man out became very narrow, narrow because both were below the human subsistence point.

It requires very little insight into that problem to realize that Britain's political crisis centered around that fact. The field has got to be cleared for further reduction. If there be any doubt, let me give you the answer, not from a labor advocate, but from the witness of the employer before the Local Commission of Unemployment Insurance. I am reading from the official report. I think one paragraph will suffice. This is their statement:

"In our view"—this is the employers' view—"the system of unemployment benefit, as operated since 1921, has, by preventing unemployment from acting as a corrective factor in the adjustment of a wage level and cost of production, been responsible in no small measure for aggravating the very difficulty from which we suffer."

That was the fight. I have never heard any employer's representative prescribe the remedy. That was the talk, "Down with unemployment relief, so that hunger may be used as the goad to force men to receive reductions in wages."

When London and Wall Street were called upon to find credits, you know the results. Our unemployment had grown to 3,000,000 total, many millions under-employed in our basic industries, like coal, engineering, ship building, figures ranging from 25 per cent upward, and the state, which should have met its obligations by placing the burden upon the backs of those best fitted to carry it, piled up its debt against the unemployment funds until the interest upon the borrowing almost equaled the employers' and the workers' contribution.

The crisis was to be forced. For what reason? To protect the gold standard, to protect the rentier. We crashed, not because we could not balance the budget, oh, no, but because we were not prepared to sacrifice the unemployed and the short-time worker.

The power of finance expressed itself, and that power will always express itself when you reach the core of a great crisis of that

character. But that power will be dealt with. The day has come to say that those who handle the social credit of the nation shall no longer be its dictators; it must become the servant of the state. We will no longer tolerate the divine right of finance any more than our forefathers tolerated the divine right of kings.

They failed to protect the gold standard. The very forces which conspired to our defeat proclaimed the righteousness of abandoning the gold standard within a few weeks of having defeated us at the polls. What did they do in the field of the social services? Seventy-five million pounds were taken away from health, from education, from unemployment, forty millions of that taken from the unemployed workmen. In the course of a few short weeks two hundred thousand had been struck off the register, and thousands of them compelled to resort to poor law relief. That is the picture of the struggles, my friends. Not in a country unable to feed its people. Our returns from England's revenue reveals where the money goes. The complaint of high taxes is an artificial scare. We have got to know what they mean by high taxation. If we are called upon to decide between taking forty million from the unemployed, or imposing further economies upon the wealthy, we would decide upon the latter course. Our military and our naval budgets afford every opportunity for further economies.

This is the fourteenth year from the war to end war, and the leading nations of the world are spending nine hundred millions a year. For what? For another war. Those of us who lived in the years immediately preceding the last war can see a fatal comparison. I beg of you men to understand this: A generation has come to manhood who know nothing of the horrors of war. If our day can not solve that problem, we will hand on to them the heritage that our fathers handed on to us. We are running a fatal race with time. The day has gone for fine words. The day has come to act, and if we believe in a world disarmed, a world of peace, it can only arise from a world in which economic conflict is no longer permitted to obtain. We can not have a world of peace, a superstructure of brotherhood built upon your narrow nationalism, your economic conflicts in which a nation supposed to be at peace continues in economic rivalry. Our vision has got to be wider than that. We have got to give practical effect to our ideas of brotherhood. We have got to recognize the rights of people throughout the world to live as they wish, to live without any intervention from the powerful.

In England today we have 300,000 miners unemployed, redundant, not merely unemployed, redundant, and there are thousands of homes in which coal has become a luxury. We have a quarter of a million members of the building trades unemployed, and nine millions of our people are living in overcrowded conditions. We have thousands of our textile workers unemployed, thousands of our boot makers out of work, in a nation that is under-clothed and badly shod. What

is the reply of capitalism to that? Let us know it. It has no reply, there is no reply.

In the middle of the 19th century when machinery was being developed at a rapid rate Tennyson, that great English poet, as a young man with all the vision of what the machine would do for man, wrote, and he said:

"For I dipped into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the vision of the world and all the wonder that would be.
Saw the heavens filled with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
Pilots in the purple twilight dropping down with costly bales,
Then the war drums throbbed no longer and the battle flags were furled,
In the parliament of man, the federation of the world."

And fifty years after, looking back across half a century of time, looking at all the marvels of mechanism, he wrote another great work, "Locksley Hall Sixty Years After", and he said:

"Is it well that while we range with science,
glorying in our time,
City children soak and blacken soul and sense
in city slime?
There among the glooming alleys progress halts
on palsied feet,
Crime and hunger cast our maidens by the
thousand on the street."

That is the reply, my friends, to half a century of technical progress. Man is a social and a political animal. We believe the day has gone when labor can remain quiescent, begging here of a friend and asking for a favor of another one. A new condition has arisen, labor is entering into its might, and labor will control the world in the future, not in a narrow sense of that word, but when they have emancipated workers where they will no longer be the class that needs to be emancipated.

President Green: Now I have the very great pleasure and most delightful privilege of presenting to you the associate of Brother Dukes. I know you want to hear from his colleague without interruption. I hope you will bear this in mind, even though it may be necessary to run slightly over the adjournment hour. It is my pleasure now to present to you Brother W. Holmes, Fraternal Delegate from Great Britain.

MR. W. HOLMES

(Fraternal Delegate, British Trade Union Congress.)

Mr. President and Fellow Delegates: It is with very great pride and pleasure that I, as a life-long trade unionist, bring the greetings of the British Trades Union Congress and the General Council of the same to you. I feel that I have some sort of connection with this conference, for thirty-eight years ago when the British Trades Union Congress held its one and only session in my native city of Norwich, Norfolk, England, I attended that Congress as a young, enthusiastic trade-union visitor and I listened to the two first trade-union delegates

ever sent to your convention, Mr. John Burns and Mr. David Holmes. I also listened to the first trade-union delegate ever sent from America to the British Trades Union Congress, Mr. H. Lloyd, who spoke at the Norwich Convention. That was forty years ago, roughly, and I am reminded that some of the sentiments expressed so very ably by your very able delegate are still as real now as they were then.

It is a very great honor for the British delegates to be voted as Fraternal Delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention. We look upon it as the blue ribbon of our delegations throughout the world, and I have been asked by some of my colleagues on the General Council, namely, Messrs. Ben Tillett, A. B. Swales, Allan Findlay, George Hicks, John Bromley, Arthur Pugh, A. Hayday, John Beard, A. Shaw, and F. Wolstencroft and others, to convey to you their personal greetings and thanks to the delegates of this Convention who made their visits to your Convention so happily and so pleasantly recalled in the days gone by. I do not intend to inflict a long speech upon you this morning. My comrade, Dukes, has already covered the most part of the ground, but I would like to say a few words with regard to the position of the British agricultural workers, who, in the days gone by, many put outside the pale. I think one of your great poets, Edwin Markham, described him in his famous poem as the man with the hoe. He has been looked upon really as the despised and rejected man. It is a strange irony that those upon whose labor the whole of our civilization rests always receive the worst wages, the worst houses, the worst conditions of employment that are to be found anywhere in the civilized world. The present producers of the primary needs of the people, both farmers and workers, nearly everywhere, are still subject to price levels that will not give a fair return to those who expend their capital and labor in the production of the food supplies of the people. Agriculturalists nearly everywhere are subject to conditions that give more than adequate returns to those who gamble and speculate in these food products, but less than a living wage and fair conditions to those who produce the food. I need not say much with regard to the farmer employers. They can take pretty good care of themselves generally in our country. They have the right to organize and they have organized themselves in our country in a union which is second to none in numbers and influence. But it is a curious phenomenon that while they claim the right to organize themselves, they are the bitterest opponents to organization amongst the farm workers. A man, in many of our villages, who joins a trade union is worthy of the Victoria Cross won on the battlefield. In many villages he dare not be known as a member of a union, and to be a Branch Secretary—and we have some thousand-odd of them—is to risk his livelihood nearly every day in the week. We have the implacable hostility of the farmer employer to our organization in Great Britain, but we have met with some sort of success, we claim, with regard to our membership and our organization.

We established our union in 1906, and we have now been going twenty-six years, a tribute

to the stick-ability of the British agricultural worker as a trade unionist.

Owing to the isolated nature of our employment it is pretty difficult to maintain an aggressive and progressive organization, but we have accomplished something. Not so long ago the agricultural worker in England was little more than a chattel slave, but today he has emerged from that position, and through his trade organization he has been able to reach out to something near the status of the town worker.

In the early days we attempted by negotiating to secure advances of wages and decreases of hours. As some of you know, who came from England, the man on the farm way back in the 70's and the 80's worked from sunlight to dark and got very little pay indeed for the work he performed.

There is a story I might tell you at this time. I noticed in this country you are attempting to get beer back again. We have never lost beer in England up to the present, and beer used to be, on the countryside, a mighty potent factor so far as wages are concerned. I recall one of our men telling me he was what was known as a "Jack," and a "Jack" in our phraseology, is an unpaid foreman. And when the weather was rather dull and the hay needed to be got in to save it from the rain, the employer would say to Jack, "Now, Jack, look here, get the men together and get the hay in and I have a cask of beer you can have when you get the hay in." They got the hay in, then they got the beer in, and then the farmer appeared at the psychological moment and said, "Well, boys, have you got the hay in?" "Yes, master, we have got the hay in." "Have you got the beer in?" "Yes, master, we have got the beer in." "Well, how did you like it?" "Oh, master, that was the right kind of beer for us." The master said, "Well, what do you mean?" And Jack said, "If it had been any better you would not have given it to us and if it had been any worse we could not have drunk it, so it was just the right kind of beer." That was how the agricultural worker was required for his overtime not so long ago, only prior to 1906 when the wages of skilled agricultural workers went down to two and a half dollars a week for a week of 60 to 70 hours. We made progress and then we started to fight like trade-unionists will fight, and we put in a modest demand in one district for the enormous raise of 25 cents weekly, which would have brought our wages up to, roughly, three dollars and a half per week. The agricultural worker was looked upon as being unable to organize, he was stupid and it was said he could not stick together and it was hopeless to attempt to fight for him. These agricultural workers stood out on strike for ten solid months, and then we were defeated, but, like many of our trade-union and labor defeats it was really in effect a victory. We never looked back. We have had 10,000 men out on strike for seven weeks—agricultural workers—against reduction in wages and we won our strike, so we have at least put some heart and strength and some determination of mind into the agricultural workers of our old country.

But early we were forced, like every other

trade union in our country, to take up political action. We had to do it because the masters used the political machine against us on every occasion. Would you believe that even in a little agricultural strike of 20 years ago our policemen paraded our villages and terrorized the men who were out on strike and protected blacklegs, and the magistrates in our courts fined our men heavily and sent them to prison, merely because they spoke to blacklegs and asked them to desist from preventing them getting a miserable wage of 14 shillings per week? Therefore, we had to go to politics to get a minimum wage bill, and we have been able to secure through the first Labor Government a legal fixation of wages with trade-union recognition on these committees, and through these committees we have been able to steadily advance wages and reduce hours.

The ordinary worker on the farm, apart from the man who looks after the cows and the stock, works 48 hours in the winter and 50 hours in the summer, and so we have made some progress in that direction. We have also shortened the hours. There is a limit. I am sometimes amazed when I hear my friends in the industrial world in England, as well as in America, speaking about a 40-hour or 30-hour week. We have tried to reduce hours, but still our hours are now in excess of those of the men who work in the various industries of our country.

There is a good story told about the hours of labor on the countryside. In the old days the village cobbler who was a very deeply religious man always went every night through the woods to his little chapel to get his inspiration, whatever it might have been, but he always kept his two boys stitching away by candle light. The elder boy was getting fed up with this and so he said one night to his younger brother, "I am going to put a stop to it." And very late one night when the father was coming back through the woods a voice spoke and said, "Abraham, Abraham, thy Lord would speak with thee." And the cobbler said, "Speak, Lord, Thy servant listeneth." And then the voice said, "Abraham, thou shalt not work thy lads by candle light." And the cobbler said, "Thy will be done, oh Lord." He passed on home and looking in the window he saw the boys busily stitching away. "Now, boys," he said, "no more work by candle light; get your supper and then you can go to bed." So they had their supper and went to bed. After they were in bed the younger boy said, "Tom, how did you manage it?" And when Tom explained his brother said, "You're a fool. Why didn't you say daylight as well?"

That is where we are progressing to, and after all, there is no need at all for long hours if we can produce sufficient food and other things in the time we have at our disposal. We have, of course, those among our farmers who are like the farmers in your country. As I read your newspapers, I noted that some of them are very reactionary. And that is the case among the British farmers. To show you that type of mind I will just tell you this little story which was vouched for to me as being true. We have some very nice country outside of our large towns, as some of our fraternal delegates can assure you. People from the towns

come up into the villages and they spread the litter about and make the countryside look very bad indeed, and so in one of the villages they decided to form an anti-litter society. When they met at night they said, "Who shall we have as president?" Some one said, "Farmer Johnson, the Lord of the Manor." Two of them were deputed the next morning to see Farmer Johnson and ask him to take the presidency of this society, and when they put the proposition to him, he said, "What? The president of an anti-litter society? I don't believe in this going agin nature."

There are two other reforms that our union has been trying to bring about. We, the agricultural workers, like all the American working men, are omitted from unemployment insurance, and our men have demanded inclusion in the unemployment schemes of our country. They have demanded that persistently and insistently. I noticed in the paper last night that the farmers in this state have decided to oppose unemployment insurance to farm workers of Ohio. Well, they have opposed us and the reason is perfectly obvious. Given unemployment insurance to agricultural workers in our country and given the relief, as we are attempting to get relief, from the infamous bred-house principle and which operates on our countryside, which says that when a man leaves his job he is forced to leave his house and he can be evicted the very moment his job finishes. It is true, through the action of the union, in fighting cases in the courts and delaying action and creating public opinion we do not have many evictions of that character now, but still the ever present fear is upon the minds of the men and women in the home, and the woman still has a very great influence in the action of the man, when, if the action of the man is carried to excess, it means evicting the family from the home and scattering them abroad. If we could get these two reforms we should not be afraid of comparison with regard to the trade unionism in our country with any of the great industrial unions in our towns. Once we could free the laborer from fear of eviction and starvation, you would find in the British agricultural labor movement some of the finest material for trade unionism there is to be found in any part of the world. And so we are trying to get this legislation.

One of our great disappointments was that the last Labor Government, after Mr. Ramsay MacDonald had pledged himself to our congress and our union to give us both of these reforms, he refused to pass them during the life of the last Labor Parliament. Now just to prove our contention you may have noticed that since the Republic has been established in Spain and since the hand of the landlord has been lifted from Spanish agricultural labor, Spanish rural trade unionism in one single 12 months has increased from 30,000 to 350,000 members. If the power of the landlord and aristocracy over the minds and bodies and homes of the workers in rural England could be lifted, then trade unionism would be able to flourish in like circumstance.

I have heard the thing mentioned at this Convention that we are partners in industry. In agriculture we are never partners in pros-

perity, but as soon as adversity comes the cottage door of the laborer is open wide to let in the icy winds of adversity and misfortune. It is a pretty sort of partnership we have in industry anyhow. It reminds me of the story of the two boys who were partners in a cigar, and the big boy bit off the big end of the cigar and started smoking. By and by the other boy said, "I say, boy, where do I come in? I am partners in that cigar." He said, "You spit." I was telling that story in a country village in my native land not long ago and a voice from the audience said, "And it's a dry spit at that."

Agriculture, world-wide, seems in a very chaotic condition. What is needed in agriculture is organization and control. Individualism in agriculture is finished. We have laid down our basis for an agricultural policy, first of all, upon the restoration of our land to the people of our land. We say the people are poor because they are robbed, and they are robbed because they are poor. The land of England has been stolen from the people.

There are lines from one of the poets that says: "The law condemns a man or woman who steals the goose from off the Common, but lets the greater felon loose that stole the Common from the goose."

Therefore, we are for nationalization of the land. Some people call it Socialism, but we don't mind being called Socialists, it doesn't worry us a bit. We are out for nationalization of the land, the organization of our agricultural industry and representation of the organized workers on every commission that deals with the land and deals with the problem of agriculture. Don't forget, friends, that we can and have produced many men in our agricultural union who are competent to take any position of trust of that character.

Just let me cite a brief instance to show what we have done, because, after all, we say wages and conditions of employment are very great things indeed, but they are only a means to an end, and that end is in the development of independent-minded men who can stand on their own feet, fight their own battles and take part in the public life of their nation as free citizens. Our union, therefore, has done something in that direction. It may interest you to learn that in one county alone where we have some 10,000 members we have very nearly 60 of our purely agricultural workers representing us on rural and county councils, and we have 40 of them following the plough, still ploughing, who are Justices of the Peace of our counties and can sit in the courts.

My friends, I want to say only one or two more words. I really want to tell you something of the crisis through which we have just passed. My friend Dukes dealt very ably with that, but I would just like to say this. You have seen the spectacle in this country from a distance of the betrayal of our great labor movement in our country. While we can not expect our movement to be entirely free from renegades, although it is freer than most movements—very few men in our movement, just as very few men in your movements have ever turned their backs upon the working class—but here and there we have found one or two who have done so. I have known the present Prime Minister of

England for more than thirty-five years. I want to say to this conference that every post of honor he got, he got because of the moral and financial support of the British trade-union movement. He never paid for one of his own election expenses. We paid for them all, we collected the money, we gave unbounded confidence, and it was a heart stroke to us when he threw us over in the terrible way he did.

There is no sin, in my judgment, in a man changing his political opinion, but it is in the manner of changing. Either we believe in democracy or we do not, and I say there is no man in the world today who is fit to be a dictator anywhere. Once you give up the idea of democracy you give up everything worth while, and in spite of the fact that democracy may be slow, yet we must pin our faith to democracy and to the common people, and they will never let us down.

Mr. MacDonald dismissed his Cabinet like a schoolmaster dismisses a school class in a country school. He never came and consulted with us, he never asked us our opinion, he never came to our Convention and put his program to the test of the opinion of the assembled delegates, who are the masters of our movement. We are the servants, the General Council. The members are our masters and we are glad and proud to serve them. No, it was all done behind doors in collaboration with our enemies, it was done behind our backs, and for that we shall never forget him nor forgive. Make no mistake—there is no coming back! As one of our poets said: "Just a handful of silver they left us, just for a ribbon to stick in their coat." They got what they wanted, but we are going to take steps to see that no other labor Prime Minister will ever again have the power to dismiss the Labor Cabinet in that way. We are going to shape a policy that will prevent any Prime Minister or Labor Member of the Cabinet to sell us as we were sold less than twelve months ago. We are told, of course, that it would involve a great constitutional change. They say, "Oh, don't interfere with the constitution." I think I may quote one of your great poets on that, James Russell Lowell, who said:

"Man is more than a constitution:
Better rot beneath the sod
Than be true to constitutions
And be doubly false to God."

And so we shall alter our constitution if necessary so that we shall become the masters of our own party.

And so in conclusion, my friends, let me say that we are often told that we are only working men. When I fought my first electoral contest only thirty years ago, they said: "Oh, he is only a working man." But thirty years have gone by. They are proud in England now to vote for working men. Men and women, millions of them, proudly walk to the polls and vote for working men. We have swept corruption out of our elections. When I first fought in the election thirty years ago they could buy working class votes for a pint of beer or for a shilling. They can't buy them now. We have

worked that out in the labor movement. We have taught the men and women of England to respect themselves, and their vote is part of their own soul, and therefore we are proud of the progress we have made. We are proud to be working men.

And let me say this, too, let us never forget that the unemployed are our fathers and mothers and brothers and sisters. They belong to us. If we do not speak for them, if we do not work for them, nobody will work for them, and it is up to us to do our share. If we do not listen to the reactionary on the right or the revolutionary on the left, if we are true to our faith, we shall carry the great masses of the people with us toward victory, and honor with victory.

And finally, as I said, I am proud of being a working man. We have a right to be proud. At least we are not sponges, we do work for our living and the living of other people as well. We owe the nation nothing, we owe society nothing, they owe it all to us, who provide the necessities of life for all of them.

And so in the words of the poet I would finish by saying:

"We thank the powers for good or ill,
As grateful folk should do man.
But most of all because our sires
Were tailors, smiths and ploughmen.
Good men were they as staunch as steel,
They didn't rack nor screw folk."

"With empty pouches, honest hearts,
Thank God, we come from poor folk."

I bring to you the greetings of the British Trades Union Congress, and may your Convention be a very great success.

Committee To Meet President Whitney

President Green: We will hear from our fellow worker from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress immediately when we reconvene after the lunch hour.

President Whitney, of the Railroad Trainmen's organization, has accepted an invitation to address the Convention. He is in the city and will be prepared to deliver his address this afternoon. I want to ask Vice-President A. O. Wharton, President Joseph Franklin of the Boiler Makers, and President E. J. Manion of the Telegraphers, to serve as a committee to wait upon President Whitney and escort him to the hall this afternoon.

The Convention will stand adjourned until 3:00 o'clock this afternoon.

At 1:00 o'clock p. m. the Convention adjourned to 3:00 o'clock.

Third Day—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order by President Green at 3:00 o'clock.

Absentees—Shanessy, Birthright, Bowen, Horan, Nelson, Wills, McFetridge, Harrison, Schulte, Royer, Ryan (J. P.), O'Brien (S. P.), Lewis (J. L.), Murray, Kennedy (T.), Hartneady, Fagan, Boylan, Brennan, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Jones (G. W.), Soderberg, Starr, Fay, Jewell, Scharrenberg, Soderstrom, Taylor (T. N.), Raftery, Reed, Kane, Turnbull, Reilly, Cherry, Taylor (J. A.), Davis (F.), Fox (H. W.), Kutz, Patterson, Watkins, Williams, Parks, Koenig, Starkweather, Brooks, Mitchell (H.), Becker, Kramer, Graham, Fritz, Souza, Augustino, Gates, Myers, Rigby, Rivin, Hammer, Newbill, Quinn, Draper, Uppleger, Greenway, Curran, Carlson, Woodmansee, Allen (O.), Miles, Kromelbein, Wells, Bohm, McElligott, Richardson, Scannell, Meyer, Lufano, Thoman.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Morrison for an announcement.

Secretary Morrison: I have been requested to announce that the Union Label League of Cincinnati will have a label show at the Rialto Theater, 1221 Vine Street, Cincinnati, next Wednesday evening, November 30, at 7:30 o'clock. Seventy-five union-made prizes will be given away and all are invited.

President Green: In the continuation of the order of business which was interrupted at the noon adjournment, I desire to present to you the fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. You know quite well that there exists a very close bond of economic and fraternal relationship between the workers of the United States and of Canada. It has been indeed a most profitable experience for the American Federation of Labor and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress to exchange fraternal delegates. We are always happy and pleased to receive the message which the fraternal delegate from Canada brings to our annual convention, and I am informed that in turn, our brothers and sisters in Canada deeply appreciate the repeated visits of the fraternal delegates elected by each convention to attend the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Brother Turnbull is an orthodox, sincere, earnest trade-unionist, representative of the best there is in trade-unionism in the Dominion of Canada.

I have great pleasure in presenting to you Brother W. V. Turnbull, fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

MR. W. V. TURNBULL

(Fraternal Delegate, Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.)

Mr. President: Like yourself, our President of the Trades and Labor Congress in Canada has endeared himself to the hearts and minds of the laboring people of that country. We respect and love our President, Tom Moore, just the same as I presume you men and women do your President here, and on behalf of Brother Tom Moore, representing our men across the imaginary boundary line, I would like to extend our fondest greetings of good will.

I think I am enjoying one of the most pleasant experiences of my life. At the Trades and Labor Congress convention in Canada in September of this year, I was chosen as the delegate to come down across the line to extend fraternal greetings to the American Federation of Labor, in session at their fifty-second annual meeting.

Being elected to represent the Trades and Labor Congress and sent here to speak to you on their behalf, it would be fitting for me in a few brief moments to try and tell you of what their objects and aims are and of what they have accomplished in the forty-eight years of their existence in the Dominion of Canada; but before I do that I would like to say that when I left my home on Saturday morning on the Canadian Pacific Railway for Cincinnati, I left my home as a one hundred per cent Canadian. About eleven o'clock at night I arrived at the boundary line at the city of Detroit, crossing the river. When I crossed that line I became a one hundred per cent American, and while I am in your land I am going to respect your American laws and constitution. I am going to be an American until I am delivered back across the line into my own country. And that is not a very hard task for me to perform. I am not a stranger among you, but, as stated by your President, I am one of you. That is absolutely a fact, because all our international affiliations and associations bring us together in an understanding that can not be denied.

Coming across that imaginary line into this country, many things pass through one's mind, coming into what is called a foreign country. It would have been a God's blessing both to Canada and the United States of America if, in years gone by, we had studied the element that we allowed to come into our country. We are feeling now the results and the effect of the open-door policy. I believe that whenever any man comes to this country of yours or to Canada, when they land on our shores and presume to make that land their country of adoption, then the first thing they should do is to adapt themselves to the laws and methods of the country to which they come. Too long have we tolerated privileges to those who come to our land and do not thus adapt themselves, and as I said, we are now feeling the effects of it.

On behalf of the Dominion of Canada I want to say that despite the trying times we are going through, caused by the great depression confronting us, we haven't lost our courage one iota. I am proud to say that our membership in the trade movement in Canada has not fallen

off to any material extent, as reported at the last Trades and Labor Congress. That shows that the labor men of that country are realizing the conditions through which they are passing and they are adapting themselves to meet it in a spirit of courage that is unflinching. It is needless for me to take up a great deal of your time, because on the opening day of your Convention your President delivered an address that paved the whole way. He then laid down the aims and objects of this American Federation of Labor, which is the mouthpiece of labor of this country, and I want to say we can heartily co-operate with him in every statement he has made. The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada heartily endorses everything he has said.

Our membership has fallen off to some extent, but at the last Trades and Labor Congress we were able to seat 336 delegates. We were able to represent, in these trying times, associated organizations showing 121,129 paid-up members. That is speaking very well for Canada and our trade-union movement in such times as we are now passing through.

We are not immune in Canada from conditions such as those that confront you at this present time. We have a population of ten million people, and of that ten million we have 750,000 men unemployed, and an equal number of thousands of men who are working half time or less. Those are statistics coming from the Labor Bureau, from the Labor Gazette at Ottawa, the seat of our government. They also state in that Labor Gazette that we have 800,000 people living on direct relief from the Government. It does seem a crime that in this day of enlightenment, in this day of unionism, that we should have hundreds of thousands of people, out of a population of ten millions, living on charity. It is foreign to the ideals and principles of the honest labor man. He does not feel at home when he is compelled to live on charity.

But through our Trades and Labor Congress, with our approach to the seat of Parliament, we are laying before them year after year the demands of labor, and through the Congress we have secured much legislation and many enactments that make life easier for the labor men and that give them more protection in our Dominion.

We are not immune from the onslaught of the Communist element on Canadian ideals. The Trades and Labor Congress has fought for years and years against that element, and we are proud to say at this late date that they have never made any inroads on our international trade union movement in the Dominion of Canada, and it will be years and years to come before they can ever show any strength on that side of the line. We have learned our lesson in past years, and we in Canada are not going to be dictated to by Communists, we are not going to accept their policies. That may as well be made known.

When I am speaking to this Convention I presume that every man sitting here is one hundred per cent American. If he is not one hundred per cent American, then he owes an obligation and a duty to this country to take the oath immediately before he can enter into and dictate any policy that this great Govern-

ment of yours might see fit to establish as reasonable.

I was just thinking of many of the state ments that have been made by the previous speakers, and I think labor's ideals, ambitions and views have been laid thoroughly before this Convention and broadcast through the press to those who are probably not favorable to us. But I wonder if we are doing our best—are we asleep at the switch, or are we forever before those who are supposed to guide the destiny of our country, laying labor's cause before them, trying to make this a happy country in which to live?

Through reports that I heard read here I understand there are twelve million unemployed in this great country. That is two million more men than we have in the whole population of Canada. Then I understand that you have twenty million men on half time, and so on. That is not a very creditable condition. I believe that the membership of your Federation here exceeds two million. I wonder if that vast army of laboring men who are unorganized realize that they are placing themselves absolutely at the mercy and power of those who would want to extort them? I believe the time has come in this great country and practically throughout the entire world when there must be an awakening in the mind of the laboring man, and that, regardless of what his occupation is, he should seek his membership with and be connected with this great movement. I sometimes think we do not consider seriously enough this vast army of the unemployed. We must realize that we are carrying a mighty load upon our backs when we are carrying millions of men who are so dead to their own interests that they can not realize the benefit of this great national and international organization. There is no denying what this American Federation of Labor has done. It has exhausted every honorable means to make life worth living, and I believe it is the duty of every laboring man in the United States and Canada and throughout the whole world to affiliate in a body such as this, that when we speak for labor we may be understood as speaking for the entire labor element of this country.

We have had a demonstration of this in your recent presidential election. Labor has spoken, and if we could only realize it there isn't anything coming within the jurisdiction of equity and justice that labor could not get if it had united effort. After all, is labor not the foundation of the very nation, industrial, social or otherwise?

During this Convention nearly every speaker has referred to the great war, its after-effects and the part it played in the great economic crisis of the world today. I sometimes wonder myself—and I had a boy who spent four years over there—what it was all about. In the year of 1914 we were led to believe that our liberties were at stake, that a demon had arisen that was going to traverse the entire universe, and that we would lose our identity as British subjects and American subjects. We were led to believe many things, and our boys rallied to the colors wonderfully. During that period of war ten million men laid down their lives for what we call democracy and liberty. Just 14 years ago the 10th of this month, when the na-

tions of the world were at death grips, when men were suffering all the tortures of hell and sacrificing their lives on the battle fields of France, there was no mind of man that ever spoke. It was organize the army, march on regardless of the suffering of humanity. But there was One who spoke and He sounded the bugle call down along the firing line to cease firing, and that One was God Himself, looking down with pity and with mercy on humanity at one another's throats, men dying, and after all, for what?

We still have a great battle to fight, but let us not fight it with guns and bayonets, let us fight it in a more humane way. The great call is going to come again if we continue on under our present conditions. When we have such a vast number of men in all of our countries idle there is no doubt but that in the homes there is suffering among little children. It does seem a crime before God and man in this day of enlightenment that children living in what we call the land of freedom, should be deprived of the nourishment of life and should be forced to feel the pangs of hunger.

And so it must be an appeal from the laboring men of this country. We cannot expect it to come from any other source than from those who have suffered the pangs of the conditions that confront us. It is for us to lay aside many of our own personal ambitions and ideals, unite our forces and go to the seat of Parliament and demand the rights to which the people of your country and my country are entitled. We can't do it by sitting on the floor of this Convention and talking for days. We want action more than talk, and we must have it if we are going to satisfy the hungry mouths of the laboring men of this country.

I believe you should follow your President. President Green has demonstrated to you that he is a human being and that his whole heart and soul lies in the suffering of labor and humanity in this country. Follow your leader as your boys on the battle field followed Pershing in the great war. Revive that spirit that they shall not pass and let us carry on until the day dawns when the laboring man will take his place in the economic, industrial and social life of this nation.

There hang three flags, standing as a unit for one principle. Those three flags are stained by the blood of millions of men in days gone by to make this country and our country and other countries of the world safe for democracy. We have not yet reached that safety of democracy to its fullest extent, and we never will until we bring those few who are holding tight the wealth of this country to realize that God never made the country for them alone, but rather that it might be used for the welfare and betterment and happiness of the people of the land.

Those who have hoarded are responsible for our present-day condition, and the mad greed for wealth is what is ruining the heart of the nation. Let us as laboring men awaken to the responsibility which is upon our shoulders, let us carry on this work with no discouragement. Let us, with the boys on the battle field, smile through and bring this country to the standards for which those three flags stand.

I presume you have the same condition here

that we have in Canada. I was in the city of Vancouver in June of this year and there was what they called a hunger march on the Provincial Parliament. I watched that march with wonder. The procession was headed by four men wearing German uniforms. Down along the line they were carrying the red flag of the Third Internationale of Russia. I wondered what sympathy any body of men could expect to gain in our land by flying a foreign flag and singing a foreign song. If we want to make a march on our Parliament, if we want to bring our message to the powers that be, then carry that flag there and plant it before the powers and ask if, after all its glory, we are going to have starving men, women and children under the liberties of which we talk. Let us not carry a foreign flag, don't let us sing a foreign song. Let us sing our own national anthem, let us carry our own flags to the seats of our Governments and be consistent with our demands.

As far as talk of war between the United States and Canada is concerned, that is impossible, it is a thing unthought of. We have lived side by side going on to a century and a quarter. We have been able to settle all of our international disputes around the conference table. That great imaginary line of which you speak—Senator Davis gave the mileage, three thousand miles—what are they doing today with that imaginary line? They are not building forts, they are not putting standing armies there to guard against one another, but in the Provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan they are strewing that boundary line with flowers. Can there be any man or Government that will ever dare try to disturb that peace?

With all our conferences in foreign countries today seeking disarmament, eliminating armies, etc., there is a light and a guiding star to the nations of the world, that nations can live side by side as brothers, sharing one another's international ideas and views, and removing the guns of war from imaginary boundary lines. We don't like to mention the word war, but it has been forced upon us, and I believe those three flags hanging there on the wall would unite the forces of these countries into a solid body strong enough to tell the foreign nations to disarm whether they wanted to or not. And if it is going to be war, then let those of us who are opposed to war draw the line and say: "You can fight to the last ditch, but we are not going to enter into your disputes."

We live so closely together that it would be a crime to humanity ever to allow the people of those three flags to be enemies to one another. We have a wonderful work to do in this labor movement, not only in the increasing of wages and the bettering of conditions, but in placing our men in the industrial and social life of the country. We can accomplish that. There is no saying no, and since we have started it we must carry on, there must be no going back.

Now, Mr. President, I know that your delegates are getting weary of listening to men talk. I do not wish to burden you any longer. I do hope and pray God that He will guide you in your deliberations, that when your convention closes you will go out behind your President, Brother Green, and help carry out what you have decided upon here, believing that it means

something to the advancement of the country. Carry it to the seat of Government and stay with it until you get it.

Let us have the proper spirit, let us induce the fellow who is a load on our backs to become a part of the army of this great movement, and if we do that there is no doubt but that in the future we will make our countries worth living in.

Brother Green, I wish to thank you for these few moments and thank the delegates for their kind attention. I again wish you Godspeed.

PRESIDENT GREEN'S RESPONSE TO ADDRESSES OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES

President Green: And now may I impose upon your patience for a few moments while I make just a brief response to the very illuminating addresses delivered by the fraternal delegates in attendance at this convention. We have listened with rapt attention and with most profound consideration to these most interesting and instructive addresses. I am sure that in our appraisal of these addresses we will regard them all as a distinct contribution toward the thought that we must apply to the solution of our economic difficulties.

I was impressed very much with this thought as I listened to the earnest, sincere addresses delivered by each of these fraternal delegates: that after all there is very little difference in the ideals, the purposes and the objectives of the great organized labor movement throughout the world. If I were to sum up in the smallest number of words possible the aims and objects of the British Trade-Union Congress, of the American Federation of Labor, and of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, the great trade-union movements of Germany, of Spain, and of all the nations of the world, I would condense it into two words—human betterment. That, to me, is the great objective, that is the reason why I endeavored to emphasize, in the opening address which I delivered at this convention, that there is a vast difference between the organized labor movements of the world and the organized wealth of the world.

We are not seeking to add, through the use of unscrupulous methods, if you please, to the material wealth of the workers, but can that be said of those who manage the industrial corporations of the nation? What we are trying to do, what we are aiming to do, is to add to the sum total of human happiness and the sum total of human values. In our own country, as in Great Britain and in the other countries represented here, we are seeking to wring from

industry a wage that will enable an honest bread winner to maintain himself and his family in decency and in comfort. We are endeavoring to bring about an adjustment of the working time so that that adjustment will conform with technical progress and with the needs of those intangible values which make up human life.

True, we want to exercise the right to work. It is a fundamental right, it is a right that must not be denied to the most humble worker in all the land, for it is through work and service that human happiness comes. We cannot live in a world of idleness. We must work and serve, but with that work and service there must be brought into the lives of the workers that degree of leisure that will enable them to develop the cultural and spiritual life of all the people throughout the land.

We are supplementing our efforts to secure better wages and the enjoyment of a greater degree of leisure with a plan of social justice legislation here that corresponds with the social justice program outlined by our good friend Dukes, and of the fraternal delegates from Great Britain. Many years ago we embarked upon a social justice legislative program and we have continued our efforts until we have secured the enactment of workmen's compensation laws, child labor laws, laws for the protection of women, in practically every State in the Union. There are some few backward States where there has not yet been secured the enactment even of modern, up-to-date, humane, workmen's compensation legislation. In addition to that we are endeavoring to secure the enactment of widows' pension legislation in every State. We have succeeded in some. I recall when I served in the Ohio Legislature over twenty years ago that we introduced and secured the enactment of a widows' pension act in that great progressive State.

Then we are supporting old-age pension legislation, having drafted a model bill, and our State Federations of Labor are pressing for the enactment of this character of humane legislation in every State in the Union. My friends, it is the great American labor movement that led in the development of a healthy public opinion in support of this social justice program, and had there been no labor movement I doubt that there would have been written upon the statute books of the States and the nation, the humane legislation to which I have referred.

Our difficulties, though, are much greater than the difficulties encountered by our good friends in Great Britain, because when they go to Parliament to secure the enactment of a statute, let it be an old-age pension law, an unemployment insurance measure, or a child labor act, it applies throughout the United Kingdom, but here we have forty-eight empires and we must secure the enactment of forty-eight laws in order to make them universal and operative.

I am sure that when I make this comparison they can understand, as every trade-unionist can understand, the multiplicity of difficulties and obstacles, almost insurmountable, met in our legislative work by the American Federation of Labor. And we are still pressing, we are still fighting, we are fighting with all the power we possess to secure the enactment of a full and complete social justice legislative program that will meet the crying, urgent needs of the existing economic situation. We are going further than that. We are standing as a bulwark against the imposition of wrongs upon the masses of the people. We are opposing with all the vigor we possess the imposition of unjust tax burdens upon the backs of the masses of the people, and we are determined that ultimately there shall be in America a more equitable distribution of the wealth of the nation.

That, my friends, will be brought about through compulsion upon industry to pay in wages that inequitable portion of the profits of industry which they have for so many decades been paying in dividends and in inflated earnings and values. If we fail to secure an equitable distribution of the wealth of the nation through the application of these economic methods, then we are going to mobilize our political strength and secure the enactment of inheritance tax laws that will take from wealth its accumulated strength and redistribute it throughout the nation.

Our program is clear. Never did there meet a more militant organization than the American Federation of Labor, and never in the history of America did labor occupy a stronger and more influential position in the political, economic and social life of the nation than it occupies today.

I want again, if I may, to refer to another matter, and that is the great social value, the great economic value, the great political value of the organized labor movement, not only in our own country, but throughout the world as well. We have served faithfully and well. In

every national crisis the trade-union movement of the different nations of the world has served to salvage and to save the nation from disaster. I recall that during the dark days following the great War, when the minds of the people of Germany were inflamed and when the whole nation was suffering from intrigue, it was the German trade-union movement that saved Germany from ruin and destruction.

We have watched our brothers across the sea. We have admired their steady-going, self-possessed character and program. Am I saying too much when I say that in the judgment of the American labor movement and its friends, the British trade-union movement has saved Great Britain in the crises which have occurred?

Now I am sure that the same is true in Spain, the same is true, my friends, in our own country, because today it is not the executive in the board room of the corporation, it is not the lawyer pleading at the bar, it is not the financier in the bank, it is not the representatives of organizations, fraternal and otherwise, that have manned the front trenches, fighting destructive forces that would substitute a destructive philosophy for our great American philosophy. God save America if the American Federation of Labor is destroyed!

And so, in this great crisis, battling as we are for the realization of economic justice and social righteousness, we are also fighting the battle of the Republic. We are endeavoring, my dear friends, to work out our program along lines best suited and best adapted to the needs of the situation, and the American Federation of Labor will take a step, and each succeeding step, in the application of new methods as they see these steps are necessary.

We pursue no rigid, inflexible policy. Ever since our organization was formed we have adjusted ourselves to changing economic and industrial conditions, and it is my opinion that that same policy will be pursued by the American Federation of Labor as long as the Republic endures. We are trying to do all the things you are trying to do. We are succeeding in a measure as you are succeeding. We are determined to bring to the workers of our own land the enjoyment of the rights and privileges to which they are entitled.

We are happy because you are here. We are cheered and heartened by your splendid messages. We shall remember them in our struggle against oppression, in our fight against wrong. We ask you to carry back to those you

represent, the well wishes, the sympathy and the support of the organized labor movement of America. We wish to each of you a most happy and profitable visit in America and a safe return to your friends back home.

Thank you.

President Green: Now may I ask the committee appointed before the noon adjournment if they will kindly escort Brother Whitney, President of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, to the stage.

(Mr. Whitney was escorted to the stage by the committee.)

President Green: We are very happy indeed to have with us this afternoon the President of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. A short time ago I was accorded the privilege of addressing a distinguished group representing the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen in the city of Washington. I enjoyed that visit very much, and I extended an invitation to President Whitney to meet with us and to address this Convention. He very kindly and cordially accepted the invitation. Perhaps I might say that it is my opinion that there is developing between the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the American Federation of Labor a relationship that will ultimately lead to a closer affiliation of these two organizations. We have always worked together in the furtherance of matters of common interest and of the common good. I believe, as you believe, that the organized labor movement in the United States ought to be united. We believe that the transportation union ought to be united with us. We feel that if we are to successfully combat capitalism and capitalistic pressure in the United States we can do it better for the working people of the country through the development and solidarity and close co-operation. I hope I may live to see the day, as I hope you may live to see the day, when this one outstanding, militant transportation organization at least will take the step and come with us and make their home among their true friends.

I think I could, in a most appropriate and proper way, make these remarks just now. I know President Whitney will bring to you a message mighty interesting and inspiring, as he did when he visited us on a former occasion. I know you will be glad to hear him. You will appreciate his address, and I take great pleasure in presenting to you President Whitney of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen of America.

MR. A. F. WHITNEY

(President, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen of America.)

Worthy President, Fraternal Delegates and Friends: It is needless to say that I concur in all that your worthy and distinguished President has just said. I had the honor of addressing your convention held in Toronto four years ago. Few labor leaders whose organizations are not members of the Federation have ever had that honor conferred upon them and it was appreciated by the members of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen as well as myself, and this splendid opportunity, I am sure, will be appreciated by all of the trainmen I have the honor to represent. I am happy again to be with you and to extend to you the cordial greetings of 150,000 train and yard service men of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.

During the last three years of bitter economic conditions, labor organizations have stood out prominently in our economic and social systems. More than ever before in our history, organized labor has revealed the vital part it plays in the economic and social life of this country. Although workers have suffered most as a result of economic conditions, organized labor should take on renewed hope and courage, for the suffering of its members has not been in vain. Many prominent industrial leaders are beginning to see the light which organized labor discerned many years ago. Since the beginning of this depression, such leaders have frequently stated that purchasing power of the masses is an absolutely necessary counterpart of our mass production system. Mr. Ernest T. Weir, Chairman of the National Steel Corporation, in an address before the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce on October 13th last, said:

"It is our job to build up and maintain for our people a standard of living that is improving—not retrograding. Our standard has been broken and we must fight to bring it up again. I am for higher wages—not lower.

"I have been opposed to wage reductions over the past three years, and have seen no benefits from them, but harm through decreased buying capacity and breaking down of home standards. We have built up a great productive capacity and to occupy it and furnish proper employment to our people we must be a nation of liberal buyers, and this necessitates liberal earnings, and which can show a margin over and above cost of actual necessities."

Thus, a prominent industrial leader has given effective voice to a principle for which organized labor has stood down through the years of its existence. I firmly believe that in the future prominent industrial leaders will strive to reduce the working hours of labor and increase the wages of the workers. This economic catastrophe has taught all thinking men the absolute necessity for maintaining mass purchasing power in order to main-

tain capital investment on a profitable basis. It has been indelibly written on the minds of men that idle workers mean idle capital and unprofitable investment.

In bringing about this great change of attitude toward the rights of the workers and the welfare of society in general, the American Federation of Labor has played no small part. For more than a half century your organization has exerted a powerful political and economic influence on men and principles. It should be encouraging to you that the efforts of your organization, as well as organized labor in general, are obtaining more effective results than ever before in history.

I believe most thinking people will agree that in considering the causes of present economic conditions and in attempting to find a solution for such conditions, there has been a considerable amount of loose thinking which has brought about many unwise suggestions and the propagation of unjustifiable fears. Many of these needless fears have arisen in connection with the problems confronting our railways. We have laws making it a criminal offense to spread untruthful propaganda regarding the insolvency or unsoundness of banks. I sometimes think that a similar law respecting our railroad industry might be of great value in maintaining the credit of the railroads. I shall endeavor to bring before you some of the unfounded and unnecessary statements that are being made by the friends of the railroad corporations for the apparent purpose of persuading public opinion to give favorable consideration to a reduction in railway employees' income, by attempting to make it appear that such is necessary to the solvency of the various railroad corporations.

For instance, much has been said regarding the small rate of return on the railroads' capital investment, but it is seldom pointed out that this rate of return is calculated on a highly controversial valuation basis, with which the appropriate officials of the federal government are not in agreement with the railroads. Neither is it revealed that this rate of return is estimated on extravagant additions to capital investment in the railroad industry and the extreme and unnecessary indebtedness the railroads have incurred over past years of prosperous operation and during the time when they earned a generous return on their investments on the basis of their actual value. It should not be forgotten that cash dividends paid by the railroads in 1930 were the highest in the history of our railroads; that these huge dividends were almost double (89.9% higher) those paid in 1920 when there were 534,993 more workers employed by the railroads. During the year that these fabulous dividends were being paid out, the worst panic in our history was well under way and in addition to the more than one-half million railroad employees out of work, there were hundreds of thousands of other railroad workers employed only part time and receiving less than a living wage. Even in the bad year of 1931, when such dire predictions were being made regarding the financial condition of the railroads, cash dividends were over 21 per cent larger than those

paid in the year 1920 when 764,113 more workers were employed by the railroads. In this same year of 1931, the railroads paid cash dividends almost equal to those paid in 1925, greater than those paid in 1924, and much greater than those paid in the years of 1921, 1922 and 1923, when an average of a half million more workers were employed.

When the facts are fully disclosed, it must be conceded that there is an appalling amount of loose thinking and deliberate warping of the true picture in connection with our rather feeble attempts to struggle ourselves out of the wholly unnecessary economic predicament in which this country finds itself. The record of dividends paid by the railroads, not to mention other kinds of unearned increment, reveals in bold relief the true causes of present economic conditions. It proves that whatever may be the condition of unemployment and mass poverty, dividends paid show continuing improvement until the point is reached where financial collapse is made imminent, due to the atrophied consuming power of the masses. It offers convincing proof of the ever increasing concentration of wealth in this country. It proves the devastating effect of machine efficiency on the workers of our country when industrial leaders adopt a policy of appropriating the increasing fruits of machine efficiency for the enhancement of private profit, instead of utilizing a reasonable part of them by reducing the working time and increasing the hourly rate of pay of workers. When we analyze the trends of profits, dividends, expanded and often inflated capital, and unemployment, it is not difficult to determine who is responsible for present economic conditions. In the depressing year of 1931, the people were led to believe that our railroad industry was headed for bankruptcy, but, as above stated, dividends paid that year were almost equal to those paid in the comparatively prosperous year of 1925. These facts clearly show that increasing private profits and a determined resistance to any equitable division of profits resulting from modern efficiency have been the causes of unemployment and mass poverty, the final result of which has paralyzed our purchasing power and resulted in a crisis that has reached private profits and will destroy private capital if permitted to continue. Stating it another way, selfishness and greed result in universal hardship, even to those who are selfish and greedy.

Too many of our industrial and financial leaders have fallen into the all too common error of thinking only of the disaster which would occur if the instruments of our productive system should suffer loss, without giving due consideration to the serious consequences that have already occurred from the breakdown in our mass consuming power. They lament the thought of the loss to insurance companies resulting from a default in railroad securities. But their lamentations are largely unfounded in fact and they fail to see the mountain beside the mound. The facts are that, notwithstanding this vicious propaganda regarding the unsoundness of railroad securities, insurance companies have recently invested in them. I prefer to explain such investments on the basis of justified con-

fidence which sound insurance investment buyers place in railroad securities, rather than on the basis of poor investment judgment of insurance companies.

I received a statement, dated October 5, 1932, from a responsible official of one of the leading insurance companies in America to the effect that after three years of the present critical times only four-tenths of 1 per cent of all their securities have either defaulted or suspended dividends. What is far more significant for the purposes of this discussion is that their railroad investments show that the non-income paying bonds and preferred stocks represent only sixteen one-hundredths of 1 per cent of this section of their portfolio. The "wages" of unearned increment certainly appear to be out of step with the times, for where can you find the wage-earner who has had no greater reduction in his wage than sixteen one-hundredths of 1 per cent? It is, indeed, significant that one of the largest and best known insurance companies in America has experienced the fact that its railroad investments are substantially more secure than other classes of its investments. In a letter to its policyholders, in which a review of the year 1931 was made, the President of the New York Life Insurance Company stated:

"The amount of our railroad bonds in default of interest is so small that it is of no material consequence."

I have a statement which gives the combined records of forty legal reserve life insurance companies, which at the end of 1931 had 82 per cent of the total Admitted Assets of all United States legal reserve life companies. These statistics show the assets of the forty companies invested at August 31st, last. This statement shows that mortgage loans amount to \$6,268,396,000, of which \$1,457,673,000 are farm mortgages. The railroad stocks and bonds held amount to \$2,655,268,000, or only a little more than one-third of the amount held in mortgage loans and, relatively speaking, not a great deal more than the amount held in farm mortgages. Yet, our farmers for the past twelve years have received no return on their investments and most of them have been operating at an actual loss. I have not yet heard bankers and financial leaders pleading the cause of the farmers on the theory that farmers should be helped in order to save our insurance companies. Neither have I heard them plead for the salvation of the working men, on whose homes insurance companies hold many millions of dollars in mortgages. Why this cry of despair regarding the salvation of financial institutions and the pathetic evasion of urgent and due consideration of our atrophied mass consuming power, when the very thing that has placed our financial institutions on an insecure basis is the small, or absent, incomes of the masses?

On the occasion of the wage conference in Chicago last January, the railway employees were told that if they would accept a reduction in their pay it would have the effect of strengthening railroad credit and enable the railroads to go into the market and make more extensive purchases, with the result that employment would be increased in all

lines. The fallacy of this contention has been proved. Railroad employment has been steadily on the decline since rail payrolls were reduced and unemployment in general has increased. Why do the friends of the railroads, who asked for and will receive approximately \$215,000,000 in a single year from the railroad employees, for the alleged purpose of strengthening railroad credit, so zealously employ their efforts to impair railroad credit by circulating such dire predictions as are so frequently found in the press and in other forms of publicity? If it is so necessary to preserve the integrity of railroad credit, why should those presuming to be friendly to the best interests of the railroads, resort to these unfounded and damaging statements against the credit of the railroads? We are told that what the country now needs more than anything else is a restoration of confidence. The hungry man who trods the streets searching in vain for an opportunity to earn food and shelter for himself and family is appealed to to have confidence. But industrial and financial leaders freely spread ominous reports regarding the financial integrity of the railroads, when the experience of leading life insurance companies proves the comparative soundness of such securities. Reliable insurance companies support this fact, not only by their records, but by actually purchasing rail securities at the present time. The experience of insurance companies proves that mortgages held against the homes of the farmers and workers of our country are under far greater strain. These companies advise us that policy loans have increased in alarming proportions and thus the life insurance protection of millions of our citizens is being imperiled, not by the inability of a few large corporations to pay large dividends, but by the inability of those insured to pay their premiums, due to their reduced or absent incomes. If life insurance companies are in need of salvation, these facts point clearly to the source from which salvation must come. It is from this same source that the salvation of business and the revival of prosperous markets must come. That source is the prosperity of the great masses of people.

If all the facts are revealed in their true light, is there not just reason for the assertion that there is an appalling amount of loose thinking in the attempt to discover remedies for present economic conditions? To say the least, is it not fair to contend that this harmful, destructive and confidence-destroying propaganda about railroad and insurance company finances is unnecessary and void of any useful purpose? Since such propaganda is so freely spread by interests friendly to railroads, it gives rise to the justifiable belief that it is designed to serve an ulterior purpose. What purpose stands out more clearly than that of attempting to lay a basis for a further reduction in the shamefully low incomes of railway employees? If such propaganda was spread in normal times, it would be clear that the intention and purpose of such statements were to injure the railroads and insurance companies. It is unreasonable to suppose that the friends of those institutions would intentionally injure them, so the conclusion is forced that such propaganda is in-

tended to serve an ulterior purpose—wage-cutting propaganda.

The experience the railroad industry has had with wage deductions has proven the absurdity of the contention that reduction in wages will stimulate business and increase employment. In June, 1932, five months after the ten per cent wage deduction in the railroad industry, there were 69,996 less employees than in January, 1932, the month preceding the wage deduction and a month in which it was reasonably supposed that railroad employment had already reached the irreducible minimum. And so it must always be: when incomes of the workers are reduced, purchasing power is curtailed and all business must produce less and employ fewer workers because it sells less and this means less traffic volume for the railroads.

It is apparent that the thinking public and responsible leaders should cease worrying so much about our financial and productive systems and begin to take action which will revive the prostrate form of our mass consuming power. Effective mass purchasing power is the very life-blood of all business; it forms the structure on which the integrity of our financial institutions must rest. When the source that gives life-blood is tapped, the body must become weak and anemic. The flow of this life-blood of our economic body may be increased only by a fair distribution of wealth and work through the adoption of shorter workhours with increased hourly rates of pay. Wage cutting is tantamount to a surgical practice that would bleed a weak and anemic body; idle talk about preserving the integrity of our financial institutions at the expense of the consuming masses is tantamount to a doctor prescribing a skin beautifying treatment for a patient suffering from chronic anemia.

President Green: In behalf of the officers, delegates and friends in attendance at this convention, I extend to President Whitney our sincere thanks for his visit and for his instructive and illuminating address. We want President Whitney to always feel that he is welcome at our conventions. We want him to come back when we hold another convention, and we want to assure him and the railroad transportation organizations that the American Federation of Labor will co-operate with them in their legislative program and stand by their side in defense of the economic and social rights of their members. We thank you for your visit today, President Whitney.

President Green requested Secretary Morrison to read the following communications:

William Green,
President, American Federation of Labor.

I desire to substitute the name of John P. Frey for that of Thomas Connelly as a delegate to this Convention for the remainder of its sessions.

Fraternally,
L. O'KEEFE, President,
International Molders' Union.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

President Green: Are there any objections to the substitution of Brother John P. Frey for Brother Thomas Connelly as a delegate to this convention? Hearing no objections, the request of President O'Keefe is granted and Brother Frey is seated as a delegate.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Men: I rise on a question of personal privilege. After listening to the addresses of the delegates, and especially to that from the Educational Department, this morning, it seems to me that we haven't given the consideration to that able address of Secretary Miller that was presented to the Convention this morning, that it deserves.

This is my thirty-ninth convention, and I have listened to many addresses and to many able documents that have been presented, but never, to my knowledge, has there been presented a document to this American Federation of Labor that is of so much importance as that presented by Secretary Miller. It brings out clearly the contentions that we have been making for a number of years in our trade-union movement, trying to pass out the effect and the influence the machine is having on our civilization.

It seems to me that address should be placed where it will have more effect than merely going into the records of the American Federation of Labor. These records, after once made and printed, are seldom referred to. In the old days we used to make it a rule that when an important address of that kind came before us we made it a special document.

You know that many of the theories and ideas we have from time to time inaugurated in this Federation very little attention is paid to them when we send them forth, but by and by some would-be philosopher gets hold of them and then puts them forth as ideas coming from the mind of great educators. I want to preserve to the trade-union movement what Secretary Miller presented so ably here this morning and, as I say, it is to my mind one of the ablest documents that has ever been presented to the American Federation of Labor.

Therefore, I move that the address of Secretary Miller be put into a special circular to be issued by this American Federation of Labor, along with its other educational documents, as one of the documents of the organization.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: It is the intention of the President of the American Federation of Labor to exercise his prerogative in having the very

fine, highly scholarly and educational address delivered by Archbishop McNicholas here yesterday printed in pamphlet form for wide distribution.

The following telegrams were read by Secretary Morrison and made part of the records of the convention:

Akron, Ohio.
November 23, 1932.

Wm. A. Green, President,
American Federation of Labor Convention.

The Fraternal Order of Eagles deeply appreciate the high ideals, the sterling worth, and ever readiness of the American Federation of Labor to be of assistance to humanity. Extend to you our best wishes for a successful Convention. Every indication points to the enactment of the old-age pension law in Ohio to the success of which your organization played so large a part.

HENRY J. BERRODIN,
Grand Worthy President, Fraternal Order of Eagles.

Grand Island, Neb.
November 21, 1932.

William Green,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Convention Hall,
Netherland Plaza Hotel,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Congratulations and best wishes to the 52nd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. We respectfully urge that the Convention appeal to the short session of Congress to appropriate adequate funds for unemployed relief this winter.

Grand Island Central Labor Union,
ROY M. BREWER, Secretary.

Delegate Iglesias, Puerto Rico: I have a request to make to the Convention. I wish to get permission to introduce a resolution that it was not possible to get here in time to be introduced last night.

President Green: Is there objection to introducing this resolution?

Delegate Dempsey, Iron Workers: I object, on the ground that under Section 5 of Article III of the Constitution the time for introducing resolutions expired at midnight last night.

Delegate Gainer: I move the rules be suspended and that Delegate Iglesias be permitted to introduce the resolution.

President Green: The motion is out of order. The resolution can only be introduced now by unanimous consent.

Delegate Perham: It is possible that Delegate Iglesias is not very clear in his explanation. Brother Iglesias arrived in Cincinnati last night after the time for introducing resolutions had expired. I would ask the brother delegate to remove his objection and permit this resolution to be presented.

Delegate Allen, Twin City Federation of Labor, Champaign-Urbana, Illinois, moved that the Convention ask Delegate Dempsey to withdraw the objection.

President Green announced that the motion was out of order.

Delegate Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor: On a question of personal privilege. I have been here this week and I have followed the program outlined by the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor in which they have presented to this Convention from day outstanding speakers upon subjects in which a majority of American citizens are interested. I have sat in this Convention and I have listened with a great deal of interest to the addresses of the Fraternal Delegates from Great Britain and Canada. And sitting in this Convention as a delegate, listening to the addresses upon the subjects dealt with, I came to the conclusion that in the problems that confront labor in Great Britain and Canada, in Europe, in all the countries of the world, are the problems that confront labor in America, but they came to us later than they did in these other countries.

It seems to me it would be rather carrying coals to Newcastle for me to endeavor to speak upon the subject that had been dealt

with by the speakers, but it does appear to me that as one delegate to this Convention I should arise to my feet this afternoon, just before the holiday recess—when perhaps we will come back and be tremendously involved in acting upon the reports of committees and determining policies—that I should as one delegate voice my extreme pleasure in having the opportunity to sit in this Convention and listen to the addresses that have been delivered, and that I should as one delegate state my appreciation to the officers of this American Federation of Labor for securing such great, outstanding Americans, and such great, outstanding internationals as have appeared upon this platform to discuss the problems that are confronting them and confronting us. It is important that we study the addresses that have been made and that the labor movement of America study them, for they mean so much to the great masses of the people, not only of this country, but of the entire world.

At 4:45 o'clock p. m., a delegate moved that the rules be suspended and an adjournment taken to Friday morning.

The motion was seconded and carried, and the Convention was adjourned to convene again at 9:30 o'clock Friday, November 25th.

Fourth Day—Friday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio,
November 25, 1932.

The Convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

Absentees: Shanessy, Birthright, Bowen, Harrison, Schulte, Tighe, Royer, Gorman, Kelly (M. J.), Berry, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Burris, Soderberg, Starr, Fay, Jewell, Scharrenberg, Soderstrom, Taylor (T. N.), Raftery, Reed, Turnblazer, Reilly, Cherry, Taylor (J. A.), Davis (F.), Fox (H. W.), Kutz, Lang, Watkins, Williams, Parks, Koenig, Starkweather, Brooks, Mitchell (H.), Becker, Friedrich, Fritz, Souza, Augustino, Gates, Myers, Rigby, Rivin, Hammer, Newbill, Draper, Upleger, Switalski, Greenway, Curran, Carlson, Woodmansee, Miles, Kromelbein, Wells, Bohm, McElligott, Richardson, Scannell, Meyers, Lufrano, Thoman, Zander.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

November 24, 1932.

Mr. Frank Morrison,
Netherland Plaza, Cincinnati, O.
Dear Sir and Brother:

Unable to remain in the city longer, will you please see to it that John J. Walsh, Vice-President of our organization, is seated as delegate for the Amalgamated Meat Cutters' and Butcher Workmen of North America.

Faternally,

PATRICK E. GORMAN, President.

Secretary Morrison moved that the request of Delegate Gorman be complied with. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison read the following:

L. O'Keefe, President, International Molders' Union, delegate to this Convention, has been called out of the city on official business of his organization. He requests that the name of Thomas Connelly be substituted in lieu of his name as a delegate to this Convention for the remainder of its sessions.

On motion of Secretary Morrison, the request made was unanimously complied with.

The following communications were read to the Convention:

Long Island City, N. Y.
November 23, 1932.

Frank Morrison, Secretary, American Federation of Labor,

Hotel Netherland Plaza, Cincinnati, Ohio.

On behalf of General Executive Board, International Fur Workers' Union, kindly accept our heartiest congratulations and best

wishes for a successful solution of industrial problems. We are grateful for splendid support received by your organization and sincerely hope that all your endeavors and deliberations will be crowned with success.

PIETRO LUCCHI, President,
International Fur Workers' Union.

Baltimore, Maryland.
November 24, 1932.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor Convention
Headquarters, Cincinnati, Ohio.

It may interest and encourage the Convention to know that officials of Baltimore Federation of Labor have just succeeded in having Baltimore City adopt the six-hour day and five-day week in all municipal building projects. The program will include three and one-half million dollars of construction.

HENRY F. BROENING, President.

Washington, D. C.,
November 22, 1932.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Netherland Plaza, Cincinnati, O.

Cornerstone of new Department of Labor Building will be laid December 15. Will you kindly consent to making short address on that occasion as representing labor? Please wire reply collect. Kindly extend to all delegates an invitation to attend this function.

W. N. DOAK, Secretary.
Los Angeles, California,
November 22, 1932.

Wm. Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Care National Convention, Cincinnati.
Dear President Green:

Twenty-seven thousand grape growers of the state of California have asked me to join in and appeal to you to have included in your recommendations bearing upon modification of the Volstead Act, light wines with beer. The grape industry in California is second largest agricultural industry, representing investment of three hundred and fifty million dollars, involving the livelihood of approximately one hundred thousand workers. Modification permitting sale of light wine will mean immediate employment to thousands of skilled craftsmen in new construction and rehabilitation of California's large wine industry. Your favorable consideration of this plea will be received by acclaim by thousands of California vineyardists and workers.

Very sincerely yours,
JAMES ROLPH, JR.,
Governor of California.

A telegram similar to the above and identical in wording to one received from Clarence S. Lea, Member of Congress, and published on page 147, second day's proceedings, was received from Congressman Richard J. Welch,

of the Fifth Congressional District of California.

Harry Bacharach, Mayor of Atlantic City, sent a telegram asking that the 1933 Convention be held there.

Victor J. Miller, Mayor of St. Louis, sent similar telegram on behalf of St. Louis.

Delegate Iglesias, of the Free Federation of Working Men of Porto Rico, requested unanimous consent of the Convention to introduce a resolution. The request was granted and the following resolution, numbered 92, was introduced:

Rehabilitation of Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias, of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico.

WHEREAS, The Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico has reported to previous Conventions the disastrous economic conditions prevailing in the Island and such reports have been found to be true by the federal and insular authorities, and to the effect a general plan of rehabilitation has been agreed upon to relieve local conditions in the Island, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor was always ready at all times to give its worthy support to the cause of the people in general and Labor in Puerto Rico and to help our Island; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to earnestly urge and lend his moral support and help before the President and Congress of United States to every measure and plans of rehabilitation as set forth in previous reports and recommendations of the Executive Council and the resolutions passed by the last three Conventions, 1929, 1930, 1931, of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Reports of committees were called for and Vice-President Duffy, Chairman of the Committee on Organization, announced that that committee was prepared to submit its report.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Chairman Duffy and Secretary Cleary, of the Committee on Organization, and by mutual arrangement Chairman Duffy will submit the report for the Committee.

Vice-President Duffy reported as follows:

Organizing Work

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, page 91, the Committee reported as follows:

Your Committee agrees with and endorses all the Executive Council has to say under the caption "Organizing Work."

We want to emphasize the necessity of having the unorganized workers with us within our ranks and we urge all affiliated bodies to bend their efforts to that end for never was the need for expansion of unionism greater than at the present time.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

A. F. of L. Organizers to Assist International Association of Fire Fighters

Resolution No. 10—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and John Redmond, of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, It is agreed that organized effort in the endeavor to prevent further lowering of wages and living standards of all workers is absolutely essential to the success of the labor movement, and

WHEREAS, The paid fire department of the United States and Canada are increasingly becoming the targets for attack by budget-reducing committees, etc.; and

WHEREAS, The status of such paid fire department members who are affiliated with the International Association of Fire Fighters and the American Federation of Labor is immeasurably safer and surer than is that of fire department members not so affiliated; and

WHEREAS, The prevention of lowering of wages and living standards of all workers is of paramount importance to organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor shall instruct its organizers to co-operate in all ways to the fullest extent with the organizers of the International Association of Fire Fighters in their work of organizing the paid fire department members in cities throughout the United States and Canada into unions affiliated with the International Association of Fire Fighters.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this Resolution.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Unionizing of Hotel and Catering Establishments

Resolution No. 17—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh and Emanuel Kovel-eski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, In these days of struggle and strife for improved working conditions and employment, many of the affiliations of the American Federation of Labor are found patronizing hotels and catering establishments that are unfair to and opposed to employing members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance; and

WHEREAS, Because they see fit to do business with these unfair institutions and thereby ignore the existence of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dis-

persers' International Alliance, it oftentimes happens that the local officials of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance in opportune time demand the withdrawal of said business—banquet, social function or patronage—from such houses; and

WHEREAS, While these demands are at times made just prior to the holdings of the occasions, they for this reason are not relished by those involved and are often classed as unfair. The action of the local officials of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance in protecting the right of employment for their membership, even at the discomfort of those who proceed to carry on negotiations with hotels or catering establishments that do not employ members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance, is in every sense justifiable and fair and in keeping with the policy and principles of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the efforts of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance to organize all hotels and catering establishments within their jurisdiction and call upon all of its affiliations when holding banquets, functions, or patronizing hotels or catering establishments, that they see that said establishments are fair to organized labor and employ members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance; and be it further

RESOLVED, That any organization affiliated with the A. F. of L. that fail to comply with the above shall be suspended from the A. F. of L.

Your Committee recommends that the last resolve be stricken out and that the word "holding" in the seventh line of the first resolve be also stricken out and the words "arranging for" be inserted instead and that the resolution as thus amended be adopted.

The Resolution was then read as follows:

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the efforts of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance to organize all hotels and catering establishments within their jurisdiction and call upon all of its affiliations when arranging for banquets, functions, or patronizing hotels or catering establishments, that they see that said establishments are fair to organized labor and employ members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Organizing Culinary Workers

Resolution No. 18—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh and Emanuel Kovel-

eski, Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, It has been repeatedly brought to the attention of thousands of men and women members and officers of all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, as to the unorganized conditions of the hotels and restaurants and beverage employes receiving the patronage of a large number of trades-unionists; and

WHEREAS, This condition has greatly retarded the progress of organization work in the industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby urgently requested to inform all of its affiliated International, National, Local and Federal Unions of the existence of an organization which has jurisdiction over the culinary workers employed in hotels, restaurants and cafes, i. e., the Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance, and that their co-operation is asked to bring about the organization of these establishments in their particular localities.

Your Committee concurs in this resolution.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Formation of Food Department

Resolution No. 19—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh and Emanuel Kovel-eski, Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, The food industry employes are largely unorganized, not because of any lack of intelligence or training on their part, but because all too often they are working at cross purposes, creating a grand tangle of conflicting interests with complete lack of co-ordination in the midst of which organization work suffers; and

WHEREAS, To unite the various workers in a food department is one of the most essential and effective ways of organizing the millions of unorganized in those industries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, by instructions of this Convention, call a conference of representatives of the various international and national unions concerned, for the purpose of investigating as to the practicability of the establishment of a Food Department.

A similar resolution was introduced at the 49th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Toronto, Canada, in October, 1929, and was referred to the Committee on Organization.

After careful consideration the Committee reported non-concurrence in the Resolution and the Convention adopted the Report of the Committee.

Your Committee cannot see either the advisability or necessity of organizing a Food

Department in the A. F. of L. and thereby causing organizations in this line of business expense that they cannot very well stand at this time.

We therefore non-concur in this resolution.

The report of the Committee was adopted.

Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh and Emanuel Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employes' and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance, asked that the delegation be recorded as voting against the adoption of the committee's report.

Chain Stores

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate Patrick E. Gorman of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, and the Delegation from the International Hod Carriers', Building and Common Laborers' Union.

WHEREAS, Both national and local chain stores have for the past several years been monopolizing in all territories from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico; and

WHEREAS, Investigation has disclosed that lack of organization within the ranks of clerks of some chain store companies has in all sections worked hardship on unionized workers, particularly in the meat cutting and fresh fruit and vegetable line, local unions having been disorganized and discriminated against; and

WHEREAS, The growth of these chain store companies both financially and in number of units operated have shown remarkable growth at the expense of the people of the United States; and

WHEREAS, It is our thought that the present economic depression is due in part to consolidations, amalgamations and the creation of some mammoth organizations of chain store companies, now operating in this country; and

WHEREAS, The laboring classes of the United States derive no benefit whatsoever from some mammoth combinations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its Annual Convention in Cincinnati, Ohio, direct the Executive Officers and its Organizers to foster and assist the organization of those managers, clerical help, warehouse help and truck operators, motor truck operators and all other types of labor in the employ of such national, regional and local chain store organizations; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor interest itself vitally in the problems with a view of improving the future of the employes of these chain organizations.

Your Committee concurs in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the Committee.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: While I am

somewhat in sympathy with that resolution, Mr. Chairman, I am satisfied that instead of helping to build up it will really in fact help to destroy the purpose for which it is intended. Chain stores come distinctly within the Interstate Commerce law of the United States. Their organization and their operation are subject to the Interstate Commerce law, and there seem to me to be much more effective and much better methods to be used to minimize or destroy the whole system of chain stores if Congress would take control over that situation under the Interstate Commerce law and regulate their stock issues, their capitalization, and make use of the taxing power. If they do that they could not only minimize but in my opinion completely destroy a system which inevitably leads to much worse conditions than we have now.

I cannot agree that the organization of the men working in the chain stores will do very much to minimize the evils. My fear is that the organization of the men in the chain stores, without being accompanied by the other things of which I speak, will simply make the chain stores more secure, because it is a method through which they will have the sympathy of labor behind them if they are wise enough to comply with the resolution.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

To Assist Laundry Workers In Organizing Work

Resolution No. 67—By Delegates Frank J. Bacigalupi and Harry Dubecker, Laundry Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers of the United States and Canada are at this time, only partly organized; and

WHEREAS, The finances of the Laundry Workers' International Union at this time will not warrant or permit in placing any additional organizer in the large number of cities and the various states to organize the unorganized laundry workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor send out a circular letter to all the State Federations of Labor and City Central Labor Councils, and to all of the Organizers of the American Federation of Labor, requesting them to use their influence by making an effort to organize the laundry workers in their districts and localities.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Federation of Women's Trade-Union Auxiliaries

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, John P. O'Connell and Emil Rieve, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, It has been called to our attention that a group of Trade Union Women's auxiliaries, acting under a suggestion from this body, met in St. Louis last February to form a Federation of Trade Union Auxiliaries; and

WHEREAS, There was represented at the first meeting held for that purpose one International Trade Union Auxiliary of Machinists, with Auxiliaries in many parts of the United States, two joint Councils of Women's Trade Union Auxiliaries, one of St. Louis representing 12 local craft Auxiliaries and another Joint Council of Women's Auxiliaries of Denver, Colo., representing 15 local trade Auxiliaries of Denver, Colo.; and

WHEREAS, These women there formed a federated group of these various crafts who will meet again in Denver, Colo., in June, 1933; and

WHEREAS, We believe it is time for our own advancement that our women relatives who have been clothed with new importance since the granting of suffrage, and are entering all forms of civil and fraternal as well as political activities, be further organized for our benefit; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we encourage and guide these women that they be accorded the recognition of fraternal delegate to this body; and be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention now assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, November, 1932, go on record as recommending to the Label Trades Department that they lend their assistance and co-operation in the further federating of these women and that they be operated under the direction and supervision of the Label Trades Department,

A resolution favoring representation of a Joint Council of Women's Auxiliaries of St. Louis in the American Federation of Labor Conventions was presented at the Fifty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Vancouver, B. C., in October, 1931, and was referred to the Committee on Organization and was reported on as follows:

"While we feel every encouragement should be given to the formation of Women's Auxiliary Unions and Joint Councils we are of the opinion that giving them representation in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor now through Fraternal Delegates would lead to conditions we might be called upon to eliminate later. However, if these Women's Auxiliaries and Joint Councils should form a National Women's Council we recommend that they be given representation in the American Federation of Labor through Fraternal Delegates."

After a lengthy discussion the report was adopted.

We now find that a National Federation of Women's Trade Union Auxiliaries was organized last February in St. Louis, and your Committee therefore recommends that this National Federation of Women's Trade Union Auxiliaries be given representation in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor through a Fraternal Delegate.

This covers the first Resolve.

In the second Resolve your Committee recommends that all after the word women in the seventh line be stricken out. It would then read as follows:

RESOLVED, That the Convention now assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, November, 1932, go on record as recommending to the Label Trades Department that they lend their assistance and co-operation in the further federating of these women.

With this change we recommend that the report of the Committee be adopted.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: Can you tell us to what extent this organization of Women's Auxiliaries has reached, how many groups, how many people are in these auxiliaries?

Vice-President Duffy: I just read it, Mr. Chairman, the first Resolve says that they called a meeting in St. Louis last February, and the second Resolve says there was represented at the first meeting held for that purpose one international trade-union auxiliary of machinists, with auxiliaries in many parts of the United States, two joint councils of women's trade-union auxiliaries, one of St. Louis representing twelve local craft auxiliaries and another joint council of women's auxiliaries of Denver, Colo., representing fifteen local trade auxiliaries, of Denver, Colo.

Delegate Trotter, Typographical Union: Would it not appear from that, Mr. President, that the organizations to which we are asked to give representation, represent Denver and St. Louis, and we are giving it the status of a national body much before it has arrived at that position?

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I think we ought to go rather slowly in this matter. Representation in this body has been restricted to trade-unions, international unions, central bodies, and now to lay it open to fraternal delegates from sections or auxiliaries is going to lay us open to a request for representation from other

bodies that are not made up of wage workers. I think the thing is wrong and that this matter ought to be referred to the Executive Council for further study, particularly in view of the small representation that has been developed. We have had some undesirable experiences with ladies' auxiliaries throughout this country. We find a disposition upon the part of the people who have no standing in the trade-union movement to use them to manipulate the movement itself. Many times these women are not sufficiently grounded in the principles and doctrines of the trade-union movement to be able to understand, and outside influences creep into their organizations and try to use them for purposes that are counter to the policies of the trade-union movement.

If I am in order, Mr. Chairman, I move that this matter be referred to the Executive Council, with the request that they give it further study and report to the next Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Beisel, Bakery Workers:

President Green: For what purpose do you rise, Delegate Beisel?

Delegate Beisel: To talk on the report.

President Green: On the motion to refer?

Delegate Beisel: No.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Brother Martel, who submitted a motion that the report of the Committee be referred to the Executive Council for further examination and study. That is now the subject before the Convention.

Delegate Beisel: I would especially like to answer Delegate Martel's talk on the motion. I don't think it is fair for Delegate Martel to speak against the report and then make a motion to refer.

Delegate Martel: Mr. Chairman, it certainly is not my desire to shut off any discussion, and I hope if there is any way that the courtesy can be extended by the Chair to Delegate Beisel it will be done.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Beisel.

Delegate Beisel: Mr. Chairman, as far as the report of the Committee is concerned, I am heartily in favor of the report being adopted. I have been listening to the report of the work of the auxiliaries of women and to their demand for a fraternal delegateship in this organization for a number of years. As far as the makeup of the women's auxiliaries is con-

cerned, as I have studied it for the past number of years, I believe the construction that Delegate Martel wants to put before the delegates is wrong. It is true we have had women's organizations in the past where some of their membership have not been affiliated with any trade-union, or where none of their relatives have been affiliated with trade-unions. But in this case, as far as I have followed this up in every auxiliary organization in St. Louis, there is not one member who does not have a husband or a brother or some other relative directly connected with the labor movement. Every one of those members who join the auxiliary organization must prove that they have relatives who have direct connection with the St. Louis trade-union movement.

Now the convention at St. Louis last February sent out the call to every city in the country, and they had a very nice gathering there of representatives of different cities. I believe that the organization as it stands today, with the principles it has outlined, if they are followed up, will be a benefit and a support to the trade-union movement, and we should give them encouragement. They may not be such a large factor in some of the organizations that are affiliated in there, but in the miscellaneous trades, and especially those that have labels, shop cards and buttons, I know they have been a great support to the labor movement, particularly in our city. They have come into places and done work which the men were not able to do, and they have gone to the front and made many a store and shop in St. Louis recognize the organization.

Therefore, I am heartily in accord with the recommendation of the Committee that they be granted a fraternal delegateship, so that when these women meet they can keep in accord with the principles of the Federation and be so guided.

Delegate Trotter, Typographical Union: Speaking in support of Delegate Martel's motion, I wish to say that I have not yet heard either from the platform or the floor sufficient information given to this Convention of the extent of this organization to which we are asked to give a fraternal delegateship and recognition. We have Union Label Leagues of which our women form the major part throughout the country in our own international unions, but how many of our international unions which have ladies' auxiliaries have granted to these auxiliaries a place in their own international conventions

and recognized them even by the presence of a fraternal delegate, although these ladies' auxiliaries may be meeting in the same place and composed mainly of the wives of the delegates to the Convention?

There is a women's trade-union movement, there are various movements of women, but we are now asked to give direct representation to an organization which centers practically in St. Louis. We are told they had delegates from Denver and there was scattering reference to other cities, but we have no guarantee that this organization is anything more than a St. Louis organization, with a representative from Denver and one or two nearby points.

We are asked, as an international organization, to recognize that as meaning something greater than the other organizations of women are doing throughout the country, to which the last speaker referred.

This Federation should go very carefully as to those they are going to give recognition in a national way. We have all over this country, in every town and city, ladies' auxiliaries doing magnificent work and they are not recognized at all, they are left entirely outside of the recognition of the American Federation of Labor.

Vice-President Duffy: I can assure the delegates here that the Committee on Organization is satisfied, whatever this Convention does. We had the report of the Committee on Organization before us on this same thing last year, but at that time they came in and asked that the Joint Councils of women's auxiliaries in St. Louis be represented by a fraternal delegate on the floor of the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

I opposed that from the platform. The Committee opposed it. At that time I said the Carpenters have had 239 women's auxiliaries throughout the country, and that if we gave recognition to a local joint council in St. Louis, what was there to prevent each one of these individual auxiliary unions of the Carpenters asking that each one be represented? If each one sent a delegate, we would have 239 women. I said at that time they could not mention anything about the Carpenters as far as their organization and the use of the label was concerned, and all that. The Carpenters have a delegation in this Convention and they had one in that Convention, and they will speak officially for the Carpenters.

However, the Convention went on record last

year that if these women's auxiliaries and joint councils should form a national women's auxiliary—we didn't know what they would call it, let them call it what they like—that they then be given representation in the American Federation of Labor through fraternal delegates.

Now the delegates representing the United Textile Workers' organization who introduced this resolution came before the Committee. I was not satisfied and the Committee was not satisfied to pass upon this until we had further information. The Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor is also involved, because they ask in the last Resolute that the Convention now assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, November, 1932, go on record as recommending to the Label Trades Department that they lend their assistance and co-operation in the further federating of these women and that they be operated under the direction and supervision of the Label Trades Department. As Chairman of the Committee on Organization, I was not willing to take that responsibility, and I sent for John Manning, the Secretary of the Union Label Trades Department before the Committee when the hearing was on. The Committee was very anxious to know and they asked questions straight from the shoulder: Did you or did you not form a national union? Did you form one? And they said yes. Where? In St. Louis. When? Last February.

Now they did not have so many representatives of national or international unions, but they did have quite a number. They had a representative of the Machinists, several joint councils and several auxiliary unions of different organizations. That was the beginning. It was only small. They said they would call it The Federation of Women's Trade-Union Auxiliaries. They further decided at that convention that another convention be held in June of 1933, when a call would go out inviting all ladies' auxiliaries of all trades that are now in existence to send delegates there.

Therefore, your Committee was perfectly satisfied that a national union had been formed. It may be small, but it is formed. We were guided by the action of the last Convention that if a national women's auxiliary is formed that they be represented by a fraternal delegate, just

the same as the Women's Trade-Union League, who come here and speak to you from this platform and tell us what they are doing. We are just reporting the facts to you as we find them and we say in our report that we now find that a national federation of women's trade-union auxiliaries was organized last February in St. Louis. Your Committee therefore recommends—and we could not do anything else, in face of the action of the Convention last year in Vancouver—that they be given representation in the Convention of the American Federation of Labor through a fraternal delegate. Through a fraternal delegate means one delegate from that organization. That covers the first resolve. The second resolve—the Committee did not think they had the authority or the power to recommend to this Convention that they be operated under the direction and supervision of the Union Label Trades Department. We felt that that was a matter that should go to the Executive Council of the Label Trades Department, and we wanted John Manning, Secretary of the Department before us. Secretary Manning felt the same as the Committee did, that he did not want to take the responsibility until that matter was first placed before the Executive Council of the Department, and the Committee recommended that in the second resolve: "Your Committee recommends that all after the word 'women' in the second line be stricken out," that is, that they be operated under the direction and supervision of the Label Trades Department. I don't know what more the Committee could do than make the report they have.

However, the Committee is perfectly satisfied. We are not fighting for you to recognize these people and give them a fraternal delegate, but they will come here next year and tell us that they held their second annual convention and had so many more national unions and so many more locals and districts. So if we refer it to the Executive Council this year we will have it back on the floor again next year.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen: Do we understand that these auxiliaries are going to take into their membership women that are affiliated with organizations not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor?

President Green: That would be contrary to the rules and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and it is my judgment that if women's auxiliaries would admit to membership those who have no organization, who have no relation with the American Federation of Labor,

the American Federation of Labor would withhold recognition while they pursue that policy.

Delegate Connors: Has this proposed organization adopted a constitution? Has a copy of their constitution been submitted to the American Federation of Labor?

Vice-President Duffy: We asked them that, Mr. Chairman, and they told us they had, but I don't think they would submit it to the American Federation of Labor until they found out whether they would be recognized or not, and then if it was not in accordance with the law of the American Federation of Labor, President Green would knock that part of the law out.

Delegate Connors: I don't understand how we could adopt that resolution unless they have adopted a constitution and we had seen that constitution and understand what their laws are and what they are to be. I don't think we should fill this Convention with women who are not wives or relatives of men who are members of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. I think we would make a big mistake in admitting them until we know just exactly what they are.

Delegate Wharton, Machinists: Mr. Chairman, I happen to represent an organization that also has a ladies' auxiliary, and I rise to ask for information as to the method of procedure which was adopted by the delegates who met in St. Louis and organized this federation of ladies' auxiliaries, as to whether or not they communicated with the international unions of the respective existing ladies' auxiliaries and whether or not the delegates who attended the St. Louis Convention were authorized to do so in accordance with the laws of the existing ladies' auxiliaries.

Vice-President Duffy: We did not ask that question. We wanted to know if they had organized an international union and they said they had and that they had a constitution and officers. Now it was not up to the Committee to examine the constitution.

Delegate Wharton: Then, Mr. Chairman, I desire to speak in favor of the amendment. These ladies' auxiliaries are established in many cases and partially maintained by the international organizations, and they all have laws and constitutions which govern their actions. In some cases they come to the parent organization for advice and guidance before they enter into any other alliances, and I think it would be a very serious mistake to establish the precedent that has been established in this case

of a few locals coming from organizations that have several thousand locals scattered throughout the country in the different international organizations, through these auxiliaries, and permitting that limited number to organize a national federation without the consent or approval of the international auxiliaries.

I therefore second the amendment, if it is necessary, and hope that the amendment will be adopted by this Convention, which, as I understand it, refers it to the Executive Council for further investigation and report.

Delegate Manning, Union Label Trades Department: At the request of Chairman Duffy of the Organization Committee, I attended their meeting on Wednesday. I intended doing that anyway, as next in importance to the duty of a delegate in this Convention from this auxiliary was the obligation placed upon the Department to operate and direct their movements after they had been recognized by the American Federation of Labor. I took no objection to that part of the second resolve which said that we co-operate in their advancement, for the reason that our Department, as I understand its policy at least for the last fifteen years, has been to accept voluntary co-operation from almost any direction, from anybody recognized by the American Federation of Labor. The lack of objection to that particular part of that resolve was based upon the thought that if the American Federation of Labor gave recognition to this organization by seating a fraternal delegate, we were morally bound, under the code of the American Federation of Labor, to give co-operation to organize them.

However, as Chairman Duffy stated, I objected to the last part of the resolve to assume direction of such a movement until our Executive Board had given its assent to such a proposition. As I said a moment ago, the reason I did not object to aiding this organization was based and predicated on the thought that if the American Federation of Labor gave them recognition we are in duty bound to carry that part of the obligation out to the fullest extent.

Delegate Beisel, Bakery Workers: May I have the floor?

President Green: There does not seem to be any other delegate who desires to speak. I therefore recognize Delegate Beisel.

Delegate Beisel: I have followed up this woman's auxiliary proposition ever since the women's auxiliary of St. Louis started organizing. I was not carried away with their appeal

in the beginning. I realized that things are sometimes done which may be against the interests of the movement. I have not favored the adoption of the resolutions which have been presented here at the last two conventions, but following the proposition up on the convention that they held in February, I was convinced that these women were sincere. I know that the lady interested in organizing those women's auxiliaries is a member of the Typographical Union for many, many years, active in the local union and a label representative for that organization for many years.

The fear that exists here that there may be something done that would be contrary to the labor movement and the policy of the American Federation of Labor, I think is groundless. From the experience I have had I know absolutely that the principles and the rules and laws of that organization do not conflict in any shape or form with the principles of the American Federation of Labor or any international organization. The women I know that are affiliated in St. Louis and those that have been represented from Denver are directly members of the different organizations.

I know that as far as the Machinists' organization is concerned their local representatives are highly in favor of that auxiliary. We have been told of the different women's organizations, we have the Women's Trade Union League, the Women's Union Label League, and I doubt if there is anybody who can show me that these organizations, all of them put together, have increased their membership or have grown to any power in the labor movement to an extent that they can give us the real assistance we desire.

Here is an organization made up from trade-unionists and their relatives. Their work has been especially effective as far as the organizations which have union label shop cards and buttons are concerned. Can there be any more staunch support that the women affiliated directly with our movement and that are under the supervision of this organization, or the Label Trades Department, or even the international organizations? If there be such a thing that other women with other influences get into this organization we can tell them as members of our labor movement where to get off. I don't believe in one, two or three organizations trying to do the same thing. I say we should get these women that are interested in union labels and principles into one organiza-

tion and then we will get some real benefit out of them. I don't see any fear in the fact that the women's auxiliaries would disrupt the labor movement. They are going to be a benefit to us and every one as far as that organization is concerned in union label agitation and in furthering union principles.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: As the mover of the motion to refer, it is no news to us that the guiding spirit in the organization of this women's auxiliary in St. Louis is a member of the Typographical Union. I did not care to mention it before the Convention, but I want to thank my friend back there for mentioning it. I am not so sure that he is correct in his assumption that the men are going to tell the women where to get off. I have heard a lot of men say those things publicly, but when they get home they take orders.

We have no assurance here at the present time that this organization is confined to trade-unionists, and the fact that the international organizations apparently have not been recognized in the calling of this conference is sufficient proof that it should be referred to the Executive Council for further study. I know how Brother Duffy feels about it. I am glad he made his clear and frank explanation this morning, and on his explanation alone I think it is sufficient to refer it to the Executive Council.

I am not afraid of them coming back next year or the following year, and when they come here with a proposition that is right and that is representative of the women of the trade-union movement, then it may be legitimate for us to consider giving them a fraternal delegate, but it is very evident at this time that we have not that picture before us.

The International Typographical Union has many ladies' auxiliaries, and those auxiliaries have an international organization that meets at the same time as the International Typographical Union does. The Secretary of that organization is Mrs. Lowther. Evidently she has not been taken into consideration on this matter and is in the same position as the Machinists.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I hold that the time is not yet ripe for us to extend recognition to this organization or any such organization, and if we are to give serious consideration to the seating of delegates from ladies auxiliaries we want to know first of all that they represent people that represent the trade-union movement as a whole, and not just a little section.

Delegate O'Connell, Textile Workers: I introduced this resolution, Mr. Chairman. We have in mind the cautiousness that has been expressed here this morning, and we were informed that those women affiliated with those auxiliaries were the wives and daughters of trade-unionists. Our idea in proposing this resolution was that we believe there is not enough interest on the part of women in the trade-union movement. The advertising clubs of America have said that 85 per cent of the purchasing power of the worker is in the hands of women. We know in trying to get our products over in the trade-union movement that we have got to reach the women and the relatives and friends, the wives and daughters. No matter how much correspondence we have with the male element of our trade-union movement, it does not go far enough. When men go home they seek leisure and recreation and rest from their day's work to go back tomorrow and pursue the next day's work. We know that the trade-union movement is not discussed enough at home, the question of the purchase of union made products. What we need to do is to intensify that angle of our movement, and the quicker we intensify it, the quicker we will be able to build up and maintain organizations that manufacture goods that the trade-union movement should buy.

We feel that it is essential that the women connected with the trade-union movement should be organized. I believe that referring the matter to look into further is well enough, but we ought to lend our sympathetic support to the organization of women's auxiliaries. While international unions may have women's auxiliaries in connection with them, there is an opportunity through this movement to organize women's auxiliaries through central labor unions where international unions have not been effective or cared not to organize women's auxiliaries. The whole thing is essential to the trade-union movement, and that is why we introduced that resolution. I hope it will be the pleasure of this Convention to concur in the recommendation of the Committee.

Delegate Wharton, Machinists: The other day one of the speakers referred to what he considered an optimist. If I remember correctly he said an optimist was a bartender who was continuing to pay his dues. One of the previous speakers intimated that we could control the women. I think he is also an optimist.

We have had some experience in ladies

auxiliaries and for many years we contributed \$10,000 a year to maintain the international officers and to pay death benefits to members of auxiliaries affiliated to our organization. Nobody understands more than we do, I believe, the value of militant auxiliaries, and we were among the first organizations to institute that form of organization. My wife belonged to a ladies' auxiliary pretty nearly forty years ago in our organization.

But there are some things you have to take into consideration. This body stands for orderly procedure. It has laws which we believe should be fulfilled in every respect, and I don't think this Convention can afford to go on record as contributing to the institution of an organization composed of a few locals of the many thousands of locals of ladies' auxiliaries affiliated to their respective international unions, most of whom, as I stated before, are in some manner controlled by the international union or the parent organization of the auxiliary.

Now we have had just recently a rather unpleasant experience in one of the larger industries because of agitation for old age pensions by what we have now termed a dual movement, and I desire to say that in this particular dual movement ladies' auxiliaries have played a part, and to institute a federation of the character referred to outside of the control or influence of the international unions, which is largely responsible for the institution and maintenance of auxiliaries, we are simply disregarding all of the methods that have been adopted as safeguards to our own movement, if we encourage the institution of an organization which, in my opinion, is dual in effect, because I don't believe the international ladies' auxiliaries have had the question referred to them, nor have the proper authorities within those international auxiliaries passed upon the question of establishing this federation of auxiliaries. I again say that the sane and sensible thing to do is to refer this matter to the Executive Council for investigation and report.

Delegate Poll, Pressmen: I believe that the proper place for them would be in the Label Trades Department, if we are going to give them any recognition.

Delegate Case, Lathers: I rise to support that part of the Committee's report where they recommend the seating of one fraternal delegate with one vote. I am fearful for the best interests of the American Federation of Labor if we seat each respective craft of ladies' auxiliaries from the different organizations, I

am fearful that we will have dissension in the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, because I believe if they were recognized as lathers, although we have no lathers' ladies' auxiliaries, they would expect to vote upon the jurisdictional propositions of each trade. I would not like to see that injected into the American Federation of Labor, because I think it would create too much dissension. For that reason I support the recommendation of the Committee.

Delegate Finnan, Letter Carriers: May I ask the President if this subject matter has ever received the consideration of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor?

President Green: The Convention of the American Federation of Labor handled this matter at Vancouver and directed that if and when a national federation of women's auxiliaries was formed, said organization would be given recognition through fraternal delegates seated in Conventions of the American Federation of Labor. During the last year, since the adjournment of the Convention, a call was issued for the formation of a national women's auxiliary. That Convention was held in St. Louis. Perhaps it might be of some information to the delegates if I stated that my correspondence shows that considerable friction has already developed because a number of women's auxiliaries related to national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor did not respond to the call. The representatives of the women's auxiliaries of the International Typographical Union protests against recognition of these women's auxiliaries. The Executive Council did not report on it, the Council has not acted, the Council has not gone into it, therefore the Council did not refer to the matter in its report. This matter comes before the Convention through the introduction of a resolution by all the delegates representing the United Textile Workers' International Union.

The motion offered by Delegate Martel to refer the matter to the Executive Council for further investigation and study was carried.

The motion to adopt the report, as amended, was carried.

Equality for Negro Workers

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters' Union No. 16808, New York, N. Y.

WHEREAS, Negro workers have been and are the victims of discrimination by some of the international unions through constitutional provision and practice, which has resulted in

large numbers of these workers being excluded from the labor movement, thereby enabling the employers to profit from this division, sowing the dangerous seeds of race suspicion, hatred and distrust to the definite injury of both groups, white and black; and

WHEREAS, This industrial depression has fully and clearly demonstrated that the big business interests, as well as industrial fluctuations, assail and liquidate the economic and social security of all workers, black and white, Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, foreign and native, and that industrial stabilization and increased social well-being can only be elected by genuine working-class solidarity, guided by a broad, scientific and constructive program that takes no cognizance of race, creed, color or nationality, but views and considers all workers upon a basis of equality as respects their right to join a union, their right to work according as their ability and skill would warrant, and enjoy all of the privileges and immunities guaranteed citizens under the Federal Constitution; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its Fifty-second Convention assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, does, in accordance with its historical policy, expressed through resolutions and pronouncements, condemn all forms of discrimination practiced by trade unions against Negro workers, and hereby calls upon all of its affiliated unions practicing aforementioned discrimination, to remove the color bar and accept Negro workers upon a basis of equality, in order that the trade-union movement may effectively fight for industrial democracy and present a united front against the brutal oppression of gigantic capitalist industrial and financial combinations that threaten the labor movement, our democratic institutions and the most useful aspects of our modern civilization.

The question of non-recognition, discrimination and exclusion of Negro workers has been before the Federation from its organization in 1881 up to the present time. Many declarations have been made from time to time in favor of these workers showing that the American Federation of Labor welcomes and admits all classes of labor—skilled and unskilled—to its ranks irrespective of creed, color, sex, race, or nationality—and although one Convention after another has spoken clearly and plainly on this matter it continually comes up.

In order that the position of the American Federation of Labor may be understood on this serious complaint, your Committee believes it is now time to give a synopsis of the actions taken by previous Conventions of the American Federation of Labor over a period of half a century.

The call for the first Convention in 1881, among other things, specified that:

The time has now arrived for a more perfect combination of labor. . . .

. . . Thus we could elevate trades unionism and obtain for the working classes that respect for their rights, and that reward for their services, to which they are justly entitled. . . .

. . . That all international and national unions, trades assemblies or councils, and local trades or labor unions are hereby invited to send delegates to an International Trades Union Congress, to be held in Pittsburgh, Pa., on Tuesday, November 15, 1881.

Preamble

The preamble adopted at the first Convention 50 years ago, and at every Convention since, specifies, among other things, that:

"The history of the wage workers of all countries is but the history of constant struggle and misery engendered by ignorance and disunion; whereas, the history of the non-producers of all ages proves that a minority, thoroughly organized, may work wonders for good or evil.

"It behooves the representatives of the workers of North America, in congress assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the people of our country as will unite them for all time to come, to secure recognition of the rights to which they are justly entitled. Conforming to the old adage, "In union there is strength," the formation of a federation embracing every trade and labor organization in North America, a union founded upon a basis as broad as the land we live in, is our hope.

1881 Convention

At that Convention, Mr. Gompers, Chairman of the Committee on Plan of Organization, reported as follows:

Article 1. This association shall be known as "The Federation of Organized Trades Unions of the United States of America and Canada."

This was amended to read—"The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada."

Mr. Grandison (colored delegate), of Pittsburgh, said: "We have in the city of Pittsburgh many men in our organization who have no particular trade, but should not be excluded from the federation. Our object is, as I understand it, to federate the whole laboring element of America. I speak more particularly with a knowledge of my own people, and declare to you that it would be dangerous to

skilled mechanics to exclude from this organization the common laborers, who might, in an emergency be employed in positions they could readily qualify themselves to fill."

The amendment was adopted.

At the Convention held in Columbus, Ohio, in 1886 when the name was changed, it was a difficult matter to select a suitable title. All were satisfied with the name "Federation;" however, they did not want to carry the names "United States and Canada" if it could be avoided.

It was suggested that the word "America" would cover both countries. This was agreed to, but how to include all labor—skilled and unskilled, irrespective of creed, color, or nationality—was a stumbling block.

The conclusion reached, however, was that the word "Labor" covers all classes of workers, and this seemed to be a happy solution of a vexed and annoying problem.

It was there and then decided that in the future the name should be "The American Federation of Labor."

Declarations of A. F. of L. Conventions

Detroit, Mich., 1890.

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Convention, and it looks with disfavor upon trade unions having provisions which excludes from membership persons on account of race or color, and that we most respectfully request that the National Machinists' Union remove from their constitution such conditions, so that all machinists shall be eligible to membership.

Philadelphia, Pa., 1892.

Your Committee, to whom was referred the request of Mr. Harry E. Easton, Grand Foreman and Organizer of the International Association of Machinists, beg leave to report that Mr. Easton appeared before us, and after some discussion expressed himself well satisfied with the position of the A. F. of L. as regards their association and the efforts of our Executive Council to unite the whole craft.

He also stated his belief that the coming annual Convention of said association would eliminate the color line so strenuously objected to by this Federation.

We therefore recommend that our President be instructed to visit the coming Conventions of both organizations in the interests of harmony and unity.

Chicago, Ill., 1893.

RESOLVED, That this Convention heartily endorses the present movement of the International Machinists' Association to drop the color line from their constitution and that the delegates of this Convention be urged to use their best endeavors to convince the locals of the association to agree to the proposition in question in order to bring about harmony in the machinists' organizations of this country.

1893.

RESOLVED, We deplore the introduction of any sectarian or captious side issues among the working people. Such movements are destined to divide labor's forces and produce bitter antagonism as they produce religious bigotry, provoke rancorous intolerance, and divert the working people from working out their own emancipation from the galling slavery of the present social and political conditions.

RESOLVED, That we here and now reaffirm as one of the cardinal principles of the labor movement that the working people must unite and organize, irrespective of creed, color, sex, nationality or politics.

Denver, 1894.

Educate the masses that are not with us to join their respective trade unions, in order that we may confront the enemy with an ever-increasing unity of action that will enable the wage workers everywhere, regardless of creed, color or country, to assert their rights and boldly maintain them.

1894.

A resolution identical to the one adopted in the 1893 Convention quoted in the foregoing was unanimously reaffirmed.

New York, 1895.

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and they are hereby directed immediately upon the adjournment of the Convention to issue an address to the wage workers of the country, urging them to join the unions of their respective trades or callings, wherever such unions exist, and to form unions where there are none such now, with the view of securing for them all possible advantages accruing from organization.

In 1897 it was reported that Booker T. Washington of Tuskegee University had made the statement that the trade unions were obstructing the economic progress of Negroes by refusing them admission to their organizations.

At the Convention held that year in Nashville, Tenn., the following resolution was adopted:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its declaration that it welcomes to its ranks all labor without regard to creed, color, sex, race or nationality, and that its best efforts have been, and will continue to be, to encourage the organization of those most needing its protection, whether they be in the North or the South, the East or the West, white or black, and that we denounce as untrue, and without foundation in fact, the reported statement of Mr. Booker T. Washington of the Tuskegee University, to the effect that the trade unions were placing obstacles in the way of the material advancement of the Negro, and that we appeal to the records of the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor and especially to the records of the Chicago Convention, as the most complete answer to any and all such assertions.

At the Convention held in Louisville, Ky., in 1900, the question of recognition of the Negro was again up and received careful consideration, after which it was decided that the trade-union movement is open to all classes of workers, regardless of race, sex, nationality, creed or color.

It was further decided that the A. F. of L. grant charters to separate Local Unions and Central Bodies of colored workers.

In the belief that men of their race could organize the Negro workers, the American Federation of Labor, prior to the World War, had three organizers in the field but they made very little headway, practically none. The Negro workers did not show a willingness nor a desire to belong to the trade-union movement.

At the Buffalo (N. Y.) Convention held in 1917, two resolutions were introduced asking that colored organizers be appointed to organize the Negro workers, but previous experience along this line did not justify such action.

At the St. Paul (Minn.) Convention held in 1918, the Executive Council made the following report on Organization of Colored Workers:

Several resolutions were brought before the Buffalo Convention having for their object the better organization of the colored workers. One of the earliest declarations of the American Federation of Labor was, "That it is the duty of the working people of the United States to organize and co-operate for the protection and the promotion of the rights and interests of all the workers without regard to nationality, sex, politics, color or religion."

The constitution provides for the organization of separate unions of colored workers when that course is deemed desirable and most advantageous and for the formation of central labor unions representing local unions of these workers. At every Convention of the A. F. of L. for the past 30 years there have been colored delegates and they have received the same treatment of cordiality, courtesy and fraternity as any white man could expect.

At our meeting in February, the first meeting at headquarters after the Buffalo Convention, we notified the following of our meeting and invited them to confer with us regarding plans for the organization of colored wage-earners:

R. R. Molten, Principal, Tuskegee Institute.
John R. Shillady, Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
Fred R. Moore, Editor, New York Age.
Archibald Grimke, Washington Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Emmet J. Scott, Special Assistant to the Secretary of War.

Eugene Kinckle Jones, Executive Secretary, National League.

Thos. Jesse Jones, Educational Director, Phelps-Stokes Fund.

These representatives of the colored workers asked that when organizing their race there should be included skilled as well as unskilled workmen, those from the North as well as from the South, employes of the government together with civilian employes, women as well as men.

We referred the subject to President Gompers with authority to appoint a committee representing the A. F. of L. to meet with a like committee representing the colored workers for further consideration of plans and policies.

The Committee thus appointed met in joint conference at headquarters April 22nd and the subject was comprehensively discussed.

The whole plan, work and desires of the A. F. of L. in regard to the organization of colored workers were laid before the representatives of the colored people at the conference. They were greatly impressed, so that they finally declared that they would issue a statement addressed jointly to the A. F. of L. and to the colored workers, calling upon the latter to organize into bona fide unions of labor and to become part of the existing trade unions, or to organize into purely colored workers' unions in full affiliation in spirit and fact with the A. F. of L.

The declaration referred to was never issued, or if it was, the A. F. of L. never received a copy.

At the same time the following communication was received from a committee representing various organizations of colored people:

New York, June 6, 1918.

Hon. Samuel Gompers, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Gompers—We write to present suggestions for further co-operation between our Committee and the American Federation of Labor as growing out of our recent conference in Washington.

First, we wish to place before you our understanding of your statement to us at the conclusion of the meeting. We quote you as follows; and we will be glad for you to make any changes in the text as will make the statement more nearly conform to the ideas which you have in mind relative to the connections that should be established between white and Negro workingmen:

"We, the American Federation of Labor, welcome Negro workmen to the ranks of organized labor. We should like to see more of them join us. The interests of workingmen, white and black, are common. Together we must fight unfair wages, unfair hours and bad conditions of labor. At times it is difficult for the national organization to control the actions of local unions in difficulties arising within the trades in any particular community, inasmuch as the National body is made possible by the delegates appointed by the locals; but we can and will use our influence to break down prejudice on account of race, color or previous conditions of servitude, and hope that you will use your influence to show Negro workmen the advantages of collective bargaining and the value of affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. But few people who are not thoroughly acquainted with the rapid growth of the Federation of Labor know of the large numbers of colored people who are already members of our organization. The unpleasant incidents in connection with efforts of colored men to get recognition in trades controlled by the American Federation of Labor have been aired and the good effects of wholesome and healthy relationship have not been given publicity; and for that reason a general attitude of suspicion has been developed towards union labor on the part of colored working people;

but I hope that out of this conference will spring a more cordial feeling of confidence in each other on the part of men who must work for a living."

We are willing to co-operate with the American Federation of Labor in bringing about the results of the recent conference, and would make the following suggestions and recommendations which, with your approval, we shall proceed to carry out to the best of our ability.

First, we suggest that you prepare a statement, along the lines of the quotation from you given above, and send it to us for approval and then to be given to the Negro press throughout the country as expressing your position on matters connected with the relationship between Negro and white workmen.

This statement, in our judgment, should contain a clear exposition of the reasons why certain internationals may exclude colored men as they do by constitutional provision and still be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor whose declared principles are opposed to such discrimination. This we think necessary because the stated facts above alluded to will be familiar to the leaders among the colored people, particularly to colored editors and ministers whose co-operation it is essential to secure if the best results are to be obtained.

We would suggest further that you consider the expediency of recommending to such internationals as still exclude colored men that their constitution be revised in this respect.

Second, that a qualified colored man to handle men and organize them be selected for employment as an organizer of the American Federation of Labor, his salary and expenses, of course, to be paid by the American Federation of Labor.

Third, that for the present we meet at least once a quarter to check up on the results of our co-operative activities and to plan for further extension of the work, if satisfactorily conducted.

Fourth, that you carry out your agreement to have your Executive Council voice an advanced position in its attitude towards the organization of Negro workmen and have these sentiments endorsed by your St. Paul Convention in June, and this action be given the widest possible publicity throughout the country.

We should be glad to hear from you at your earliest convenience as to the action taken by your Council on these recommendations with

such other suggestions or recommendations as may occur to you.

Sincerely yours,
EUGENE KINCALE JONES
FRED R. MOORE,

For the following Committee:

Dr. R. R. Moton, Principal Tuskegee Institute.

Jno. R. Shillady, Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Fred R. Moore, Editor, New York Age.

Archibald Grimke, Washington Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Emmet J. Scott, Special Assistant to Secretary of War.

Eugene Kincale Jones, Executive Secretary, National Urban League.

Thomas Jesse Jones, Educational Director, Phelps-Stokes Fund.

Dr. James H. Dillard, President of Jeones Fund.

Dr. Geo. C. Hall, Vice-President, Executive Board, Chicago Urban League.

The report of the Executive Council as well as this communication was referred to the Committee on Organization and was reported on as follows:

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Organization of Colored Workers" the Committee reported as follows:

This part of the Executive Council's report deals with conferences of leading men of the colored race with President Gompers and the Executive Council relative to the organizing of the colored workers, both skilled and unskilled, under the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor, and their promise to assist and co-operate in that work.

It is with pleasure we learn that leaders of the colored race realize the necessity of organizing the workers of that race into unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and your Committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor and its Executive Council give special attention to organizing the colored wage workers in the future. We wish it understood, however, that in doing so no fault is or can be found with the work done in the past, but we believe that with the co-operation of the leaders of that race much better results can be accomplished.

The report of the Committee was adopted unanimously.

The Committee recommends that the communication, signed by a number of representatives of associations of colored people, read in the Convention and printed in the third day's proceedings (Page 108) be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for such action as they deem necessary.

The report of the Committee was concurred in.

At the 39th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Atlantic City, N. J., in June 1919, five resolutions were introduced relative to and dealing with the organization of colored workers and their admission to Local Unions of national and international unions and to the American Federation of Labor.

These resolutions were referred to the Committee on Organization. That Committee reported as follows:

"A lengthy hearing was had on these resolutions, at which everybody interested appeared and discussed the subject matter contained therein from all viewpoints.

"Many international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor admit colored workers to membership and in so doing protect their rights and interests. Other organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor refuse admittance to colored workers, which brings about the present complaints. In such cases your Committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor organize these colored workers under charters from the American Federation of Labor."

After a lengthy debate and a poll taken of the International Unions having colored workers as members, the report and recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

At the 40th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Montreal, Can., in June, 1920, three resolutions were introduced dealing with the organizing and admission of colored workers to Local Unions of national and international labor organizations. These resolutions were again referred to the Committee on Organization, and were reported on as follows:

"Your Committee gave a lengthy hearing to all parties interested on the subject matter contained in these resolutions. In the course of the hearing it developed that some few international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor do not as yet admit colored workers to membership. It also developed that the ma-

jority, and by far the greater majority, of the international unions do admit colored workers to membership, and that these colored workers are entitled to the same rights, benefits and privileges that the other members enjoy. On account of these few international unions refusing colored workers admission, exception is taken. Your Committee, however, calls your attention to the action of the Atlantic City Convention of the American Federation of Labor last year on this subject, that:

"Where international unions refuse to admit colored workers to membership, the American Federation of Labor be authorized to organize them under charters from the American Federation of Labor.

"We, therefore, reaffirm our former action on this matter, at the same time calling attention to the fact that the American Federation of Labor does not organize workers of any trade or calling along racial lines."

In the course of the debate that followed it was decided that national and international unions remove from their laws the words "only white" where such exist.

Delegate Sweeney, of the Tailors, asked: If it was not contrary to the principles of the American Federation of Labor to allow an affiliated union to draw the colored line.

Vice-President Duncan replied that: The American Federation of Labor, ever since its formation, has stood for organization without reference to color. It so stands today.

It is needless to say that as far as the American Federation of Labor is concerned all its influence will be used to have such a change made because the American Federation of Labor cannot be expected to favor an affiliated body that discriminates against a man on account of his color.

Delegate Duffy, Chairman of the Committee, said: When the American Federation of Labor grants charters to colored workers, no matter of what trade or calling, the American Federation of Labor becomes the international union of those members. It is the duty of the American Federation to take up the grievances of those workers. Out of 110 national and international organizations affiliated with the American Federation, more than 100 admit colored workers to membership.

The report of the Committee was adopted.

At the 50th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Boston, Mass.,

in October, 1930, Delegate Randolph (colored) in behalf of the Pullman Porters, said:

We have been waging a campaign of education. President Green has addressed several meetings of our union in New York and Chicago. He gave a very forceful, convincing and logical dissertation on our work in the interests of getting a successful consummation of our case. Those addresses of President Green were disseminated throughout the Negro press and also in the daily papers. We have been able to increase our forces and we are constantly making headway.

Our movement has won for the members an increase of ten dollars in the last five years. That is not much but it is something, and as a result of the indirect pressure we were able to exact that from the Pullman Company.

We are calling upon this Convention to use its influence in helping to carry forward this organization. We hope the central councils in the various cities will help us in our organization work. Some of them have already helped us—Vice-President James Wilson, of Cincinnati, has done and is about to do some work for our organization. We have also been helped in Louisville and a number of other places, and I am confident that with the militant spirit and determination on the part of the Pullman porters we are certain to win.

The laws of the American Federation of Labor now in force and effect specify in Article XI, Section 6, that:

"Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the trade-union movement to do so."

After all that has been said and done in the last half century we have the matter before us again. Your Committee reiterates, re-endorses and reaffirms all the actions taken and decisions rendered by the American Federation of Labor on this subject.

We repeat that: All the workers of the United States and Canada—skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled are eligible to admission to the American Federation of Labor irrespective of creed, color, nationality, sex or politics. We welcome them into our midst. We will be glad to have them with us as that is the only way in which their and our rights and interests can be advanced and protected.

Vice-President Duffy: I move the adoption of the report of the Committee.

The motion was seconded by several delegates.

President Green: Is the report of the Committee acceptable?

Delegate Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters: I am familiar with the position of the American Federation of Labor on the question of the Negro, and I am appreciative of the various resolutions and pronouncements, and I think the report is very commendable. I want to say that there is not a complete and constructive machinery, however, for handling the organization of the Negro workers by the American Federation of Labor as yet. The federal union has not been proven to be a very effective instrument. Many of the members of various federal unions indicate that they have not been able to secure results that they could secure in the international if they were permitted to become members of the international union. The Pullman Porters have been able to work rather effectively, but that has not been true of the freight handlers and some of the other federal unions. Therefore, I think that the American Federation of Labor ought to investigate the federal unions and devise some more effective methods by which persons who are not permitted to join the international union might get more effective representation.

In the final analysis I don't think any form of separation in the trade-union movement is advisable. I believe that any form of separation of workers tends to widen the gap between the workers. For that reason I believe that all workers ought to be admitted into the international union controlling the given industry, because we realize that the federal union has not been effective. It is for that reason I suggested that resolution, and consequently I should be glad if this Convention or the Executive Council should go into an investigation, an examination of the federal unions and their relation to the Negro workers and other workers, and that it determine to what extent federal unions have been effective.

The Pullman Sleeping Car Porters have attempted to spread the message among Negro workers that it is valuable and necessary for them to become part of the American Federation of Labor. It has been helpful and has rendered support to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Workers. I think that has created a splendid sentiment among the Negro workers. I think in the future, by continuing this form

of education, it might be possible to eliminate any form of suspicion or distrust that may linger in the minds of the Negroes against the trade-union movement. The report is quite exhaustive, and I think will be educationally helpful. However, I do think we need to go into the structure of the federal union and attempt to determine as to its usefulness.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice-President Duffy, Chairman of the Committee: That completes the report of the Committee on Organization, and it is signed by the members of the Committee.

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK DUFFY, Chairman;
D. F. CLEARY, Secretary;
E. J. MANION,
JOHN P. BURKE,
JAMES STARR,
WM. E. MALONEY,
PATRICK H. REAGAN,
GEORGE M. HARRISON,
E. J. VOLZ,
OSCAR F. NELSON,
P. F. PETERSEN,
ANDREW J. KENNEDY,
W. A. O'KEEFE,
A. E. D'ANDREA,
WM. TURNBLAZER,
HARRY DUBECKER.

Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Vice-President Duffy moved the adoption of the report of the Committee as amended, as a whole.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

President Green: I am sure that the officers and delegates in attendance at the Convention are very deeply appreciative of the report submitted.

Delegate Flore, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: In the Cincinnati Enquirer this morning there appears a newspaper article, a copyrighted article, by the New York News Staff correspondent, in which they referred to our organized efforts in the city of Chicago, and they particularly stress the endeavors of our organization to, as they say, inject the gangster method of organization into our unions in that city.

I just want to read from the press dispatch a few paragraphs, in order that you might spread them on the records, and in order that I might have an opportunity to state our case before this Convention. I do this because this copyrighted article has been spread broadcast throughout the entire United States, and possibly Canada. For that reason I desire to

get our repudiation of it before this Convention, so that it will receive possibly similar publicity and the people will understand that our international union is not adopting those methods of organization. I quote the following from the copyrighted article:

"Their drive to control beer began a month ago when three emissaries started organizing speakeasy owners and bartenders. There are 5,000 saloons or places with regular bars in Chicago. Each of these was visited, the procedure being as follows:

"A big sedan with three men would drive up and park in front of the entrance. One man would stay at the wheel. Two would enter. 'The front' man, a plausible fellow, with an easy conversational style, would do the talking. His companion, a swart, gorilla type, with black piercing eyes, merely kept his hands in his pockets and looked at the victim. He was the 'convincer.' It's the way the racket is always worked in Chicago.

"Twenty thousand members were enrolled. The charge was \$12.50 initiation fee and \$2 a month thereafter. The organization is known as the Beverage Dispensers' Union, and today its label is pasted on the mirror of every back bar in the city.

"In addition, the syndicate expects to corral 40,000 waiters in its drives on restaurants and cafes, which with modification, will sell beer.

"Each will pay a \$6.50 initiation fee and then \$1.50 a month.

"The initiation fees alone will total a little more than \$510,000, and the monthly take-off \$100,000. The money will be used as 'a defense fund' in the battle to control the legalized beer traffic."

Now, Mr. Chairman and Delegates, were it not for the fact that our name is connected with this article we would not give it any consideration, because the statement made with regard to the amount of money and the number organized is so ridiculous that it would hardly attract the attention of any organized worker who understands organizing work.

An article somewhat similar to that, although it was not copyrighted, appeared in the papers several months ago, and in order that our position in Chicago might be made clear, our general Executive Board assigned to that city a special international representative to investigate our local unions and to clear out of those organized bodies any members who were not actually engaged in the industry; in other words, so-called racketeers. I think our organizations in Chicago are as clear of racketeers as any of our organizations in any other city.

We are endeavoring to organize Chicago and we have been in a measure successful, but we are not using any strong-arm methods in doing it, we are using ordinary convincing methods.

We have two or three hundred bartenders organized, and eight or nine hundred waiters organized, not 20,000 bartenders and 40,000 waiters as this article specifies. We do not care to have it broadcast throughout the country that among the men and women who are members, or should be members of our trade-union movement, there are any indications of gangster methods in those groups.

We are successful in organizing some of the bartenders, yes, recently we took over an old organization that was established years ago, but it only contained sixty or seventy members actually working at the business. As a matter of fact, we have a number of bartenders, and they are not all optimists either, they are working and earning their living selling soft drinks and other beverages. But we are preparing ourselves to benefit by whatever we may be able to receive from the change in the sentiment of our people as expressed in the recent election, and we are hopeful that if modification takes place within the next few months our organization, along with other organizations that are interested in modification and repeal, will benefit through that change in law. But we do not want to be charged continually, when we endeavor to organize waiters and cooks, or bartenders and beverage dispensers, that we are organizing gangsters or that we are organizing under gangster methods.

Our organization has a standing of forty years; we have a large membership all over this country, and we do not want the stigma to be attached to our organization that we are organized in one town by gangster methods. We are organizing everywhere according to the principles of the American Federation of Labor. I sincerely hope that this statement will receive as much publicity as this copyrighted article that was sent out from Chicago yesterday.

I want to assure the American Federation of Labor that if at any time we are unable to organize the workers in our industry without the application of strong-arm methods, we will be ready to surrender our charter in the American Federation of Labor. We are going to organize, yes, but we are going to organize along the lines laid down by the American Federation of Labor, whether it be in Chicago, New York, San Francisco, or any other city, and I ask the delegates and those they represent to give us every possible aid they can.

The organized labor movement of Chicago has been very helpful to us. It has been helpful

in enabling us to keep our organization clear of this class of members mentioned in the article. We have been successful in keeping out the type of people that have been trying to get control of other organizations in Chicago. You can make up your mind that we will not tolerate that type of membership. I thank you.

President Green: The Chair will inquire if there are any other committees ready to report at this time. If not, we have a few minutes before adjournment, and I think we could well occupy it by listening to a short address from the distinguished representative of the Chamber of Labor of Austria, who is an expert on the question of unemployment insurance. Dr. Rager, who is visiting us, is the Secretary of the Chamber of Labor of Austria. I understand he can say what he has to say in a few minutes and we will be glad to take advantage of this opportunity to hear from him.

FRITS RAGER, L. L. D.,
(Secretary to the Chamber of Labor,
Vienna, Austria.)

It is a great privilege for me to speak to this Convention of the American Federation of Labor, not as an official delegate, but on the kind invitation of your President. I am an officer of the Austrian trade-union movement. Austria, now a small country of not more than 6,500,000 inhabitants, always was and still is one of the strongholds of the European trade-union movement. About 60 per cent in prosperous times, even 70 to 80 per cent, are members of the unions, mainly of the free trade unions, forming a section of the Trade Union International.

It is due to this considerable strength of organized labor in our country that it was able to cause the enactment of many legal measures in favor of the working population, for instance, a legal eight-hour day, creation of the Chamber of Labor, of which I happen to be Secretary. They are a legal representation of the workers under the control of government, but practically a legislative and research institute of the unions. My special field in this institute is to deal with unemployment insurance. In 1920 the Austrian Parliament passed a law providing public compulsory insurance against the risk of unemployment, covering practically all trades. This law had to be modified in these twelve years no less than twenty-eight times. Most of the amendments were urged by the unions. So we have to date a permanent development by financial, administrative and union needs.

For being entitled to benefit the applicant must, for his first claim, have worked 52 weeks, for all further claims, 20 weeks in insurable trades within the last one, exceptionally two years. He must, of course, be able to work, willing to work, and he must be in need. I am sorry to say that by the last amendment a means test was introduced, even for the first period of benefit, strongly opposed by the unions, but enforced by the govern-

ment and the conservative majority of the Parliament, acting under the pressure of employers and farmers with reference to the stress.

The contribution to the fund amounts to 5.5-6 per cent of the payroll, employers as well as employees sharing this contribution fifty-fifty. It is felt in our country that we could not get along without the worker's contribution. It is further argued that only so the fund is enabled to grant adequate benefits, and that without paying contributions the employees would not have been able to influence the administration and the practical handling of the law in such a manner as they actually did.

The system is run by joint bodies of employers and the employees under the control, and in the last years of increasing public appropriations, also the influence of the State Department of Labor and the Treasury. But the daily practice is supervised by the unions, their representatives serving permanently in all branches, district and central boards, as well as in the courts for unemployment insurance.

The amount of benefits would not appear very impressive compared with American standards—about three dollars maximum—but it is in a fair proportion to the average earning. Money wages in Austria are relatively low, but the actual income is substantially increased by low rents, health insurance and other legal grantings.

The duration of benefits is extended to twelve, eventually twenty weeks. The costs of this ordinary insurance are supposed to be covered by the contributions, but it is true that in the last years the state was obliged to grant supplementary appropriations. You must realize that one million occupied has to support 300,000 people out of work. The second stage, called emergency benefit, is allowed after twenty weeks under more severe conditions to a smaller number of applicants. Here public means were provided since 1922 and they were necessarily increased in the last times of crisis. Broadly speaking, the employer and the workers each pay about 40 per cent, the State about 20 per cent.

I may outline the practical effects of this scheme on the trade-union policy in our country by stating this: Only the introduction and, with some drawbacks, maintenance of the unemployment laws enabled the unions to keep the wages generally on the level of the collective agreements, although in the last years of depression cuts could not be prevented. Only so a cutthroat competition on the labor market could be avoided, and the purchasing power of the masses preserved, the attractive power of the unions maintained, their officials acting daily in favor of the unemployed members of their branches, and peace and order could prevail.

Much emphasis is laid on the close co-operation of the unemployment system with the labor exchange. Every office embraces two sections, benefit and placement. No benefit is allowed to any employee who refuses, without good reasons, suitable employment. I understand that in this country a fear exists that some discrimination against union mem-

bers in such public exchanges could occur. As far as our experience shows such discrimination can easily be avoided by providing joint administration of the exchanges, adequate influence of trade unions, and by carefully drafting the provisions of the law concerning the definition of what may be considered as suitable employment. I may further add that the labor exchanges in my country are not limited to mere placement, but also empowered to improve the chances of workers to get new jobs by a widespread system of training and retraining, mainly on behalf of the juveniles in special course schools and public training shops.

But we can't limit our endeavors to relieve the jobless, we must find jobs for them. And so I may assure this Convention that the Austrian unions are strong believers in the forty-hour week, although we all may agree that shortening of hours does not mean new jobs, but only a better distribution of the jobs actually available. I understand that the I. L. O. will hold in January a special conference dedicated entirely to an international solution of this problem. So European workers are—as far as the main issues of this Convention are concerned—on the same battlefield, which may be considered as a pledge of success.

I wish that your Convention may be as successful as it ever has been or ever could be.

President Green: We thank Dr. Rager for his visit to us and for his address. As he has explained, he is engaged in a lecture tour, delivering addresses to universities and educational associations. He is a visitor here and we have accorded him the privilege of delivering this address, for which we thank him.

Secretary Morrison read the following announcement:

November 22, 1932.

American Federation of Labor,
Netherland Plaza Hotel, Cincinnati, Ohio.

This is to inform you that we have made arrangements for Mass at 10:30 a. m. on Sunday, November 27th, in Saint Louis Church, Eighth and Walnut Streets, for the delegates of the American Federation of Labor Convention, which is to be held in Cincinnati during the week of November 21, 1932.

By order of Bishop Albers.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH E. COLLINS,

Assistant Chancellor.

At 12:30 o'clock the Convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m.

Fourth Day—Friday Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees: McCallum, Shanessy, Birthright, Bowen, Horan, Nelson, Wills, McFetridge, Harrison, Morgan, McTigue, Tighe, Royer, Lewis (J. L.), Murray, Fagan, Boylan, Britton, Berry, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Soderberg, Starr, Jewell, Scharrenberg, Gross, Soderstrom, Taylor (T. N.), Raftery, Reed, Turnblazer, Reilly, Cherry, Taylor (J. A.), Davis (F.), Fox (H. W.), Kutz, Harper, Williams, Parks, Koenig, Starkweather, Brooks, Mitchell (H.), Becker, Fritz, Souza, Augustino, Gates, Myers, Rivin, Pierson, Hammer, Newbill, Quinn, Draper, Alexander, Uppleger, Switalski, Greenway, Curran, Carlson, Woodmansee, Kromelbein, Wells, McGeorgy, Bohm, Marquardt, McGillgott, Richardson, Scannell, Meyer, Lufano, Thoman, Zander.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

San Francisco, California,
November 22, 1932.

Hon. William Green,
President American Federation of Labor,
Cincinnati.

The California grape growers ask that light wines be included in any recommendation American Federation of Labor makes to Congress with respect to changing Volstead Act.

Twenty-seven thousand grape growers engaged in California's second largest agricultural pursuit with three hundred fifty million dollar investment in vineyards and plants positively face ruin unless light wine included with beer on modification issue. Legalized sale of light wine means work for thousands of skilled craftsmen in reconditioning plants and equipment as well as work on new construction. Failure to include wine would cause irreparable damage to industry and agriculture. American Federation of Labor support means light wines will be included in any prohibition modification change. Forty-two allied industries affected.

FLORENCE P. KAHN,

Member of Congress.

Delegate Meehan, Painters, requested the unanimous consent of the Convention to introduce a resolution. No objection was offered, and the following resolution, numbered 93, was introduced:

Federal Safety Legislation for the Protection of Building Trades Workers

Resolution No. 93.—By Delegates James T. Moriarty, Sheet Metal Workers' International Association, James P. Meehan, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, and Robert J. Watt of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is for the interest of building trades workers that rules for the prevention of accidents be in effect on all construction work and that every effort be made to create the highest standards possible for the safety of men engaged in the building industry; and

WHEREAS, That statutes of several states in the Union have provisions governing safety and prevention of accidents in building construction, which laws and rules apply to all work performed within the border of the state excepting Federal Buildings, and

WHEREAS, Experience has shown the need of a Federal Law that will create and place into effect safety rules for the prevention of accidents on buildings; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Adjustment Board of the Boston Building Trades Council go on record in favor of petitioning through resolution to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, now in session at Cincinnati, urging the Executive Council to submit legislation to the next Congress for a law that will provide that contractors engaged in the construction of buildings for the Federal Government must conform to all state laws, of the state in which they are operating, as such laws relate to safety and prevention of accidents in the building industry; and be it

RESOLVED, That the Secretary be authorized to communicate with Secretary James P. Meehan of the Massachusetts State Building Trades Council, James T. Moriarty and Robert Watt, who are delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention, requesting them to present a resolution to the American Federation of Labor, urging presentation of a petition to the next Congress for the enactment of a law similar to that proposed in this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

President Green asked if any committees were prepared to report, and Delegate Weaver, on behalf of the Committee on Union Label, stated that that Committee's report was ready.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON UNION LABEL

Delegate Weaver, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Mr. President and Delegates to the 52nd Annual Convention of The American Federation of Labor, Cincinnati, Ohio:

Your Committee has been confronted with a minimum amount of business for transaction compared with all previous years.

We are not so pessimistic as to construe that situation as indication that you believe this Committee has outlived its usefulness. Rather do we accept the negation as evidence that you feel that everything possible to promote this branch of the labor cause is being done.

The year now closing has been one of lessened activity. The murky atmosphere of

depression has not been allowed to obscure the vision or clog the wheels.

As the record stands today the Union Label League membership is 496,283.

Invitations for speakers representing the Union Label Department have been received from all parts of the country and these requests have been granted whenever possible.

During the season's label campaign 219,921 leaflets were sent to different committees on request.

These are items which indicate that the heaven of the union label doctrine is constantly working in the public system, and should prove an incentive to encouragement for renewed diligence.

If the union label crusade can make itself felt even to this extent in times of world-wide depression it simply demonstrates how wide is the field for this kind of missionary work.

The union label is its own defender. It is invested with a peculiar kind of eloquence. It radiates a fixed economic principle. It says—Wear me on the inner band of your hat. See that I am fastened to the sole of your shoe. Use me as an adornment for the lapel of your coat. Attach me to every brand of bread that you eat. Demand my presence with every cigar that you smoke. Make me a conscious, concrete partner in all the commercial transactions of your daily life. By so doing there will come a rich reward in the satisfaction that you have done something tangible in the way of making better and more wholesome the lot of those belonging to the ranks of those who daily toil.

In addition to all of this co-operation by a consistent demand for and use of union made goods and service, we will be doing constructive work in relieving unemployment among trade unionists. Our slogan at all times should be "buy jobs for trade unionists by purchasing only union labeled goods and union service."

JOHN J. MANNING, Chairman;
C. A. WEAVER,
GUST SODERBERG,
ROY C. CLINE,
HARRY McLAUGHLIN,
JOSEPH OBERGFELL,
WM. COLLINS,
PETER BEISEL,
HARRY KAUFMAN,
JAMES F. BURKE,
WM. CAMPBELL,
ANTHONY MERLINO,
ROBERT BRUCK,
EMIL RIEVE,
MICHAEL J. KELLY,
ALEXANDER ROSE, Committee.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the Committee's report.

Delegate Beisel, Bakery Workers: Mr. Chairman and Delegates, your Union Label Committee has brought in its report here again today urging the membership of our trade unions to pay more attention to patronizing union label products. In my talk I may make some remarks that some delegates may take exception to, but what I say I say in all sincerity, and I am not criticizing anybody or making any condemnation in regard to the matter of recognition of union labels. We realize that at the present time especially it is hard to confront the average trade unionists or the believer in true trade unionism with this message of the importance of patronizing union labels, because there are thousands of trade unionists out of work today that have been loyal supporters of the union label in the past. But their living has been taken away from them and we cannot expect to go to them under present conditions and insist upon them purchasing nothing but union label products, because we realize that many of our friends and brothers today are only too glad if they can clothe and feed their youngsters for the cheapest possible price.

But there are still men and women employed in the trade-union factories to whom we can still make an appeal, and for whom we can say that they have not paid much attention to union label products in the past. Those who are able to buy decent clothes and decent shoes should at least patronize goods with the union label.

Now I have said in the past it should not be necessary to take up time in union meetings that should be consumed otherwise, appealing to trade unionists for their patronage of union labor. We should pay more attention to it, and there should be educational ways and means devised to educate the rank and file, and then it would not be necessary for us to take the time of Conventions to lay these propositions before you.

We talk about purchasing power. We realize that today the purchasing power of the workers is reduced and therefore there are many men and women out of employment. If purchasing power amounts to anything, if we practice what we preach, that our purchasing power is the real power and factor in our life, then why not use that purchasing power in our own industry, so that union men and women could make a living? If that purchasing power is so great and if union labor uses that power and

had used it in the past there would not be so many union establishments closing their doors in the last few years and there would not be so many union men and women out of employment. There is much that could be said as far as that proposition is concerned.

We just got through with a session of the Union Label Trades Department and a report was made there by the Committee on Union Label Propaganda that different methods should be used to educate men and women to patronize union label products. If the men and women who understand the value of the union label and the purchasing power that goes with it would use the proper methods to bring these matters home directly to the men that make up local unions and those that are affiliated with them, we could in time bring about a condition that would make it unnecessary for us to come here and spend time discussing it.

We heard something this morning about women's auxiliaries. No matter how some people may feel about this report we as trade unionists need all the support that the women can give us. They have the purchasing power in their hands, and these women should be educated to spend the money that you and other trade unionists earn and spend it for union label articles and thus increase the purchasing power of the dollar created through employment in union shops. I don't care what you call these women's organizations, whether you call it a trade-union league or a promotion league, or an auxiliary—call it what you like, but I say if you get the women interested in their purchasing power and get them together and educate them, as far as union labor products and union label shop cards and buttons are concerned, you will have much easier sailing in the future when you make agreements with your employers for better conditions than you have had in the past.

The majority of men are not bothered with household affairs. I know the majority in here are not bothered as far as their households are concerned, they are bothered with other things, but it is important that the women at home be educated that when they go out and spend the money they receive from the earnings of their husbands and brothers they go out and spend that money for union label products, shoes, bread, or any of the necessities of life, and if that is done we will have much better sailing in the future.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

229

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: That completes the report of the Committee on Union Label. The Chair expresses appreciation to Secretary Weaver and the Committee for the service rendered and is pleased to advise them that they are discharged with the thanks of the Convention.

Now I wish to announce to the officers and delegates in attendance at the Convention that Brother John P. Frey, of the Metal Trades Department, has made an exhaustive study of the relationship of banks to corporations and industries. He has engaged in more than one solid year of research work along this line. During this time he has assembled some very startling and interesting information, showing the interlocking relationship, if you please, between the banking institutions of the nation and industry. You know that we have strongly maintained that many of the wage reductions forced by large corporations originate in the minds and in the purposes of bankers, and in order to determine that question Secretary Frey has gone into the matter and made a careful analysis of the situation, engaging in long, continued research work. I have asked him to submit to this Convention the information and the data he has accumulated, so that it may be available for your use, for public consideration and public use, and that it may be included in the permanent records of the American Federation of Labor.

I present to you Secretary Frey for the purpose of submitting this data and this information.

MR. JOHN P. FREY,

(Secretary, Metal Trades Department)

Mr. Chairman and delegates: If it were not for the important questions which this Convention must consider in connection with resolutions coming before it, dealing with depression, the steps necessary to bring about recovery, I would not be tempted, as I have been, to bring to your attention some facts connected with banking in the United States which I feel all trade unionists should be thoroughly familiar with, because unless we understand some of these facts we will not be in a position to deal as thoroughly with some of our problems as we would be if the information was at hand. I have no intention of discussing banking theory or banking practice as it was taught in the universities and the text books, but rather to call your attention to the manner in which the banking industry in our country has been conducted until today it not only dominates the giving of credit and the withholding of credit, but dominates business and industrial policies and

actually determines whether corporations will reduce the hours of labor, whether they will increase or reduce wages, and goes even further and determines what many newspapers and magazines shall publish on industrial problems and what they must keep out of their columns.

Preliminary to some statistical matter which I desire to get into the record, even though it may weary you, I would like to call your attention to the wonderful accomplishment of the American bankers. There is in circulation in our country approximately five billion dollars of legal tender. All of the silver coinage, all of the bills, all of the gold coinage which is in circulation to carry on business amounts to five billions of dollars. Yet the bankers of our country, after 1919, were successful in loaning between seventeen and eighteen billions of dollars to foreign countries, and in addition to that were able to add to the internal investment structure of our country some forty-four and a half billions of dollars.

Now as an evidence of their capacity, think for a moment of that five billions of legal tender in the United States and the fact that they could then loan some eighteen billions of dollars to foreign countries and add some forty-four billion to an already top-heavy internal investment structure.

Now our bankers more than any other group in the country have been responsible for the inflation in prices which took place. These bankers are responsible for the overcapitalization, for the floating of many unsound bonds, for the making of loans which were not justified, because a part of their profits is the commission they received for floating bonds and for making loans. As I go into the statistical matter which I have prepared I would like to have you keep in mind that the holding companies in the United States, that type of company, association or corporation which began to develop rapidly after the war and which secured such a control over the profits made by others. They were successful siphoning off the profits of the corporation unto their own ends—these holding companies have been in many cases owned outright by the large commercial banks of the United States. I said that those bankers, particularly the large commercial banks, have dominated industrially and commercially, having the last word to say as to what hours of labor should be and what the wage reductions should be. I want to give you one or two illustrations of how this works.

There is the classical story of Ginsberg, the cloak and suit man, who went to his broker to borrow \$50,000. The banker, after looking him over for a little while, said, "Mr. Ginsberg, I can not make the loan. I have already loaned you \$100,000, and no more of the credit of this bank is going into your business." Ginsberg said, "Do you mean that?" And the banker said, "I certainly do." Ginsberg said, "Do you understand the cloak and suit business?" And the banker said, "Of course not." And Ginsberg replied, "Then you had better learn it in a hurry, because you are already in the cloak and suit business."

My attention to the part which the banker

plays in dominating industrial policies came through a conference or a dinner which I had with a banker whose name is unnecessary for our purpose. At one time he had been the receiver of a very large foundry. I had gone to him to secure a settlement for my own trade, I had not succeeded. I found him one of the most hard-boiled men to talk to whom I had ever interviewed. But just before I met him on this last occasion he had taken a very deep interest in the question of wages and was supporting the position of the American Federation of Labor, adopted at our Atlantic City Convention in 1925, which was to the effect that industry and commerce must suffer unless the real wage, the purchasing power of wages kept pace with industry's increased capacity to produce. When he told me he approved of that declaration of the Atlantic City Convention I asked him how a hard-boiled banker, such as he had been, could take that position. He said, "Frey, I have learned from experience. I am a mechanical engineer by profession as well as a banker. I became an engineer first. A banking corporation, a private bank of which I am a partner, developed the business of loaning to large corporations, the minimum loan being \$500,000, when a corporation desired a loan I was sent as the engineer of my banking company to make a physical examination of the plant and study the company's business, the company's markets, and then when we made the loan it was understood that I had to go on the Board of Directors and remain on that Board until the corporation had repaid the principal and the interest. Finally I found that I was a member of the Board of Directors of twenty-seven manufacturing corporations, several of them the largest of their kind in the United States, some in competition with each other. We had made a loan of \$20,000,000 to one corporation and to assure that loan the corporation had been compelled to make me president. In time I began to wonder how these corporations would ever secure the money to pay back the loans we had made to them. The more I studied that problem, the more I studied the home market and the foreign market, the more I became convinced that as the banker was carrying on business he was committing suicide and leading the corporations along with him."

That was why this man, from his experience as a director of many corporations, representing his own bank, had come to the conclusion that the bankers should have some sound understanding at least of the industrial problem in this country.

Just one more word about how the bankers work, because it is all important that we should understand it, that the business men should understand it, that the public should understand it as well. In the late fall of 1930 two well-known bankers declared that unless wages were reduced there could be no recovery from the depression. They took a position which was in direct conflict with that of the agreement reached in the White House conference in November, 1929, when the representatives of the big industries of our country and the representatives of the American Federation of Labor agreed that wages must be maintained, because if the consuming power

of the country was destroyed business would be injured still more.

The first note of discrimination with that sound economic program came from the banks, and the first one who spoke was Mr. Wiggins, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Chase National Bank, a gentleman whose connections I will bring before you very shortly. Supporting him was Mr. Stevenson, the President of the American Bankers' Association. Some of us may have believed that when these bankers spoke they were expressing their personal opinions for the purpose of influencing the public to a policy they felt was sound. In reality, before they had made that statement and afterwards as well, they were compelling the corporations whose credit they supplied to fall in line with their program for industrial recovery.

One more illustration to show how they work—and you notice I am not mentioning names just now, because some of these business men who were sandbagged would not care to have it advertised. But one of the largest publishing houses in this country, a publishing house with some twenty-five or twenty-six weekly and monthly magazines devoted exclusively to commerce and industry, had very ardently supported the White House program in November, 1929. After Mr. Wiggins had informed the public that wages must be reduced, after Mr. Stevenson, the President of the American Bankers' Association, had endorsed that position, this publishing house continued to support the position that any reduction in wages was fatal to commerce and to industry, that if anything was necessary to bring about recovery it was to increase rather than diminish the consuming capacity of the American people through the wages being paid.

Early in 1931, some three months after Mr. Wiggins had made his first public statement, he sent for the economist of this great publishing house and asked him in a most brusque manner what he and his publications meant by continuing to advocate no reductions in wages after the bankers had said that a reduction in wages must come, and he wound up his interview with this representative, who is also the economist of this great publishing house, by saying, "All of your publications depend upon advertising. If you think you can get advertising and run counter to our program, go ahead." And so the next issue of that publishing house's publications said nothing at all about wages and has not discussed the matter since, because they knew that if the great commercial banks said, "You are going counter to our program," it would mean that their publishing business would immediately dry up.

Now with that very brief and elementary picture of how the bankers in our country have dominated business policies and industrial policies, determining more than the corporations themselves whether wages would go up or down, whether the hours of labor would be shortened, I will present now a very condensed statement of how it works. We have many types of banks, of course, in this country, but they can be roughly divided into two—the private banker and the commercial banker. The private banker is represented by

such concerns as Brown Brothers, Dillon, Read & Company, Goldman, Sachs & Company, Kuhn, Loeb & Company, Lee Higginson & Company, J. P. Morgan & Company, J. Henry Schroder Banking Corporation, J. & W. Seligman & Company, and others. I have broken down the record of sixteen of these private banks. When I first began to look around for the methods by which the banker accomplished his purpose I went to the Treasury Department and there was no information to be secured there. I went to the Federal Reserve and they had no data, and I discovered that nowhere in Washington and nowhere in any other city in the United States was there any record of the business which the private banker carried on. He holds no license from the state, he holds no charter from the state or Federal Government, he merely has set himself up in business as a private individual and makes reports to no one. So these great private bankers who dominate the large commercial banks report to no one at the present time except their partners and there is no means by which we can know how they carry on their business. All we can know is the men through whom they do these things.

I have in this list sixteen of the leading private bankers, with their offices in New York, and I find that these sixteen bankers hold directorships in seventy of the largest commercial banks of New York and immediate vicinity, and that in addition to having this control over the commercial banks through the directors who sit on them, they also hold 1,065 directorships in aviation, public utilities, railroads and other transportation, manufacturing, commercial and other corporations. So that directly the representatives of the sixteen private banks sit on the Board of Directors of the leading commercial banks of New York City and on the Board of Directors of our largest corporations.

They do a great deal more than that. The commercial banks on whose Boards of Directors the partners of the private banks sit make much of their profit through the bond issues and the loans which the private bankers float. The private banker does not put up his money. The commercial banks, that is, the large commercial banks in New York City, do not put up their money. When a foreign country or a foreigner or a domestic corporation or individual desires to borrow a very large amount of money he does not get legal tender, he gets credit, and the private banker, through his control of the Boards of Directors of commercial banks, in turn passes out his credit which they loan and for which they get paid through the small banker and through those of us in the United States who buy bonds and put up money for first mortgages.

Perhaps it might be interesting to see what a few of those bank directorships really are. Brown Brothers has as one of its partners a director of the Central Hanover Bank & Trust Company, another a partner in the Greenwich Savings Bank, another a partner in the Bank for Savings in the City of New York. Another is a partner in the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, another a director both in the City Bank Farmers Trust Company and the Union Banking Corporation, another in the

New York Trust Company, another in the Bank of New York & Trust Company, and the Grace National Bank of New York. One is doing still better, he is a member of the Board of Directors of the Commercial National Bank & Trust Company of New York, of the Empire City Savings Bank, and of the Union Banking Corporation. Another is a director in the City Bank Farmers Trust Company. I have told you of the private bank of Brown Brothers, Harriman & Company, with directorships in 14 of the largest commercial banks in New York City.

Dillon, Read & Company hold directorships in nine of the commercial banks, Goldman, Sachs & Company in five of these national banks, Haligarten & Company in two, Kissel, Kennicott & Company only two, Kuhn, Loeb & Company hold but four, but those four are the International Acceptance Bank, Inc., the Manhattan Company, the Chase National Bank and the Equitable Trust Company. I do not need to give all of these, but the House of Morgan holds 12 directorships in the commercial banks, and these banks are the First Security Company of New York City, the Guaranty Trust Company of New York City, the Bankers Company of New York, the Bankers Trust Company of New York City, the Bank for Savings in the City of New York, the Guaranty Trust Company of New York, the New York Trust Company, the Bankers Trust Company, the Corn Exchange Bank Trust Company. They also have a directorship in the Chase National Bank and the Chase Securities Company.

I find by going through the directorships held by the partners in these private banks that many of them tie up with the Chase National Bank, so that when the Chase National Bank speaks on an industrial problem it is the private banker as well as the Chase National Bank that is speaking, but these partners do not care to do the errand-boy work, they are too important in the banking industry and in their own estimation to do that. They use the directors of the large commercial banks to do that.

Taking a list of eight of the largest commercial banks in New York City, we find that the directors of those eight banks hold 3,741 directorships in public utility, aviation, railroad, manufacturing, steamship and commercial corporations. So that when these eight banks on whose Boards of Directors the private bankers sit desire to carry out any policy they immediately have a directorship of 3,741 American corporations to see that it is enforced.

We are disturbed over securities. Our insurance companies were so disturbed over their reserves which consist largely of securities that the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was called into existence. As I give you a few more statistics you will see where the banker has fit into the scene. The Bank of America National Association holds 23 directorships in aviation companies, 95 directorships in banks, 137 in miscellaneous corporations, 21 in insurance companies, 78 in manufacturing corporations, 22 in transportation companies, and 40 in utility corporations.

The Bank of Manhattan Trust Company does

a little better. It has directors in 38 other commercial banks, in 183 miscellaneous corporations, in 25 insurance companies, in 61 manufacturing corporations, in 24 transportation companies, and in 31 public utilities.

I don't want to weary you by reading through the list of all these banks, but I want to give you just one, because this is the bank more than any other which has been responsible for the political agitation for legislation to which the American Federation of Labor has been vigorously opposed, because it was the leader in demanding that wages should be reduced—the Chase National Bank, with Mr. Wiggins the Chairman of its Board of Directors, Mr. Wiggins, who served notice on the largest publisher of a certain type of magazines that if he did not withdraw his advocacy of no reduction in wages he would lose his advertising.

This is a thumb nail picture of the Chase National Bank. The directors of that bank hold directorships in 69 other commercial banks, in 262 miscellaneous corporations, in 55 insurance companies. All told, 82 of their directors are directors in insurance companies, but they want to dominate some, so in the Metropolitan Insurance Company six directors of the Chase National Bank are directors of that great insurance company. The directors of this bank are also on the Boards of Directors of 236 manufacturing corporations. This is not the time to give you the list, but it includes practically every large manufacturing corporation in the United States. Every one of them is listed in the Board of Directors on whom this bank's directors sit whenever the boards meet. They also have 133 directorships in transportation companies. This list of transportation companies is the list of the principal railroad systems of the United States, and in addition to that they have directors of 73 of the largest public utility corporations in the United States, some of which they own, like the Chase-Forbes-Harris Corporation, which has succeeded in selling so many sour bonds to Americans who thought they were making a good investment.

Just one thought more, because I have already transgressed too much upon your time. You have the picture before you now of how the private banker has been able to filter into directorships of the commercial banks and dominate their policies. You have seen how these commercial banks, through their directors, sit on the Boards of Directors of thousands of the largest manufacturing, transportation and public utility and other corporations in the country.

Now let us go behind the scenes just for a moment and you will have a better understanding of why the bankers became frantic some months ago. Previously they had always resented any interference with their business, now they demanded that Uncle Sam himself go into the credit loaning business and that there must be something like the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to save them. Their securities had depreciated in value. They had been selling them and those to whom they had sold them were in trouble, one of the largest sources for the placing of these securities had been the big insurance companies of our country, some of which were on the point of being unable to continue business because their resources had

been depleted too greatly. I read to you a number of insurance companies upon which the directors of these commercial banks have sat. Now picture the private banker financing all of these corporations with his partners on the Boards of Directors of the large commercial banks, the necessity of floating millions and millions of bonds and selling them to those who would buy them, and then the break-down that came in the Boards of Directors of the commercial banks at a meeting at which the commercial bank told its directors, "We have so many million or billion dollars' worth of bonds to dispose of," then these same bank directors sitting on the Boards of Directors of the largest insurance companies of our country ramming down the insurance companies' throats the bonds that the big private banking houses had said must be sold.

With this picture before you I am sure you will realize our problem is somewhat different than when we dealt with the individual employer and corporation itself and had to go before the Board of Directors. At the present time the bankers in New York City, through this interlocking machinery they have built up, are the ones to tell these corporations what their industrial policies shall be, so that one of our problems is not only to deal with the employer directly, we must deal with this banking system that has siphoned off the wealth of the country and is more responsible for the frightful suffering we are passing through than any other group of business men.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: I want to thank Brother Frey for that pleasing bit of information. I would like to ask the speaker whether he would be willing to accept another name for the bankers who sit on all these Boards of Directors, if, instead of banker and directors, he would be willing to substitute the word "racketeer."

Delegate Frey: Well, I prefer to call them the errand boys and under-cover workers.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Delegate Flaherty, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Trade Union Incorporation Act

On that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 53, the Committee reported as follows:

Your Committee notes with approval the repeal of the Trade Union Incorporation Act which had never been favored by Labor.

We commend the Executive Council for its part in bringing about said repeal.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Convict Labor

On that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 70-71, the Committee reported as follows:

The important question of convict labor has

been discussed in detail in Executive Council's reports and in successive Conventions for many years. The principle involved is known to all trade unions.

Your Committee desires particularly to call attention to the fact that the Hawes-Cooper Convict Labor Act becomes effective January 19, 1934, and therefore it is absolutely necessary that the legislatures which will meet next January shall enact legislation to carry out the object of the Act. The Hawes-Cooper Law enables States to forbid the sale within their borders of convict-made goods from other States. But it must be kept in mind that unless the State laws provide that none of their own convict-made goods shall be sold on the open market, the sale of convict-made goods from other States cannot be prohibited.

Only four States: Illinois, Maine, New York and New Jersey have thus far taken advantage of the Hawes-Cooper Act.

Your Committee calls attention to this excerpt from Council's report:

"Circular letters will be sent to the States before the Legislatures meet in January, calling upon State Federations of Labor and Central Bodies to urge the passage of the convict labor legislation necessary for the protection of free labor."

We concur in this contemplated action of the Executive Council, and call upon all State and Local Bodies to vigorously insist upon the enactment by their respective State Legislatures of the supplemental legislation, to make fully effective the Hawes-Cooper Act.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

PERSONNEL CLASSIFICATION

The Committee reported on the part of the report of the Executive Council, page 50, under the above caption, and on the following resolution:

Classification Legislation for Federal Employees

Resolution No. 86—By David R. Glass, American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, It is obvious that the classification problem as a whole will not be considered during the coming Congress; and

WHEREAS, The Classification Act as amended has been applied only to the departmental employees in its entirety; and

WHEREAS, The field personnel have only departmental allocation; and in many instances the pay has not been adjusted to conform with even departmental allocation; and

WHEREAS, It is obvious that the field personnel should have the same rights to classification and appeal as accorded departmental employees, and also the same pay for identical or similar work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the classification procedure, including adjustment of salary and appeal, should be extended to the field service preferably by a joint resolution of the House and Senate, directing the extension, with instructions that the Personnel Classification Agency, which is now a part of the Civil Service Commission, make an immediate review of the allocation of field positions and be empowered and directed to change allocations without reference to the department having jurisdiction over the field employees, with provision that the employee affected shall have the right to appeal his reallocation, and that the proceedings and testimony in the appeal should be made of record, open to inspection by the department and the employee affected; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention direct its Executive Council to make an extended study of the classification now in effect as well as proposed classifications, and compile a classification plan embracing all activities, both departmental and field, exclusive of those trades whose wages are or should be fixed by Wage Boards.

Your Committee considered Resolution No. 86 in connection with that portion of the Executive Council's Report captioned "Personnel Classification."

The Council recommends, as is also provided in the Resolve of the resolution, an extended study of classification now in effect for the purpose of developing a satisfactory plan, at the same time excluding trades and occupations whose wages are fixed by boards or classes of crafts that prefer to be excluded.

Your Committee concurs in the Council's report and calls attention to this recommendation of the Executive Council:

"The Council further recommends that in conjunction with the executive officers of the American Federation of Government Employees an extended study of classifications now in effect, as well as proposed classifications, be made and that a classification plan embracing all activities, both departmental and field, exclusive of those trades and occupations whose wages are or should be fixed by Wage Boards, or such class or crafts who do not desire it, be developed."

Your Committee suggests that when the contemplated survey of classification is undertaken, as recommended by the Council, the most thoughtful consideration be given to the advantages of having labor represented on the Personnel Classification Board; and in all appeals the employees, if they so elect, may be represented by agents of their own choosing.

Your Committee further recommends that in addition to the officers of the American Federation of Government Employees that the representatives of affiliated organizations affected by classification be called into conference regarding the proposed study.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the Committee.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: In my humble opinion, Mr. Chairman, our system of Civil Service was imported from China, where it was used for ages, and is now going plumb crazy. When it was established in the United States it had to do with direct Government employees, employed in clerical positions. Their examination was one you could prepare yourself for in an ordinary school. Their work was planned and there was no reason why, as we could see it, it should not be made more secure for them than it was. It was largely to destroy what was called the spoils system. Of those who were responsible for the introduction of this, one a distinguished United States Senator, was told after he had passed it through the Senate, that at the next election he would lose his seat, and that just happened.

Now the system has been extended until it covers every conceivable thing which the Government pays ultimate wages for. They are even undertaking to make Government employees to be classified, such as seamen. There are vessels running now where it isn't asked whether a man is a seaman or not, or whether he knows anything that has to do with his duties on a ship. There are some of the Government vessels that put the Government Employees' Compensation Act upon the Seamen. There are some instances in which the most skilled seaman aboard the ship, outside the officers, the bo's'n is included. I know there are vessels which employ bo's'ns who a few years ago would not have been permitted to sail in any capacity beyond that of common seamen. The same is true of port masters, station men, men in the supply room, men who mix paints and other things that require a lot of skill. The thing is so utterly and absurdly ridiculous that this idea of Civil Service extending itself into skilled callings, where the lives of thousands of people depend upon their skill, should not be allowed. I therefore gladly support the report of the Committee.

Vice-President Wilson: Did I understand the delegate to say he supported the report of the Committee?

President Green: That is my understanding.

Vice-President Wilson: A year ago there was a controversy relative to this classification as far as the organizations that were then in opposition were concerned, and we approved their actions.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried.

Sales Tax

Upon that part of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages 61 and 62, the Committee reported as follows:

Little need be added to the Council's logical and forceful argument against the Sales Tax—a principle of taxation that labor has very properly opposed because of a well grounded fear of its harmful consequences upon the consuming masses. By its very nature the sales tax is a discriminatory tax against the wage earners who form the predominant portion of the buying public.

Because of failure of other forms of taxation to provide sufficient revenue the proponents of the sales tax are now urging its adoption with unusual aggressiveness.

As an offset to these activities the Executive Council recommends:

"Because the Executive Council appreciates the seriousness of the attempt which is being made to enact sales tax legislation, it recommends that all organizations of labor affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and their friends, together with the individuals who make up these organizations, must make known to their representatives in Congress, both in the House and in the Senate, their unyielding opposition to the enactment of sales tax legislation, if the attempt to pass this form of legislation is to be defeated."

Your Committee reiterates labor's oft expressed opposition to the sales tax for the reasons very clearly set forth in the Council's report.

We recommend the adoption of the suggestion of the Executive Council that all affiliates, collectively and individually, make known to members of Congress their opposition to sales tax legislation.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Calumet Waterways

Resolution No. 14—By Delegates Chas. M. Paulson of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Frank E. Doyle of the South Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly; John Posschl of the International Union of

Operating Engineers, F. A. Ackerman of the Chicago Federation of Labor, Chas. M. Rau of the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada and John F. McNamara of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers.

WHEREAS, The United States Army Engineers, pursuant to a bill introduced in Congress for a survey of the Calumet Waterways to determine the availability of the same for utilization as an integral part of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Waterways, have completed their task and are preparing to submit their report to the Secretary of War and then to the Congress of the United States; and

WHEREAS, It is believed that this comprehensive physical survey reinforced by an economic survey conducted by the United States Department of Commerce will recommend that such waterways, namely, the Calumet-Sag Canal, the Little Calumet River, and the Grand Calumet River and the Calumet River, together with the south one-third of Lake Calumet, be made a part of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Waterways System; and

WHEREAS, Preliminary information is to the effect that this project will provide for improvements entailing an expenditure of approximately fifty million dollars; and

WHEREAS, This project providing for the widening of the Calumet-Sag Canal from its junction with the main Chicago Drainage Canal to the Little Calumet River, the straightening, widening and deepening of the Little Calumet River and the Calumet River and the building of a rail-lake barge terminal in the south one-third of Lake Calumet, will provide adequate terminal facilities for the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Waterways in the heart of Chicago's great manufacturing area, the Calumet District on either side of the Illinois-Indiana state line; and

WHEREAS, Such a project will tend to furnish employment for large numbers of men and will attract industry and commerce to the Chicago area, as well as to create a new taxing value for the Chicago area, thereby aiding in some measure in helping solve the vexatious tax problem; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge upon all representatives in Congress of the United States to lend their wholehearted support to the passage of all necessary legislation and appropriations to further this great project when Congress convenes.

Your Committee heard proponents and opponents of the Resolution. There is a sharp difference of opinion as to its desirability and effect. Therefore, we recommend that the Resolution be referred to the Executive Council to call all of the interested organizations into conference in an endeavor to reach some satisfactory agreement.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Supporting King Bill to Extend Application of Exclusion Laws to Seamen

Resolution No. 44—By Delegation of the International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, Neither the exclusion laws nor the laws against importation of contract labor has any application to the seamen; and

WHEREAS, Because of this thousands of aliens arrive in the United States, later to be hunted down, arrested and deported; and

WHEREAS, Senate 7—King Bill—will when enacted repair this oversight and close the channel through which immigrants come illegally; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, respectfully urges Congress to enact Senate 7 into law.

The necessity for stopping this immigration leak is urgent. Your Committee therefore concurs in the resolution, and instructs the Executive Council to use its best endeavors to secure early passage for the King Bill.

Delegate Furuseth: I don't know, Mr. Chairman, how far this thing is really understood here, but I want to call your attention to certain things that may make it easier for those interested. I don't know whether my voice carries so you can all hear. It is now ten years ago since we seamen began to bring this question seriously to your attention. For years and years our Immigration and Exclusion Laws have been set at naught, have been violated ruthlessly by the shipping interests of the United States and of the world. There are hardly any of the organizations that haven't suffered under it.

These men come into the United States and are being asked and are able to answer the simple questions that are put to them at the present time, and they are permitted to go and come like other real seamen are. They are going into every community and scabbing on all of you, with equal facilities with any organization. These men could not get into the United States at all from Europe without getting a visa or being on the quota unless they came as seamen. Not being able to get here in any other way, they pay from two hundred, three hundred, and up to four hundred and fifty dollars to get into the United States. They go ashore and work in every calling and in every occupation, scabbing on every trade here, whether that be one branch of occupation or another, and they keep on doing that until the employer gets sick of them, or the employer wants them to do something they don't want to do, and then he makes complaint to the Immigration Depart-

ment and somebody comes to investigate. Then they are taken into custody. The cost to the United States in doing this is serious. First you have to run them down, second, you have to keep them until they can be investigated, third, you have to pay court expenses, and fourth, you have to pay their passage out of the country.

It is time this thing was stopped. There is hardly a community east of the Mississippi River that doesn't suffer under it. Many of the racketeers in Chicago seem to be very much in evidence. They came here from Italy. They are really Mafias, and they found Chicago probably the most suitable place—windy, anyway—and so they landed there and practiced their business.

Labor investigators in different communities prove that to be a fact. West of the Mississippi River you have the Chinese coming in in violation of the law, to the extent of some thousands a year. Some come in on ships and some come in otherwise. The young Chinaman comes in a ship and the old Chinaman goes away. Our exclusion laws and our laws with regard to contract labor do not apply to seamen.

You may feel like asking me why I am so earnest about this matter. I might say it isn't all on your part. We seamen suffer seriously under these conditions. We have to sail with these people who cannot do the work. We have to do the work for them. They pay for the jobs; we get paid for the jobs; they are dangerous to our interests and make our progress impossible. We have from a trade union point of view the best of reasons for proposing this to you. The reason we take upon ourselves to bring this to you is because we understand how they come in. We have investigated it, we have studied it. I have studied it three times in Europe, in different seaports, and I have made reports. These reports have been delivered to Congress, but for some reason the House has not had a chance to act on it, although the Senate has passed the bill three times.

The bill at the present time is on the Senate calendar and may be called up by motion at any time. It cannot be called up by unanimous consent, because there is Mr. Bingham and a couple more who are ready to object. If it gets on the floor I am satisfied it will pass. It is before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, with a definite promise on the part of the Chairman and some members of that Committee that the moment

the session opens they will report it out. They would have reported it out at the last session, except that Mr. Johnson of the State of Washington, and Mr. Free, of California, co-operated to prevent it. Thanks to the last election, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Free will not be in the next Congress.

We want to get the bill passed as quickly as possible, and I am asking you, all of you, because you are all interested, to just spend five minutes with a stenographer and send letters to your representatives in Congress and to your Senators, asking them to pass this bill, not because it is a seamen's bill only, but because it is your bill as well.

With that thought expressed, I thank you for your kind attention.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

EMPLOYMENT IMPROVEMENTS IN THE CANAL ZONE

Your Committee considered Resolutions 24, 25, 26 and 27 collectively, as they all deal in some detail with various employment conditions on the Canal Zone. The resolutions are as follows:

Panama Canal Leave Privilege

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate Charles F. Wahl, of the Balboa (C. Z.) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Section 103 of the so-called Economy Act reading:

"All rights now conferred or authorized to be conferred by law upon an officer or employee to receive annual leave of absence with pay are hereby suspended during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1933,"

as interpreted by the Comptroller General of the United States, is an injustice to all Government employees, particularly to those engaged in tropical service for the Government on the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, 7,000 American citizens, dependents and employees of the United States Government in the isolated tropical service on the Isthmus of Panama 2,000 miles from home, have, by this economy act suffered the loss of travel, sick and annual leave for the fiscal year, 1932, which leave is granted for the purpose of recuperation necessary after periods of tropical service and not for recreation; and

WHEREAS, The high mean temperature, humidity and the constant intense rays of the tropical sun are detrimental to white men, women and children who remain in the tropics more than two years, making cancellation of such leaves certain to lower the efficiency and morale of the employees of the Government on the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, There were on July 1, 1932, in the United States on vacation leave approxi-

mately 400 employees, many of whom had their families with them; and

WHEREAS, Approximately 200 more employees, many with their families, arrived at New York on the Panama Railroad S.S. Cristobal shortly after July 1st, and many others would normally arrive thereafter; and

WHEREAS, The Comptroller General, by decision dated July 9, 1932, has interpreted the provisions of Section 103 of Title 1, Part 2, of the Legislative Appropriation Act approved June 30, 1932, as preventing such employees from receiving pay for any leave during the fiscal year 1933, whether earned prior to July 1st or subsequent thereto; and

WHEREAS, Such decision imposes an extreme and unjustified hardship upon such employees and their families; and

WHEREAS, All the large corporations operating in the American tropics have found it profitable and necessary to allow their employees extended recuperative time in a cold climate, in some cases more extensive than that allowed by the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, The shorter workweek, or 5½-day week principle has not been allowed the employees of the Panama Canal, and the Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama; and

WHEREAS, Joint Resolution No. 471, introduced in Congress on July 12, 1932, and reading:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled that the term 'annual leave' as used in Section 103 of the act approved June 30, 1932, shall be construed to relate only to the leave of Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees on the Isthmus of Panama designated as 'annual leave' and shall not apply to 'cumulative' and 'travel' leave to which such employees are entitled under their contracts of employment;" therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, go on record as being opposed to the application of Section 103, of the Economy Act to all civilian employees of the United States Government in tropical service on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad; and that it be further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to endeavor to have Congress of the United States at its next session enact into law Joint Resolution No. 471 to allow all civilian employees of the Government in the tropics on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad full travel and cumulative leave privileges for the fiscal year 1932.

Thirty-Year Retirement Act for Panama Canal Employees

Resolution No. 25—By Delegate Charles F. Wahl, of the Balboa (C. Z.) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Climatic conditions of employment on the Panama Canal are very severe, due to the high temperature, high humidity and the actinic rays of the sun; and

WHEREAS, The effects on the health of

white men, women and children of such a climate are cumulative as an employee grows older and his resistance is undermined; and

WHEREAS, Numbers of employees now entering the service of the Government on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad are all of such an age as will make it necessary that they work more than thirty (30) years in the tropics to reach the compulsory retirement age of sixty-six (66); and

WHEREAS, A Senate Bill No. 4461 has been introduced to provide an amendment to the Panama Canal Retirement Act approved March 2, 1932, as follows:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

"That the first sentence of the second paragraph of Section 2 of the act entitled, 'An act for the retirement of employees of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Company on the Isthmus of Panama who are citizens of the United States' approved March 2, 1931, is amended to read as follows: 'All employees to whom this act applies who have rendered at least thirty years' service, computed as provided in Section 7 of this act, shall be eligible for retirement on an annuity as provided in Section 6 of this act;' therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to make every effort to have this amendment passed for the benefit of Government employees on the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad.

Extension of Retirement Provisions to Widows of Retired Panama Canal Employees

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate Charles F. Wahl, of the Balboa (C. Z.) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Senate Bill No. 4240 amends the Civil Service Retirement Act of May 29, 1930, providing that the widow of an annuitant shall receive three-quarters of the benefits to which the deceased was entitled and receiving at the time of his death; and

WHEREAS, Senate Bill No. 4278 amends the Panama Canal Retirement Act of March 2, 1931, to provide the same benefits for widows of retired Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees, as follows:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, that the act entitled, 'An act for the retirement of employees of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Company on the Isthmus of Panama, who are citizens of the United States, approved March 2, 1931, is amended by inserting between Sections 6 and 7 thereof the following new section:

"Sec. 6-A. In the event of the death of any person entitled to the benefits of this act his widow shall receive until her death or remarriage an annuity equal to three-fourths of the annuity which the deceased (1) was entitled to and receiving under this act at the time of his death, or (2) would have been entitled to

under this act had his application for annuity been adjudicated in accordance with the provisions of Section 12 of this act immediately prior to his death;" and

WHEREAS, Tropical climatic conditions are peculiarly detrimental to the health of a white woman, tending to aggravate nervousness and disorders common to them; and

WHEREAS, In many cases wives of employees must be sent back to a cold climate for more extensive periods of recuperation than is commonly necessary for their husbands; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, instruct the officers of the Federation to make every endeavor to press legislation on Senate Bill No. 4461 during the next session of Congress of the United States.

Proposing That the Federal Prevailing Wage Law Be Made Applicable to the Panama Canal

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate Charles F. Wahl, of the Balboa, (C. Z.), Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The present Federal prevailing wage law applies only to public buildings of over \$5,000; and

WHEREAS, A large portion of the many millions of Federal funds appropriated for public works on the Panama Canal is for public works other than buildings; and

WHEREAS, The past fiscal year has seen the exploitation of many hundreds of American workers employed on the construction of Madden Dam and Albrook Flying Field; and

WHEREAS, This exploitation of these American workmen and low rates of pay with poor working conditions is swelling the ranks of the unemployed and tropical floaters here to an extent never before known on the Isthmus of Panama; and

WHEREAS, The above conditions will ultimately prove a burden to the administrators of the Canal Zone Government and the Government of Panama and to the small American population of the Panama Canal; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled hereby authorize the Executive Council to petition Congress to amend the present prevailing rate of pay law so as to make it applicable to all public works, including dams, locks and roads on the Panama Canal Zone.

Your Committee is of the opinion that because of the nature of employment in the Canal Zone, as recited in the resolutions, there are compelling reasons for the establishment and maintenance of high employment standards by our government in all of its zone activities.

Your Committee therefore concurs in Resolutions 24, 25, 26 and 27.

Secretary Flaherty moved the adoption of the report of the Committee. The motion was duly seconded.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: I would like to ask a question of the Committee. Is there anything in the resolution that deals with how long the widow should have been married to the pensioner?

Secretary Flaherty: No, there is not.

Delegate Furuseth: In other words, they can do as they do with reference to widows of soldiers, war veterans who were receiving pensions—they can marry the man to get a pension. If that is so, I think it ought to be corrected. There are racketeers among the women, too.

Secretary Flaherty: I am sure the Council will take cognizance of the fact that legislation of that kind should be protected against possible racketeering.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Amendments to Revenue Act of 1932

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate Paul Scharenberg, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Congress has recently passed the Income Tax Act of 1932 containing several excise taxes without specifically exempting therein states and state agencies; and

WHEREAS, Congress has recently passed a law placing a tax of 3 per cent on all electric energy sold for domestic or commercial consumption, said tax to be collected by the vendors; and

WHEREAS, The Treasury Department has ruled that these taxes affect every state and state agency and every city in the United States that owns or operates and distributes from a municipal light and power plant, but the precedent, if established and allowed to stand, will affect every city in the country including those that own waterworks, parks, playgrounds, sewerage systems, airports, in short, every state in the United States, by breaking down our dual system of government, and by impairing the borrowing power and credit of securities either issued or contemplated; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby goes on record against said ruling and urgently request all senators and representatives to support the following amendments:

1. "In the enforcement of the Revenue Act of 1932 the Federal Government shall not impose an obligation upon any state or territory or political subdivision thereof, or the District of Columbia, or of the officers or employees of the aforesaid."

2. "The term 'political subdivision' includes any district created under the laws of a state or territory for the purpose of constructing or operating any public utility."

Your Committee is in sympathy with the ends sought by the Resolution, but inasmuch as a technical question of taxation is in-

involved, we are not certain that the proposed corrective method is the best to be followed. We therefore recommend reference of the Resolution to the Executive Council with instructions to investigate the subject matter and take appropriate steps to secure the desired action.

The report of the Committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

EXTENSION OF FACILITIES OF PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

Your Committee considered Resolution No. 52 and No. 83 together, as both relate to the extension of public health facilities to cover groups not now covered by such service. Resolution No. 52 refers to seamen, while Resolution No. 83 pertains to engineers on dredges. The resolutions are as follows:

Marine Hospital Service for Dredgemen

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg, California State Federation of Labor.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Fifty-second Annual Convention assembled at Cincinnati, Ohio, goes on record as ending the following bill for passage by the Congress of the United States, to-wit:

AN ACT to extend facilities of the Public Health Service to seamen on Government vessels not in the military or naval establishments, and to seamen or dredgers engaged in dredging harbors as aids to commerce.

BE IT ENACTED, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled: That hereafter seamen not enlisted or commissioned in the military or naval establishments, who are not now entitled by virtue of any law to medical relief by the Public Health Service, shall, when employed on vessels of the United States Government of more than five-tons' burden and on state school ships, and on dredgers engaged in dredging harbors as aids to commerce, be entitled to medical relief by the Public Health Service in the same manner and to the same extent as seamen employed on registered, enrolled and licensed vessels are entitled.

Extension of Facilities of the Public Health Service to Engineers on Dredgers

Resolution No. 83—By Delegate John Possehl, F. A. Fitzgerald, Wm. P. Walsh, L. J. Nolan, of the International Union of Operating Engineers.

WHEREAS, The Engineers employed on dredgers engaged in dredging harbors on Federal work are not afforded the facilities of the Public Health Service which are accorded to other civilian employees of the Federal Government or contractors engaged in marine work; and

WHEREAS, The inability of the engineers

serving on dredgers in connection with the dredging of harbors, and rivers and their tributaries, to enjoy the facilities of the Public Health Service which are extended to other civilian employees engaged in marine work, is an injustice to them; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assist in securing such necessary amendments to existing Federal legislation as will provide for such engineers all the facilities provided for by the Public Health Service which are extended to other marine workers.

While your Committee is in hearty accord with the ends sought by both resolutions, we recommend reference of them to the Executive Council with instructions to take appropriate steps to have the facilities of the Public Health Service extended to the seamen and dredge engineers, either through executive order or amendatory legislation. It is your Committee's thought that in this way results may be more quickly obtained and if possible legislative confusion avoided.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Rural Delivery Mail Service

Resolution No. 66—By Delegate Lester W. Royer, of the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, There have been proposals from a number of sources that the rural mail delivery service be placed on a contract basis to the distinct disadvantage of 40,000 rural letter carriers whose wage and working standards, as well as their civil service status, would be destroyed; and

WHEREAS, Furthermore, the so-called star route service, which is on a contract basis, is being steadily expanded to encroach upon and to duplicate in many instances the work of the rural delivery service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-second Convention of the American Federation of Labor instructs the Executive Council to give all necessary co-operation to the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers in carrying out its program to protect the rural carriers and the rural service against all destructive encroachments.

Your Committee recommends concurrence. The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Thirty Years' Voluntary Retirement in Federal Service

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate James A. Taylor, of the Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The retirement laws relative to the civilian employees of the United States Government are entirely inadequate as to voluntary retirement; and

WHEREAS, The age limits for retirement

runs from 62 to 70 years, depending upon occupation, with a two-year reduction if 30 years has been served; and

WHEREAS, The age limits in some cases would require from 40 to 50 years of service before retirement, depending upon age when entering the service; and

WHEREAS, A law that requires service up to an age limit of 70 years defeats the purpose of a superannuated law; and

WHEREAS, There is no provision for voluntary retirement for length of service in the present (civilian) Federal Retirement Law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record in favor of voluntary retirement after thirty years service, regardless of age.

As stated in the resolution the Federal Civil Service Retirement Law requires that an employee reach a specified age before being eligible for retirement, regardless of length of service. In previous conventions the American Federation of Labor has approved the principle of service retirement. The resolution therefore is in line with the retirement principle and pronouncements of the American Federation of Labor and your Committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Through an inadvertence the name of C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions, was omitted from Resolutions 69, 70, 71 and 72. Your Committee requests that his name be entered in the permanent record as one of the sponsors of these resolutions.

The request was complied with and the name appears as one of the sponsors of these resolutions.

Improved Government Employment Standards

Resolution No. 69—By Delegates Leo E. George, Thos. F. Flaherty, Samuel A. Matlock, John N. Bishop, John C. Sweeney, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Michael T. Finnan, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; W. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, B. G. Burris, of the Railway Mail Association; A. O. Wharton, Chas. W. Fry, R. A. Henning, Daniel Haggerty, N. P. Alifas, of the International Association of Machinists; David R. Glass, of the American Federation of Government Employees; Lester W. Royer, of the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; Andrew J. Fallon, of the International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union; Florence Cur-

tis Hanson, of the American Federation of Teachers; Clyde M. Mills, of the Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in Government employment, relating particularly to the restoration, extension and liberalization of sick and vacation leaves; the elimination of harmful objectionable speed-up practices; improvements in the retirement law, with special regard to thirty-year optional retirement; the reduction of night work requirements; the establishment of a civil service employees' court of appeals; the improvement of postal substitute employees' and village letter carriers' working in wage conditions; the adoption of the shorter workweek principle without reduction in wages as established prior to the enactment of the economy law, and kindred betterments; and

WHEREAS, Various bills covering these objectives of the affiliated groups of Government employees have been introduced for action by the Seventy-second Congress; and

WHEREAS, These measures conform to the program and urging of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that the Government establish and maintain employment standards comparable to those existing in the most advanced establishments in private industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-second Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its position in favor of higher Government standards and instructs the Executive Council to continue its co-operation with the affiliated organization of Government employees in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee recommends concurrence. The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Status of U. S. Employees Compensation Commission

Resolution No. 70—By Delegates Leo E. George, Thos. F. Flaherty, Samuel A. Matlock, John N. Bishop, John C. Sweeney, of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Michael T. Finnan, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; W. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, B. G. Burris, of the Railway Mail Association; A. O. Wharton, Chas. W. Fry, R. A. Henning, Daniel Haggerty, N. P. Alifas, of the International Association of Machinists; David R. Glass, of the American Federation of Government Employees; Lester W. Royer, of the Na-

tional Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; Andrew J. Fallon, of the International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union; Clyde M. Mills, of the Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission was originally established largely at the urging of the American Federation of Labor to administer injury compensation laws covering Government workers, and since its establishment it has performed its important functions in a humane way, satisfactory to all concerned; and

WHEREAS, It is now proposed as an economy measure to absorb the Compensation Commission into the Civil Service Commission, thus destroying its identity, impairing its usefulness and robbing it of that official independent status so essential to a quasi-judicial body of its kind, which must of necessity be free from political and other extraneous considerations in reaching its judgments; and

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission, through recently enlarged authority, now administers the Longshoremen's Compensation Act and compensation laws for the District of Columbia, thereby having jurisdiction in injury cases affecting thousands of workers outside of Government employment and in no way connected with the authority of the Civil Service Commission; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Fifty-second Convention assembled instructs the Executive Council to do all in its power to continue the United States Compensation Commission in its present official status as an independent governmental agency.

Organized labor a special interest in the United States Employees' Compensation Commission—a Governmental agency that administers injury compensation laws. The attempts now being made to degrade this important establishment must be fought vigorously. It is essential to the proper functioning of this and similar compensation agencies that they be separate bodies, specializing exclusively in the interpretation and administration of protective injury laws and not mere adjuncts of politically controlled commissions or bureaus. Such has been Labor's contention in state and federal injury compensation laws.

To place the United States Compensation Commission as a minor branch or bureau in the Civil Service Commission, is to practically devitalize it and may eventually lead to its complete disintegration.

Your Committee concurs in the resolution which instructs the Executive Council to prevent by all possible means any change in the

present official status of the Compensation Commission, as an independent governmental agency.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

The following resolutions were considered together and dealt with in one report by the Committee:

Legislation to Restore Working Conditions of Federal Employees

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate Clyde M. Mills, Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The 72d Congress of the United States, without hearings and with little or no consideration of the equities of the legislation, passed an Economy Act designed apparently to adjust Federal expenditures to revenue, but which, in effect, only deprived Federal employees of benefits and working conditions secured and maintained through years of legislative activity, such as leave privilege, additional pay for overtime and holiday work, and lowered the differential pay for night work, deprived traveling employees of necessary travel allowances, and seriously affected other conditions of employment; and

WHEREAS, This Economy Act resulted in a serious decrease in purchasing power of the employees, thereby contributing substantially to the general unsettled economic conditions; and

WHEREAS, Such savings to the Government as were conserved through deductions from the pay of the employees were impounded into the Treasury of the United States and not used to assist in conserving employment, but by the impounding contributed to unemployment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby authorized and instructed to immediately after adjournment of this Convention call into special session in Washington, D. C., the presidents, or their representatives, of all national or international unions having members affected in this act. This Committee shall give consideration to and analyze the conditions resulting from, and initiate, through collective action or through a Sub-Committee of the full Committee, legislation designed to remedy, the existing Economy Act.

Repeal of Economy Law

Resolution No. 71—By Delegates Leo E. George, Thomas F. Flaherty, Samuel A. Matlock, John N. Bishop, John C. Sweeney of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Michael T. Finnan, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz of the National Association of Letter Carriers; W. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, B. G. Burris

of the Railway Mail Association; A. O. Wharton, Chas. W. Fry, R. A. Henning, Daniel Haggerty, N. P. Alifas of the International Association of Machinists; David R. Glass of the American Federation of Government Employees; Lester W. Royer of the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; Andrew J. Fallon of the International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union; Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers; Clyde M. Mills of the Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, In its report to this Convention the Executive Council said of the so-called Economy Law enacted by the Seventy-first Congress, "The American Federation of Labor will give every aid to the government employes to defeat this objectionable legislation for which there is no defense; and

WHEREAS, We are in complete accord with the Council's justifiable objections to this abortive legislation, which was hastily enacted under the spur of a hysterical clamor for a reduction in national government expenditures, and which degenerated into an attack on wage and employment standards for which organized Federal workers had long struggled; and

WHEREAS, The principal savings effected by the economy bill have come from the meagre wages of the government workers, thus decreasing their purchasing power and retarding economic recovery and, furthermore, imposing undue hardships upon the employes without any appreciable reduction in government tax rates; and

WHEREAS It is important that the government in its capacity as an employer establish and maintain high wage and employment standards as an example for private industry, and it is particularly essential that this policy be now followed in order to help build up the mass purchasing power of wage-earners so necessary for economic stability; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-second Convention of the American Federation of Labor in full approval of the Council's well-founded objection to the Economy Law hereby instructs the Council to give all possible aid to interested affiliates, not only to repeal this unsatisfactory law at the earliest possible moment, but to correct retroactively the injustices that have been imposed upon many workers by restrictive administrative rulings and practices since it has been in operation.

Your Committee considered Resolutions 56 and 71 together as both cover the same subject, namely the Federal Economy Law. That portion of the Report of the Executive Council dealing with this same subject, while not before this Committee, is mentioned in one of the resolutions in a declaration there can be no defense of the economy act. Your Com-

mittee approves this view. Nothing can be said in defense of the Act while much can be said against it. In repeated public statements and in letters to members of Congress, President Green protested against the enactment of this legislation as likely to be harmful in its effects with no compensatory offsets in the way of advantages. His fears and predictions have been fully realized in the short time that the law has been in operation.

The Economy Law has resulted in the lowering of wage and working standards on the part of the Government, and there has been no noticeable reflection in lowered Federal taxes. Its early repeal, therefore, will be beneficial from every viewpoint.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in Resolution 71, which requests early repeal of the Economy Law, as well as appropriate remedial action to correct the injustices arising from it.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Finger Printing

Resolution No. 72—By Delegates Leo E. George, Thos. F. Flaherty, Samuel A. Matlock, John N. Bishop, John C. Sweeney of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Michael T. Finnan, William J. Gorman, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz of the National Association of Letter Carriers; W. M. Collins, H. W. Strickland, B. G. Burris of the Railway Mail Association, A. O. Wharton, Chas. W. Fry, R. A. Henning, Daniel Haggerty, N. P. Alifas of the International Association of Machinists; David R. Glass of the American Federation of Government Employees; Lester W. Royer of the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers; Andrew J. Fallon of the International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union; Clyde M. Mills of the Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.; C. L. Rosemund, International Federal of Technical Engineers, Architects and Draftsmen's Unions.

WHEREAS, At its last Convention the American Federation of Labor unanimously adopted a resolution in opposition to the rule of the Civil Service Commission requiring all applicants for positions in the civil service to be finger-printed and also in protest against the commission's proposal to finger-print those already in the service when deemed necessary; and

WHEREAS, Despite this expression against these objectionable practices and the effort of the council to make it effective the Civil Serv-

ice Commission has not altered or modified its position and is continuing the obnoxious policy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-second Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its opposition to the practices of the Civil Service Commission and in view of the impending change in the personnel of said Commission, hereby instructs the Executive Council to renew its endeavors to have speedily discontinued this unnecessary and obnoxious finger-printing requirement as a condition for Government employment.

As recited in the resolution the last Convention of the A. F. of L. reported its opposition to the practice of fingerprinting. The time now appears opportune to get favorable action for the elimination of this obnoxious employment requirement. Your Committee therefore recommends concurrence in the resolution.

Delegate Furuseth: I am in absolute sympathy with the resolution. If they insist upon finger-printing everybody the way they are doing I think that we ought to adopt again the custom that existed in early times in this Republic, that if men wearing gloves, so that the finger printing would be useless and of no value at all. Cheap cotton gloves will obviate all the good that could possibly, even in their opinion, come from importing all European and Asiatic customs into this country.

President Green: Do I understand that you suggest that all government employees wear cotton gloves?

Delegate Furuseth: Cheap cotton gloves to protect themselves from finger-printing.

President Green: The suggestion will be included in the record and the government employees can read it and act on the suggestion.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Legislation to Protect Women and Children in Industry

Resolution No. 74—By Delegates Thos. F. McMahon, John P. O'Connell and Emile Rieve, of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, We, the delegates of the United Textile Workers of America to the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, firmly believe that the way to relieve unemployment and bring about stabilization of industry is to reduce the hours of labor and increase wages; and

WHEREAS, At the present time much of the manufactured goods purchased by the Government of the United States and its instrumentalities is the product of sweat shops where women and children are employed under intolerable conditions and starvation wages, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation

of Labor in Convention assembled, that the Executive Council is hereby instructed to petition Congress to enact legislation which will prohibit the United States Government and its instrumentalities from purchasing goods to be used by any and all government departments where women and children are employed in the manufacture of these goods after 6 o'clock post meridian or before the hour of 6 o'clock ante-meridian or more than 48 hours in any week or where women and children are employed below a wage scale which provides decency and comfort.

At the request of the sponsors of the Resolution the phraseology of the first Whereas has been changed by inserting after the word "delegates" in the first line these words "of the United Textile Workers of America."

While the Resolution refers only to textiles it deals indirectly with a most important question involving millions of workers in various trades and callings. Unfortunately our Government in its capacity as a consumer buys its goods under a system of competitive bidding which awards the contract to the lowest responsible bidder. Of necessity, this places the union contractor and the establishment operating under union conditions at a distinct disadvantage. On the other hand, this system operates to aid and encourage the unfair employer who seeks only to produce goods at a minimum cost with no regard for the humanities involved.

It is the opinion of your Committee that the Council might well go beyond the scope covered in this Resolution to secure either legislation or executive action to the end that the Government in its purchase of supplies insist that advanced employment standards, such as conform to the principles of organized labor, be followed by the manufacturer. Cheapness of manufacture should not be the only consideration in the granting of Government bids. There are numerous other factors of far greater importance.

Your Committee concurs in the Resolution with the suggestion, as above indicated, that the Council investigate the advisability of extending its scope to apply to supplies other than textiles.

Delegate Furuseth: If I heard right, it mentions a minimum wage for women. The report and the resolution deal with a minimum wage for women. Is that so?

Secretary Flaherty: It refers to hours only. As far as wages go it merely says "a minimum wage scale which supplies decency and comfort."

Delegate Furuseth: That is what I object to. That question of a minimum wage for women was before the Supreme Court of the United States and was held unconstitutional, for the following reasons: Women have become equal to men as citizens. You cannot have a minimum rate of wages for women without subjecting yourselves to a minimum wage for men, and that is the thing that will destroy the entire labor movement.

I move to strike out the part that refers to a minimum wage for women.

Secretary Flaherty: I think Delegate Furuseth misunderstands the intention of the resolution. I think his objection can be met and the resolution strengthened by the elimination of the word "minimum" from the last part of the resolution, so that it will read "a wage scale that provides decency and comfort."

Delegate Furuseth: That will do.

Delegate McMahan, Textile Workers: There is no objection to the change on the part of those who proposed the resolution.

The amendment was adopted and the report of the committee, as amended, was adopted by unanimous vote.

Constitutional Amendment Providing for Five-Day Week and Six-Hour Day

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate Paul Scharenberg, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The emergency of war gave us the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States; and

WHEREAS, At the present time we are confronted by another emergency, an economic crisis unparalleled in the history of the United States, a crisis due solely and wholly to our inefficiency and incapacity to properly distribute the wealth so bountifully provided by Divine Providence; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the 52nd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that we favor a Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States limiting working days to five in each week and the working hours to six per day.

Your Committee gave careful thought to this Resolution to establish the shorter work-week by means of a Constitutional Amendment. We realize that in times of distress and prompted by the urgings of dire necessity men are likely to become impatient at what appears to be undue delays, and therefore seek apparent short cuts and new remedies for great economic reforms.

Let us not make the mistake of supposing that we can usher in the five-day week universally through the medium of a Constitutional Amendment. This proposal is untenable, im-

practical and at variance with trade-union principles. Superficially it may appear to offer an avenue toward the goal we are earnestly seeking, but let us examine it thoroughly to ascertain just what is involved.

It is exceedingly difficult to amend our Federal Constitution. Not only must two-thirds of the Congress approve, backed by three-fourths of the States, either through the action of legislatures or conventions, but unless the amendment, when approved, is supported by public opinion its proper enforcement is doubtful. We have constitutional amendments now that are not enforced in those localities where public opinion runs counter to the purpose of the amendment.

Reference is made in this resolution to the Eighteenth Amendment and the desirability of proceeding likewise to secure a five-day week amendment. Our experience with the Eighteenth Amendment is such that we should move slowly to repeat that colossal failure. The Eighteenth Amendment proves that merely amending the Constitution does not accomplish the end sought. There can be no effective enforcement in the absence of a supporting public sentiment. Then follows, inevitably, as in the case of the Eighteenth Amendment, an agitation for repeal that keeps the question in constant ferment.

The point is that a Constitutional Amendment is subject to attack and evasion and even if secured in this instance, it would not conclude the fight for the shorter work week principle.

We have no reasonable hope of any widespread public support behind a movement to amend the Constitution in this manner, even if we deemed it wise to seek it. What has been our experience with the proposed Child Labor Amendment? Here is an issue that has a particular appeal—the protection of the child life of the Nation—and yet the response to our entreaties on the part of the general public has been very disappointing. If a Child Labor Amendment can be so successfully blocked, a like fate awaits a five-day amendment because of the far more formidable opposition to this proposal. The obstacles thrown in its path would be insurmountable.

This would mean, therefore, that Labor for countless years would be expending its time, finances and energies in a fruitless undertaking to obtain politically this great reform, neglecting meanwhile more favorable opportunities to

secure it along economic lines in accord with trade-union principles and precepts. Concisely, instead of a short cut to a universal five-day week this proposal would transfer the battle into political fields to Labor's distinct disadvantage and prolong the struggle indefinitely.

Your Committee cannot too emphatically state that its rejection of this Resolution in no way reflects an opinion unfavorable to the five-day week and six-hour day. It is because we believe sincerely in this great economic principle and want to see it effectuated as speedily as possible that we refuse to sanction a program that can lead only to delays and pitfalls. We have approved the end sought but we reject the proposed method, because it conflicts with the principle long maintained by Labor of opposing the regulation by legislation of hours of male adult employment.

There is another consideration involved. The Constitution is a political document and should not be used to regulate morals or economics or anything not directly linked with the fundamental political structure of our Government. Labor would bitterly oppose any effort of its enemies to increase working hours by means of a Constitutional Amendment. Nevertheless the principle is the same as in this proposal. This proves our previous statement that even if this Amendment were adopted it would not conclude the fight because our enemies would immediately seek another Amendment more favorable to their economic views. So, as a short cut to a desired end, a Constitutional Amendment would be futile.

In addition, experience has taught us that the shorter work week has not come through legislative processes, except, of course, for those who are employed directly by the Government or in interstate commerce and must depend upon legislative action. But the great mass of workers have progressed successively from twelve to ten hours, then to eight hours, and now, in many instances, to forty-four or forty hours weekly, through the power of their economic organizations.

Our future can well be guided by this history of the past. Let us not delude ourselves into believing there is an easy, royal road to this or any other substantial economic reform. We will go farther and faster in the long run by continuing to seek the five-day week and the six-hour day through the strength and influence and fighting force of the trade-union movement.

For these reasons your Committee recom-

mends non-concurrence in the Resolution.

Delegate Allen, Twin Cities Federation: It is certainly a pleasure to me to rise to speak in opposition to the recommendation of the committee, simply because of the fact that I cannot see even a glimpse of any other way of escape, other than by legislation for the regulation of hours. Not that the committee doesn't offer a substitute for such an achievement, and I say it with the deepest regret, that after many years of the operation of this Federation of Labor we have not yet achieved the eight-hour day, of which we hear so much. Then why should we have the faintest hope of obtaining the five-day week and the six-hour day?

My friends, we have come to a point in the history of labor when we must, of necessity, change our previous attitude and opinion of regulation of hours of labor by legislation. I admit that it would be far better if we had economic power to regulate hours ourselves, but history convinces me, and I believe convinces you, that we do not possess that ability. Do not forget that while we are proud of our organization, that yet we only constitute a very, very small percentage of labor in the United States. I cannot state the exact percentage, but I doubt, insofar as hours of labor are concerned, that we can control 5 per cent of the labor of this country so far as regulating hours is concerned.

Are we blind to the fact that today there are thousands of laborers in this country working ten, twelve, and fourteen hours a day, while others are begging for work? What are we going to do? Organized labor cannot cope with it in any other way than by legislation. If you can, I beg of you to bring out the plan and let us discuss it and get it. How about the thousands of men working in filling stations, who work ten, twelve and fourteen hours a day? If one of them would not accept a reduction in wages it is more than likely that a man with a union card in his pocket, under force of the depression we are going through, could and might take his job. It is serious—it is more than serious, it is deplorable.

I know it is well nigh impossible to achieve legislation such as the resolution proposes, but because we might say it would be impossible to enforce it is no reason for not attempting it. Can any delegate point to a law, either national or state, that is enforced 100 per cent? Do you know of any? Even though it be impossible to enforce, it will give us the greatest weapon we

have ever had or ever will have to regulate the hours of labor. In his able address Mr. Spencer Miller gave us the figures of four days a week and four hours a day, and I only wish the resolution had those figures instead of six hours a day and five days a week. What is the use of having such scholarly men as Mr. Miller to figure these matters out as accurately as any scientific man can figure them, and then come right after him and ask for six hours a day and five days a week? Is it any wonder our statesmen are at loggerheads about what to do?

Now as to the legislative possibilities. Of course as long as we come up and say it cannot be done nationally it will not be done, but the sooner we begin to educate public sentiment to that possibility the sooner we will arrive at a place where we can enjoy it. But let me ask of you, if you do not know of any other way to solve the question of over-production than to go into the legislature, for God's sake, let us try it that way! I am willing to go with you along any other lines if you propose it, but if you haven't anything better to propose, let us go along this trail. I am not afraid of the United States Government; it is bad enough, but it is not as bad as having 11,000,000 men walking the streets looking for work and having several million more working half time, and it is better than having one man work half time and then divide his wages with those who have no work.

Surely there is a way. I am sorry that I haven't a way to offer, but this avenue is the only hope I have. If you take this away I confess I am without hope of regulating the hours of labor in the United States of America. But I am of the opinion that if a convention such as this, the most representative convention of labor, will take hold of the question, in due season we will be able to convince the Congress and Senate of the United States that such legislation is altogether within the ideals of America and the principles for which we stand, and that it is possible and necessary.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates—The speaker wants, or rather the resolution wants, to put all the power of dealing with the hours of labor in the hands of the Federal Government. The Federal Government has the power to deal with hours of labor in interstate commerce. Since I have been a delegate to these conventions that question has been before us and we have asked the Federal Government consistently and persistently to

exercise the power that it has, and yet I represent a class of men, the majority of whom are working 12 hours a day, 84 hours a week. Why is that so? Because I don't think you would put the industrial states of this Union, if you were to number them, at more than 16. There are 48 states in the Union. Every state in the Union has two United States Senators and those Senators, representing their constituencies, will necessarily be opposed to anything of the kind, because it won't fit their states or their conditions of industry.

The United States Government exercises powers which are granted to it and none others. The states exercise power not forbidden to them. In the 48 states of the Union there ought to be one or two that could be used as a laboratory of experiments with these things without taking the power from the states and the people and lodging it in a center from which you can expect nothing in the next three generations at least, even if you could expect anything then.

The resolution, in my mind, is half-baked—worse than that! The attack upon it by the Committee is sane; its recommendations are correct from an American point of view, dealing with things as we find them in the United States.

There is nothing to prevent the United States, if it wants to, having a four-day week and a four-hour day. There is nothing in our Constitution that would prevent it, so far as I know, and I tried to find out. But lodge the exclusive power in the Federal Government and God help you and your children's children under the circumstances!

I cannot see any reason why we should follow some of the mad ideas of Europe when they set out from an entirely different point of view in dealing with governmental and social questions than we do. In this country the power is lodged with the people through the state. The power of their government is lodged in the upper classes, and it is the form of government that Europe is trying to break down. We fail to use the power of our Government to remedy the evils we suffer under, and the thing to do is not to borrow the system of other governments, but to make progress under the powers we have.

Do you know what it would mean to give this power to the Government to rule the hours of labor? How do you know that you will not get twelve hours instead of four hours, considering that the foreigners work twelve hours

in the summer at any rate, though they cannot work even eight in some places in the winter? How do you know what we are going to get by asking such things from a Government made up such as ours is? For God's sake, go back to fundamental principles and get rid of this rot!

Delegate Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor: I am in perfect accord with the Committee's report, but I feel perhaps it might be unwise for no member of the Committee to rise and defend the report.

I realize, Mr. President and fellow delegates, that we are again in the midst of those times that caused a great American patriot to say that "these are the times that try men's souls." I can have a perfect understanding of how the delegate feels who has spoken against the report of the Committee. My sympathies go to him and to every man and woman in these United States, yes, in the world, when starvation is stalking and need is on every hand, because there is no opportunity to provide honest labor for proper remuneration.

I have had a great deal of experience in getting legislation on the subject of hours and I have had a great deal of experience in trying to have that legislation lived up to, and my general experience has been that hours, yes, and wages fixed by law do not mean anything to the individual worker in the mass if back of it there is not an economic organization, and if back of them is not backbone enough to declare that they are not getting the hours and they are not getting the wages. Case after case has come to me of violation of the law, both in hours, working conditions, and in some cases wages, but an affidavit is necessary and the worker refuses to make an affidavit for the reason that the filing of the affidavit means prosecution, and prosecution means loss of employment. I have had case after case where the hours of labor fixed by statute had the effect of keeping union men and union women off the job, for the reason that the unions made their laws in relation to hours in respect to the existing State law, and the non-unionist would work sometimes as long as three hours more on the day at somewhere near the approximate union wage, and employers of union labor have sometimes been completely put out of business because of the fact that there was an eight-hour law and the union men and women of our state would not agree to a wage scale to violate that law.

You attempt to fix the hours of labor for the working people of America, and just as soon as you do you take away from the adult worker his fundamental, inherent right to work one hour, two hours, six hours or eight hours. Then will come with that, perhaps, with a scarcity of labor, the idea that the world's work is not being done and we will have slogans such as we have heard in America in the past three years—3-5, 5-3, and all that kind of bunk. You can't fix the hours of labor by law unless you fix the rate of pay by law. The mere fixing of the hours of labor may ease up to some extent your unemployment, but you are interested in more than the subject of unemployment. What you want is enough remuneration for the hours you work to maintain your standard of living and provide your necessities, and after you have surrendered to the government that first fundamental right, after you have given the government the right to fix your hours of labor, you will then find yourselves face to face with the problem that the government must declare the wage that you shall receive, and then we are back to the medieval ages, where the ruling classes fixed the wage.

I imagine there will always be sufficient opposition to labor in this and other countries to keep laboring men and women from achieving their goal in relation to the things they want through legislation. You men, you officers of the American Federation of Labor, you men and women delegates to this Convention, working through your national and international organizations, working through your State Federations, working through the various organizations when they have attempted to get legislation know that it takes decades to get even a part of what you wanted in all the years we have fought for it.

Andrew Furuseth, whom I met in these Conventions some thirty odd years ago, started with his Seaman's Bill, and he is still here fighting for the Seaman's Bill. He is fighting along those lines because there is no other line on which to fight. We will continue to fight along the lines of economic organization. We are told that we have not accomplished the eight-hour day yet. What is the reason we have not accomplished the eight-hour day or the forty-hour week? The reason is because the working people of this country were not enrolled under the banner of trade unionism and have not learned that

slogan that I heard in these Conventions forty years ago—shortening the hours lengthens the pay. Only through organization can we shorten hours. The organizations represented in this Convention know that you never went out on a shorter hour movement in your trade organization but that your main fight as a general rule was as to the wage you were going to get for the shorter day. Employers have attempted to pay you by the hour, and it is that system coming into the general working conditions of this country, supervisors of industry who appeal to the selfish instincts of individual workers and who say, we don't pay so much per day, we pay so much per hour, and, the worker looks at the extra hours and thinks he is getting extra pay.

Submit a constitutional amendment like that to the people of America and see what would happen to it. Whether it would go through or not, as one delegate who has had some experience behind me, I say that while I sympathize with the idea of doing something, while it has been said that if we can't offer something else let's do this, I say it is better to do nothing than to do something wrong. We are getting a wonderful education in this time of depression, and when this depression is over I am convinced that this education will commence to tell and we will build up the organizations of labor in this country, we will achieve shorter days without consequent reductions in wages and without surrendering our fundamental liberties in relation to work.

Delegate Graham, Helena, Montana, Central Labor Union: I think it is about time there was a fight made for the shorter work day. At Vancouver a year ago there was a resolution introduced at the request of a Trades and Labor Council in Montana. That resolution called for setting aside a day this year when all unions would declare for the six-hour day, and on that day the six-hour day and the five-day week would go into effect. I got a fine bawling out on that resolution from the International officers. They claimed that it would call for a general strike, and the resolution was non-concurred in, and there was nothing further heard in that convention about the shorter work day.

If the report of this Committee is adopted I think we will hear nothing else about the shorter work day here. It will be a matter

of chloroforming the Convention relating to that subject.

You can talk all you want about economic organizations. Our economic organizations are weak and none of your International organizations will stand up and make a fight just now against reductions of wages. They are taking it lying down, they are not taking it fighting, and you all know it.

In regard to fixing the shorter work day through our economic organization, that is well and good. I am for the economic organization and have been ever since I was a boy twelve years old and since I belonged to the old Knights of Labor. We must recognize that we have a great mass of unorganized workers in this country, and they are the ones who are fixing the hours of labor and the rate of pay—not the organized ones.

In my State we have an eight-hour law on all public works. Contractors were working men on the highways, unorganized workers, as high as sixteen hours a day. Our economic organization had to make a strong fight to enforce the eight-hour law. This year we have forced the Highway Commission of the State of Montana, when they make a contract to build any highways in that State, to include a clause in that contract providing for a six-hour day and five days per week, and the prevailing rate of wages must be the same as paid in the county or city in which the work is being done. Where contractors have violated the eight-hour law on work on State highways they have been fined not less than a hundred dollars. We also had one contractor sentenced to thirty days in the county jail for violating the eight-hour law. The judge of the District Court suspended the sentence on condition that the contractor would not work another man over eight hours a day on any of his contracts.

The State of Montana is one of the pioneers in legislation for the eight-hour law. The coal miners of Montana did not have to strike to get the eight-hour day, they secured it by legislation, and through their economic organization they have secured wages and conditions that make the coal miners of Montana among the most advanced in the world.

If this resolution passes it works into the hands of the corporation lawyers and the corporation lobbyists. Our various State organi-

zations are going to come before the legislatures this winter and demand legislation to fix the hours of labor. In our State we are going to ask for a constitutional amendment, and that constitutional amendment is to give the legislature the power to fix the hours of labor, providing it is not more than eight hours a day. After we get the constitutional amendment through, if the legislature won't fix the hours of labor at six per day and five days per week, we will do it through the initiative and referendum. If you pass this resolution the corporations can come and read the minutes of your convention, and they will read these records in the legislature, showing that the American Federation is opposed to legislation in favor of reducing the hours of labor.

This depression has been on us for quite a while and it is getting worse. There is no chance of it getting better for years to come. It is caused mainly by the improved machine, and the machine is getting bigger and better all the time. In the next ten years we will have greater machines than we have now, and we will have more of this thing they call efficiency, which means getting more and more and more work out of men for less and less and less pay.

We should take a stand at this convention, going on record to the effect that the eight-hour day is too long, that even the six-hour day is only for a transitory period. We have got to figure for the next ten years, and if three or four hours a day is enough to supply the human race with all their necessities and luxuries, why should we work any longer, why throw any obstacle in the way to keep from further reducing the hours of labor?

Delegate Simons, Typographical Union: I am a new delegate to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, but I feel strongly when the question of shorter hours comes before this convention. It is true, perhaps, that the brother who institutes this proposition realizes that it may not be possible directly and at this time to recommend the measure which he has suggested, but personally I feel that the crux of the whole labor movement depends on shorter hours, and we as a federation of organized workers must realize that this is the focus point from which we must start. We should all realize that today millions are looking to us, not merely the millions who are organized but the millions who are unorganized.

Can you imagine the state of mind of the

unorganized worker today? I can imagine he is hoping that when the great convention of the American Federation of Labor meets they will have some solution to advance to make progress, to tell the people who are unemployed that there is some form of hope for them and some solution that will take care of their difficulties and take care of the terrible condition that confronts the whole of our nation today.

It seems from the report of Brother Frey this afternoon that the man who controls and directs industry is the banker. We have been told that there is a circulation of five billion dollars. We have been told also by Mr. Frey that seventeen billions were loaned to Europe and that forty-four billions were loaned to domestic corporations. He told us how the bankers, through their interlocking directorates, control and direct absolutely the control and management of industry.

Mr. Miller made a very able address in which he cited the fact that in New Jersey a complete rayon factory had just been finished that did not require one individual to work in order to produce the finished product.

I remember being on the Canadian border a few years ago at Niagara, and I went through a power plant, where I saw two or three highly paid technical engineers who were managing that plant. I saw no other workers. The place was so clean because of the continuous passage of water in direct channels through that plant that it did not get dirty. The only work that was necessary was when they took one big wheel off and substituted another. I mention these things to call to your attention the great necessity for us to do something for the people who want to work.

I don't quite agree with the remark of one of the previous speakers that if this is voted down—and I presume we shall concur in the report of the committee—that that is the end of it, because the Committee on Shorter Work Day has yet to report, and I do hope that committee will have something concrete, something that will promise achievement when it comes to the work of this convention so far as the people who are out of work and so far as the shorter work day is concerned.

Delegate Wharton, Machinists: I just want to make one statement in connection with this question for the information of the speaker. I would like to have him turn to Page 145, Resolution 47, the first day's proceedings, dealing with the question of a license law, which,

in my judgment, is a much more practical thing than the discussion we are having this afternoon, on this very question of regulating hours.

Delegate Allen, Champaign, Illinois, Central Labor Union:—

President Green: Delegate Allen has spoken once on the subject, and under the rules he will not be entitled to speak again until all delegates who desire to speak on the question have been heard. If there are no other delegates who desire to speak, the Chair will recognize Delegate Allen.

Delegate Gainer, Letter Carriers: Mr. President, directing attention to Resolution No. 51 on Page 166, which I understand is the pending resolution, I would like to ask the succeeding speaker, who I understand will be Brother Allen, just exactly what it meant by this resolution if carried into consummation and practical application. Does it mean that the Constitution of the United States would be so amended as to provide a limitation of the hours of labor and the establishment of penalties, penalizing agencies and all workers who work in excess of those hours on certain days? Is it the intention of this resolution, translated into law, to direct that the hours of labor should be limited to a certain number?

Delegate Weaver, Musicians: I would be the last one to quarrel with the idealism which would seek to minimize the hours of labor or better the conditions of working men, but to my mind, to attempt to bring that devoutly wished for consummation through the medium of constitutional amendments is one of the most fantastic schemes ever unfolded on the floor of labor conventions—and this is my fifteenth convention. It seems to me that with our mournful experience with the Eighteenth Amendment we would be about ready to cease attempting to ingraft police powers on to the Federal Constitution.

Supposing you attempted to put this proposition through as a constitutional amendment. I want to call your attention to just one thing you would be up against. What about the agricultural states? We have 48 states in the Union. Thirteen states would block any attempt of this kind, and I could name 26 states at least which are known as agricultural states in the United States, where the men and women and children start their day's labor before sun-up and continue until long after the shades of night have fallen.

Do you suppose you could get those 26 states, agricultural states, to endorse a constitutional proposition of that kind? I don't believe it can be done, and I think that the final report of the Committee is absolutely unanswerable.

Delegate Allen, Champaign Central Labor Union: Mr. Chairman, I wish to be heard again, but I realize it would really be an injustice for me to attempt to speak at this late moment, and I would like to suggest that we adjourn with the understanding that I may be heard again on reconvening tomorrow morning, if that is agreeable. Otherwise I should like to be heard now.

President Green: It is the judgment of the Chair that the Convention is ready to vote on the question without further delay. The Committee on Shorter Work Day will report upon the question of the shorter work day. This is a report upon legislation. There is a distinguishing difference between legislation and the shorter work day and this objective.

Delegate Allen: Very well, Mr. Chairman.

The motion to adopt the Committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Flaherty: This concludes the Report of the Committee on Legislation.

Respectfully submitted,

I. M. ORNBURN, Chairman;
THOMAS F. FLAHERTY, Secretary;
HARRY H. JONES,
W. W. BRITTON,
EMANUEL KOVELESKI,
B. M. JEWELL,
WINFIELD T. KEGAN,
C. L. ROSEMUND,
THOS. J. DONNELLY,
D. J. TOBIN,
JAMES M. DUFFY,
J. N. DAVIS,
JAMES T. MORIARTY,
F. J. ELLISON,
DAVID R. GLASS,
JOHN DONLIN,
EDWARD STIER,

Committee on Legislation.

Delegate Flaherty moved the adoption of the report of the Committee as a whole. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote, and the Committee was discharged with the thanks of the Convention.

Secretary Morrison read a communication from William McCarthy, President of the International Association of Marble, Stone and Slate Polishers; Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers, and Terrazzo Workers Helpers, asking that Louis E. Rode be substituted as delegate in place of

Joseph A. McInerney, who was called out of the city.

Secretary Morrison moved that the request be granted, and the motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

The Secretary of the Cincinnati Central Labor Body made an announcement in which he informed the delegates that the employees of the local Metal Trades Council would have

an open meeting of those interested in the metal trades industries at 1314 Walnut Street, on Friday evening, to which all delegates were cordially invited. He announced that John P. Frey, Secretary-Treasurer of the Metal Trades Department and other speakers would address the meeting.

At 5:50 o'clock p. m., the Convention adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Saturday morning, November 26th.

Fifth Day—Saturday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio
November 26, 1932

The Convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees—McCallum, Mullaney, Shanessy, Birthright, Bowen, Horan, Nelson, Wills, McFetridge, Harrison, Zantsky, Rose, Tighe Royer, Hannah, Britton, Duffy (J. M.), Berry, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Soderberg, Starr, Hatch, Fay, Jewell, Scharrenberg, Taylor (T. N.), Raftery, Reed, Turnblazer, Reilly, Cherry, Taylor (J. A.), Davis (F.), Fox H. W.), Kutz, Watkins, Williams, Parke, Koenig, Starkweather, Brooks, Mitchell (H.), Becker, Kramer, Fritz, Souza, Augustino, Gates, Myers, Rivin, Pierson, Hammon, Newbill, Draper, Alexander, Uppleger, Switalski, Greenway, Curran, Carlson, Woodmansee, Kromelbein, Saylor, Wells, McGeary, Bohm, McElligott, Richardson, Scannell, Meyer, Lufrano, Thoman, Zandor.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Haggerty, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

We, your Committee on Credentials, beg to report that we have examined the credentials of Samuel E. Beardsley, representing the International Jewelry Workers' Union, and recommend that the delegate be seated with 8 votes.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Graham, Helena (Mont.) Central Labor Union: I would like to ask unanimous consent of the Convention to introduce a resolution on behalf of the baby organization of the American Federation of Labor, the newly chartered Sheep Shearers' Union of North America. There is no one here to sponsor the resolution and I arrived at the Convention after the time had expired for presentation of resolutions.

Secretary Morrison: I might add that the Sheep Shearers' Union sent in the resolution by mail and said Mr. Graham would be here to sponsor it. He reached here only a couple of days ago.

There being no objections offered, the resolution was introduced, numbered 94, and referred to the Committee on Resolutions. The resolution is as follows:

Sheep Shearers

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate James D. Graham, of the Montana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Sheep Shearers during the depression have suffered reductions in wages amounting to fifty per cent in the past three years; and

WHEREAS, The Wool Growers' Associations have been importing alien labor from South of the Rio Grande to compete against the organized Sheep Shearers and thus enforce the wage cuts; and

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement can give much assistance to the Sheep Shearers' Union in their efforts to organize and secure remedial legislation in the Western States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pledge its moral support to the Sheep Shearers' Union of North America in all efforts to organize and advance the welfare of its members.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

President Green: The Chair desires to submit a supplementary report which contains the report of the Fraternal Delegates to the British Trades Union Congress. This report was submitted to me just recently by Brothers Joseph Franklin and E. E. Milliman, and I am now submitting it to be published in the proceedings of today.

Report of the Fraternal Delegates of the American Federation of Labor to the 1932 British Trades Union Congress

Submitted to the American Federation of Labor Convention, Cincinnati, 1932.

To the Officers and Delegates of the 52nd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Greeting:

In accordance with the mission intrusted to us by the Vancouver Convention, we attended the 64th Annual British Trades Union Congress held at Newcastle-on-Tyne, England, beginning September 5, 1932.

We were received with the utmost cordiality and friendliness and during our entire stay with our British friends nothing was left undone to entertain us and to make our visit one of the most pleasant and profitable memories. Our fraternal greetings and addresses were received with serious interest and respectful attention and we were very sincerely requested to convey the kindest regards and fraternal greetings of the officers and members of the Congress to you and the membership of the American Federation of Labor.

The Congress, which is the phrase used to describe this Convention, opened promptly at

noon on Monday, September 5th, with the appearance on the platform of the President, Mr. John Bromley, who was accompanied by the Lord Mayor of Newcastle, members of the Newcastle Trades Council and the full General Council consisting of 32 members representing the 18 trade groups in the British Trade Union Movement. Also seated on the platform with us were: Mr. A. J. Crawford of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, Mr. C. Mertens of the International Federation of Trade Unions, Mr. J. T. Lax of the Co-operative Union, the Rt. Hon. George Lansbury, M. P., of the British Labor Party, and others, including the Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson.

Five hundred and seventy-eight delegates from 209 affiliated unions, representing a membership of 3,613,273, were seated as accredited delegates to the Congress.

The activities of the Congress, as indicated in the Trades Union Congress Standing Order, under the heading "Objects," cover a broad field:

(a) The objects of the Congress shall be to promote the interests of all its affiliated organizations and generally to improve the economic and social conditions of the workers.

(b) In furtherance of these objects, the General Council shall endeavor to establish the following measures, and such others as the Annual Meeting of Congress may from time to time approve:

1. Public Ownership and control of natural resources and of services—

(a) Nationalization of land, mines and minerals.

(b) Nationalization of railways.

(c) The extension of State and municipal enterprise for the provision of social necessities and services.

(d) Proper provision for the adequate participation of the workers in the control and management of public services and industries.

2. Wages and hours of labor—

(a) A legal maximum working week of 44 hours

(b) A legal minimum wage for each industry or occupation.

3. Unemployment—

(a) Suitable provision in relation to unemployment, with adequate maintenance of the unemployed.

(b) Establishment of training centers for unemployed juveniles.

(c) Extension of training facilities for adults during periods of industrial depression.

4. Housing—

Provision for proper and adequate housing accommodation.

5. Education—

Full educational facilities to be provided by the State from the elementary schools to the universities.

6. Industrial accidents and diseases—

Adequate maintenance and compensation in respect of all forms of industrial accidents and diseases.

7. Pensions—

(a) Adequate State pensions for all at the age of 60.

(b) Adequate State pensions for widowed mothers and dependent children and mothers whose family bread-winner is incapacitated.

The Trades Union Congress is conducted along very different lines than that of our own Conventions here. There exists only one Committee which is elected as a General Purposes Committee, and all Resolutions must be submitted in advance to this Committee. It is the duty of the Committee to co-operate with the movers of the Resolutions and to work out what is termed "Composite Resolutions" if it is possible to do so, which are submitted by the General Council. In addition to this, they act as a Steering Committee.

All voting is by card method on the basis of one vote for every thousand members and the votes are counted and reported upon by six tellers and seven ballot scrutineers who are nominated by the General Council, subject to approval of the Congress. All Resolutions (which are limited to not more than three to any Trade Union) and all amendments to any proposition submitted by any Trade Union, must be submitted at least four weeks before the opening of the Congress.

Speeches are limited to ten minutes for the mover of a Resolution or proposition, seconder seven minutes, and any succeeding speaker five minutes. Speakers are not allowed to speak from the floor but are required to appear before the Congress on a small raised platform which looks like a small pulpit. The action of the Chairman presiding is very interesting. He does not use a gavel but to attract the attention of a speaker and to notify him that his time is up, he presses a button and a little red light appears just to the right of the speaker in the little box in which he is standing and speaking from, which notifies him that he has one minute longer to speak. Then, if he does not stop within the appointed time, the Chairman presses another button which rings a bell. If he does not stop then, the assemblage in various and effective ways brings him to realization of the fact that his time is up.

President Bromley's address was very interesting inasmuch as it was a report on the history of the British Trade-Union Movement during the interim since their last Congress. He pointed out that the "... dangers and difficulties have become more, menacing with the passage of time" and said "the immediate future, I fear, holds still greater perils and perplexities for our Movement." He had no doubt, however, but that the Trade Unions of Britain would come through their perils and perplexities and emerge sounder and more united, fortified by such experience and in good position to continue the struggle on behalf of the wage-earners. He paid a very glowing tribute to the membership of the trade unions for their loyalty, courage and patience during these most trying times.

He pointed with pride to the achievements of the unions in being able to have maintained the general wage level and stated that trade unionism had been a most stabilizing factor in their general economic situation. He pointed out that as long as human needs remained unsatisfied, it was unlawful to restrict output, a policy of "economy" which lessened the purchasing

power of the consumers. He said: "It is criminal to destroy food that hungry people need but cannot buy; it is criminal to limit the production of raw materials when prices sag under their super-abundance and the finished product cannot find a market; it is criminal to slow down or stop the manufacturing industries producing for human needs when those needs are not met through lack of adequate purchasing power; it is criminal to go on expanding our productive system without providing the means whereby increased output can be distributed and consumed."

Mr. Bromley explained Capitalism is destroying itself because of its one-sided development of production being financed at expense of consumption. He said: "We who are Socialists have been saying for years that progress in science, machinery, and technique in application to agriculture and industry, transport and distribution, has brought within reach of all a higher standard of comfort, prosperity and well-being than any previous generation has known, and we are denied its enjoyment on account of remediable defects in the monetary system,"—and went on—"Common sense dictates the means and methods necessary to increase consumption up to the limits of productive capacity. It mocks the intelligence of plain men to say there is no solution of the problem presented by masses of idle capital, unemployed labor, and machines at a standstill. There is a solution. It is to be found in Socialized production, in a controlled expansion of the consumers' purchasing power, in an equitable redistribution of the opportunities of employment between the workless and the overworked. At this Congress I hope we shall declare in emphatic terms that the trade union policy of raising wages and shortening working hours is the only sound and effective policy under the conditions resulting from the immense expansion and finer technique of modern industry, agriculture and transport."

He did not believe any results would be obtained from the National Government. He said: "No solution lies, as we can all now plainly see, in the policy pursued in the last twelve months by the 'National' Government and the banking and financial interests which control it. That policy must be judged by its results in regard to employment, trade and industry."

Regarding the problem of disarmament, he said: "Neither in moral leadership nor in practical statesmanship has the British Government faced its responsibilities at Geneva," although he paid a glowing tribute to Arthur Henderson, the President of the Geneva Conference.

Mr. Bromley stated that the Government had failed to cope with the terrible problem of unemployment and to promote the recovery of trade and industry, and went on: "Actually, the situation is worse today than when the Government took office. There is less employment. There are more unemployed. The latest official figures show that on July 25th this year there were 2,888,633 unemployed workers on the registers of the Employment Exchanges—over 100,000 more than in the corresponding week of last year; and the increase is really very much larger as administrative and legislative changes affecting the registration of unemployed workers have resulted in something between 170,000 and 200,000 of them being removed from

the books although they are still without work. It would be no exaggeration of the dreadful tragedy to say that there are well over three million unemployed workers in the homes of our land today."

With reference to the British Government claiming credit for having "balanced the budget," Mr. Bromley claimed: "... let it not be forgotten that the claim is fictitious to the extent to which the burden of maintaining the unemployed has been thrown off by the National Exchequer. Local authorities, private charity, the impoverished relatives of unemployed persons, and the unemployed themselves are bearing the burden which the Government threw off in its iniquitous 'economy' legislation. The number of people in receipt of outdoor relief has risen in a year of 'National' Government by something like 40 per cent. In thousands and thousands of cases unemployed claimants to benefits are, under the operation of the Means Test, subsisting on the charity of friends and relatives; and many, in hopelessness and despair, are giving up the struggle and sinking into destitution." He pointed out that it was his own strong conviction that the terrific problem of unemployment could only be solved by the reorganization of industry on the basis of the shorter working day and working week, without reduction of wages, and went on to say: "Our program of Socialist reconstruction is taking shape. With the Labor Party, we have been laying the foundations of a planned economy, embracing the socialization of essential industries and services—transport, electrical power supply, mining, agriculture, banking and finance."

The General Council's report showed that, in spite of all their difficulties, the membership had been maintained to a remarkable extent. Last year 589 delegates attended the Congress, representing 210 Unions and 3,719,401 members, a decrease in membership of 106,128 during the past year.

Regarding the subject of International Relations, the General Council's report stated, among other things: "At the International Labor Conference this year a new Convention was adopted which, with certain exceptions, fixes 14 years as the minimum age of admission of children to non-industrial occupations"—also—"Joint meetings have also been held by the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Labor and Socialist International on the subject of disarmament." "The problems of unemployment, of reparations and war debts have also been dealt with."

The General Council submitted for consideration two important reports dealing respectively with fiscal policy and the public control and regulation of industry and trade. These reports attempted to define more clearly the policy of the trade-union movement on those subjects.

Under the subject matter "Unemployment" the Council stated: "The policy of the present Government, particularly its decrees in regard to 'economy' is clearly shown by statistics to have aggravated the unemployment problem"—and that—"evidence has been submitted to the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance on the question of ad-

ministration by Trade Unions of state unemployment benefits, the position of Trade Unions as placing agents, and the harsh administration of the Means Test." It may be of interest to explain the Means Test is a qualifying act which requires an applicant for dole funds to submit to an examination, and to prove that such applicant is practically a pauper, before he is entitled to dole benefits.

The subjects, Health Insurance, Safety and Welfare, were also dealt with by the General Council in its report, and under the heading, "Education," it was stated that the General Council had again provided six residential scholarships for Trade Union students at Ruskin College, four scholarships for the summer school of the International Federation of Trade Unions held this year at the Belgian Labor College, Uccle, near Brussels; that the fourth Trade Union Congress Summer School was held at Ruskin College during the past summer with very encouraging success, and that the T. U. C. had furthered its educational activities in the holding of two week-end schools for students selected by Trades Councils in different parts of England.

Under the subject matter, "The Political Situation," it was shown that the Trade Union group in the Parliamentary Labor Party was thirty-two.

The Council stated in closing its report: "The number of unemployed continues to rise, and the state of trade generally shows no improvement. The General Council are satisfied that the Government's 'economy' policy is creating unemployment on a scale which will progressively increase, whilst cuts in social services are further depredations on the standard of life of the workers."

"There is evidence that at home and abroad enlightened opinion is appreciating the conviction of the trade-union movement that reducing wages and consequently reducing power to consume is an aggravation of our problem."

"During a discussion of the unemployment situation and the application of the Means Test, it was stated by a representative of the Miners' Federation that eight years ago there were 1,110,000 miners working in and about the mines of Britain as against 800,000 working at the present time, a drop of 310,000."

War Debts, Reparations and Internal Policy

The adoption of the following resolution indicates the attitude of the British Trade-Union Movement on the question of war debts, reparations and other international debts, and on the tariff; as well as their proposed policies to meet their own domestic unemployment situation:

"That this Congress expresses its grave concern at the increase in the number of unemployed in this country, and at the suffering and hardship so caused.

"Congress is of the opinion that the policy pursued by the present Government in reducing wages and social services has aggravated the problem.

"Congress therefore calls upon the Government to adopt a policy on the following lines: (a) on the international field, the abolition of

war debts and reparations, the international examination of other international debts, and the lowering of barriers to trade; and (b) at home, the planning of large scale developments such as housing schemes, slum clearance and other public works which will provide long-term employment and improved purchasing power for persons now unemployed, the public control of banking and monopolistic industries, and the taxation of land values."

It was interesting to note during this debate as well as during the discussion of other matters throughout the Congress that many speakers pointed out that the adoption of such resolutions would not solve the question of unemployment and that it was their belief that it could not be solved under their present social system.

It seems apparent that, despite the difficulties they are having with their Unemployment Insurance Laws, such laws save England from industrial revolution. And while these laws have their evils, they are being constantly amended and are very popular. It is true that there are many instances of unfair and unjust advantages, but, despite this, it seemed to us that this method was much to be preferred to the brand of dole that exists in this country. Like any other organized or orderly procedure and policy, it works out better than unorganized, disorderly, chaotic movement of any kind.

National Health

The Congress criticized the present National Health Insurance Law, maintaining it had developed on lines contrary to the best interests of the workers, and declared itself in favor of a reorganization of the finance, administration and benefits of the scheme as follows:

"Centralization of Finance.

"Abolition of Panel System and establishment of a State Medical Service to include specialist services, State maternity services and dental and optical treatment.

"Extension of these services to dependents of insured workers."

A resolution was adopted opposing the reduction of the women's benefit under the National Health Insurance Act. During the discussion of this resolution it was well stated by one of the women delegates when she said: "I believe the women will get a fair deal, whether a Labor Government or any other Government be in power, when they wake up to their responsibilities and, along with the men, organize and become articulate so that they get the full benefits they are entitled to."

Balanced Budget

With further regard to the so-called English "balanced budget," one can draw his own conclusions from the statements made by the Rt. Hon. George Lansbury, the leader of the Labor Party, when he stated: "It may be that the international money-lenders, bankers and pawnbrokers, owing to the terrific sacrifices imposed upon our people, are recovering. I do not know, but I am certain that the people I represent, the men and women on whose pence my

election to Parliament depends—I am certain that their condition grows daily more tragic.”

Mr. Lansbury sees no difference in the ultimate objects of the three great movements in England—the Trade-Union Movement, the Co-Operative Movement, and the great Socialist Movement or the Labor Party. While the Labor Party has received very serious setbacks, they have lost none of their enthusiasm. The growth of the Co-Operative Movement is amazing. Through it, great newspapers, including the *Daily Herald*, printed in London with a daily circulation of over two million, are published and controlled; and a great amount of business, merchandise and otherwise, is handled through great stores throughout England. This runs into the millions of dollars annually.

The leaders of the Federated Co-Operative Productive Society claim they materially help the labor problem by uniting producer and consumer in co-operative co-partnership; profits are shared with workers and consumers. They state the workers are part owners of the factories employing them, and workers take part in the management of their place of business. Dividends are restricted on stock investment; customers share in profits as dividends on trade and workers share in profits by receiving a bonus on wages. Coal mines, as well as factories, are owned and operated on this basis.

Mr. Crawford, representing the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, stated that the present government at Ottawa was elected upon a platform which declared for the end of unemployment and \$20,000,000 was voted by Parliament for that purpose. Custom tariffs were also increased with the idea of a further protection to industry. Certain relief plans were instituted throughout the country and the money thus appropriated was used for that purpose; where work could not be found, direct relief was given. He stated that this plan helped greatly to relieve distress but it did not end unemployment. Failure of the wheat crop in Western Canada placed 150,000 more people residing in that area in need of assistance; and, with prices of farm commodities continually dropping, the already difficult situation was further aggravated. Because of this situation, the Government again acted through Parliament and an Act known as “Peace, Order and Good Government” was enacted. This measure gave the Government larger powers than were conferred upon it during the war period. “It utilized its provisions to guarantee credit to the banks on account of the wheat pool and to increase the personnel of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police,” said Mr. Crawford. However, this did not meet the unemployment problem which steadily grew worse, and again Parliament, during the February session, enacted a further bill which gave the Government another appropriation, but this time for direct relief only. And, as stated by Mr. Crawford—“In other words, we have the dole in Canada with a vengeance.”

He stated both old parties were opposed to the establishment of a national system of unemployment insurance, but public opinion was very strong in its favor and it was his opinion that some kind of legislation of this nature would be enacted within the near future.

Mr. Crawford paid a very glowing tribute to Sir Henry Thornton when he said “He gave the workers a square deal and recognized them

as equal partners in the administration of the railroad of which he was president.” He further stated that, despite long continued unemployment, labor in Canada was holding its own; and that while there was a reported loss in membership it still was greater than at any period with the exception of the war years; that the so-called “National” or “Canadian Movement” had not made the same progress during the year as it had during the previous two or three years, and that the International Unions having a common membership in the United States and Canada, continued to lead all others by a tremendous majority. He further added that labor’s influence in the public life of Canada was greater today than at any time in its history.

Mr. C. Mertens, representing the International Federation of Trade Unions, extended the fraternal greetings from the more than 14,000,000 workers, men and women, who are affiliated with the I. F. T. U. He pointed out that it became apparent as time went on that there can be no question but what all nations are dependent upon each other. He made a very pertinent statement when he said—“Notwithstanding this, some people think that they can go their own way, and consequently they are clamoring for protection. But as they do so in every country the Governments, by imposing more and more duties, are stopping business, and the exchange of goods is going further down with the fatal consequence of increasing unemployment. And so the rivalry between the different peoples is going further and further, establishing in fact and in the first place an economic war, which finally may lead to another military war, which means the destruction of lives and goods instead of what is wished by us, through a sound and well regulated production—the welfare of all people.”

Mr. H. B. Butler, Director of the International Labor Office, delivered a very interesting address. He stated: “. . . it may be said without contradiction that the international standards which have been built up by the Conventions passed each year at the International Labor Conference have stood as a solid defense against the tides of depression, and have, at least, prevented conditions of labor being brought lower over the section of the industrial field which they cover. The exploitation of child labor and of the work of women has been practically abolished throughout Europe and greatly reduced in countries like India and Japan which have now entered the industrial race. Social insurance, which, before the war, was practically confined to two or three countries in Europe, has now spread rapidly on the Continent and is extending to other parts of the world.”

Speaking of the future, Mr. Butler said: “We have two big questions on the agenda for next year. Insurance against invalidity, old age and death, and insurance against unemployment. Also—”. . . the question of the legal institution of the 40-hour week in all industrial countries with a view to the adoption of international regulations on the subject, was bound to be given serious consideration within the near future.”

With reference to the economic situation throughout the world, Mr. Butler stated: “There are at this moment some signs of recovery be-

ginning. The outlook now, both in Europe and America, is more hopeful than it was six months ago, but we still have a long road to travel before we are out of the woods, and I hope that the World Economic Conference which is to meet in the next few months will take us a step further along the road."

Minimum Age Requirements

The Congress declared its opposition to the employment of children out of school hours and on non-school days, and called upon Parliament to require that the minimum age of general employment in non-industrial occupations shall not be less than fourteen years; and that no exemption be given for the employment of children by their parents or guardians.

Disarmament

The Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, President of the Disarmament Conference, in addressing the Congress as a special guest, stated that the Disarmament Conference had not been a failure; and while he admitted that the progress that had been made and the agreements already reached did not go far enough, he pointed with pride to the following accomplishments:

"Firstly, agreement has already been reached on the prohibition of bombing from the air.

"Secondly, there is the prohibition of chemical bacteriological and incendiary warfare.

"Thirdly, there is the limitation of national defense expenditure, and

"Fourthly, the permanent supervision of armaments by a Permanent Commission."

Regarding the general political situation and the task which lies before the Labor Party, he said:

"The events that culminated in our defeat a year ago can now be seen in their true perspective. I am convinced—and I want to emphasize the thought—that at that time we took the right course." And he reminded the Congress "... and some of those who had been attacking or have not taken the trouble to examine the Constitution, that our fundamental aim as stated in the Party Constitution, is the transformation of Capitalist society into a Socialist commonwealth by emancipation of the people. We seek to accomplish that great transformation by the Parliamentary method, the method of reason, the method of argument, the method of intelligent conviction and of general consent, this we believe to be preferable to violent convulsion and revolutionary upheaval which must bring misery, confusion and disorder in their train."

Immediately after Mr. Henderson's address, the Congress adopted a Resolution which reads in part:

"Congress instructs the General Council to take immediate steps to place the views of Congress before the Government and urges that British representatives at the Conference should seek as a minimum reduction the full application to existing land, naval and air armaments of the proposals of President Hoover, and convey the further declaration of Congress that a treaty of Disarmament will only inspire confidence if it includes a drastic reduction

and limitation of expenditure on armaments and a strict international control of both the public and private manufacture of war material and the international trade in arms."

During the discussion under the subject of Trade Unionism and the control of industry, it was clear, as has already been pointed out in this report, that the British Trades-Union Movement looks toward the Socialistic control of industry, banks and finance as the way out. There is much difference of opinion as to just how this can be accomplished. We can not help but observe that it is also a matter of opinion just what effect the tie-up of the Labor Party and the Co-operative Movement has upon the Trade-Union Movement. It is obvious that some of the outstanding leaders of the British Movement are convinced that their country is headed toward Socialism in the near future and they urge the Movement to be ready to carry out their Socialistic principles in accordance with the methods that they propose.

It was very interesting to note how the difficulties with which the British Movement is confronted are comparable to our own. The Congress directed attention "to the danger of the same chaos developing in international travel as between air and the mercantile marine, as has occurred between road and rail on land, and calls upon the Government to establish a National Maritime and Civil Aviation Board to develop and co-ordinate these services with a view to utilizing both to the fullest advantage in the interests of the nation, including the provision of greater and cheaper facilities for the transit of both goods and persons."

With reference to the National Transport Service, the Congress "regards the new pooling arrangements between the railway companies as a development leading to monopoly under private ownership and control. It considers such measures will be inadequate to remedy the present unsatisfactory position of the railway industry, and reaffirms its view that the Government should acquire the railways and other transport undertakings on fair terms and reorganize them to provide a complete public transport service under a National Transport Authority."

Rationalization

Regarding Employment, Hours of Labor and Rationalization, the Congress viewed with alarm the condition of unemployment and pointed out that the future does not offer any immediate improvement. This was evident in a Resolution introduced by the Rt. Hon. Margaret Bondfield, former Minister of Labor in the Labor Cabinet, wherein it was stated:

"Under Capitalism, the drive towards Rationalization and the Trustification of industry is effected mainly at the expense of the workers. An accelerated output is secured by less labor. Over the whole field of industry the wage bill is reduced and numbers are added to the ranks of the unemployed.

"This Congress, therefore, instructs the General Council to formulate a general policy for the reduction of the hours of labor. Congress, however, declares its opposition to a movement which would lower the standard of living of the wage-earners, but will support and approach toward the establishment of a 40-hour week in which provision is made to compensate the workmen for loss of earnings consequent upon the reduction of hours, for rationalized industry is capable of effecting an output which would make possible the shorter working week without any reduction in the total weekly wage.

"Further, in connection with the foregoing, Congress instructs the General Council to press forward internationally to secure a legal 40-hour week in all countries and to promote an active campaign in favor of this policy as being the most effective and practicable method of mitigating the results of industrial rationalization, and to bring about an absorption of the unemployed and the spreading of employment over a larger number of men and women."

Alien Workers

With regard to aliens being permitted to work in England, the Congress adopted the following Resolution:

"That the General Council approach the appropriate Ministers of the Crown with the view of ensuring that no permit shall be decided upon for any aliens to take up positions in this country, without due consultation with the accredited representatives of Trade Unions, and every effort made to find a suitable British subject, and to safeguard established conditions."

During the time of the meeting of the Congress, the Cotton Workers of Lancashire were on strike. As stated by one of the officers of the Cotton Workers Trade-Union, the real cause of the dispute was that the employers did not honor the agreements made with the representatives of the workers. The employers set aside the agreements and arbitrarily ordered wage reductions as well as reductions in hours of labor. The Congress considered this dispute as an advance assault by the employers to take advantage of the times and further impoverish the workers. The Congress pledged itself to support by all means in its power the fight of these Cotton Workers and instructed the General Council to assist in every way, morally and financially, these workers in their struggle. A Committee was appointed, and before the Congress adjourned it was announced that nearly 14,000 pounds or about \$50,000 had been donated in support of the strike.

European Labor Contracts

We took advantage of the opportunity to visit the labor leaders of the various countries on the Continent wherever it was possible for us to do so. We were most cordially welcomed and much interest was evidenced in conditions here in the United States; and on their part, without exception, they were

most anxious and willing to help us get a definite idea of the actual conditions existing on the other side.

Our visit to the International Labor Office in Geneva stands out. This labor office, both in its magnificent and appropriate new home, and in the range of service of its activities is most notable. To any American trade-unionists it is a source of pride to realize the part which the late leader of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers, had in the establishment of this organization, as an autonomous part of the League of Nations. The room in this labor office, which has been fitted out by American trade-unionists in memory of Mr. Gompers, is most appropriate. It is a matter of genuine regret, that both the American Government and American Labor do not have membership in this important organization. Until such time as our Government is a member, it does seem to us both wise and proper that the American Government should have an unofficial observer at the labor office, to interpret the industrial and labor conditions in our country to this important international center.

We are convinced that there are no essential differences in the issues confronting the workers of Europe, Britain and the United States. Their problems are similar with ours—the workers of the world are the victims of the machine age. It is a matter of consumption rather than production. The workers everywhere are intensely alive to the fact that there is only one solution and that is in a sharp reduction in working time without loss in wages; in fact, wages must be increased. Without this, there can be no increase in actual buying power. There is no other way out. The working class the world over must be placed in a position where they can consume a proper proportion of the things they produce. It is true that wages are low on the other side, but this is not so when all factors are given consideration, especially when we measure wages by production. It can not be gainsaid that the American worker produces more than any other worker on the face of the earth. It has been proven time and time again that, although it may appear that the American worker receives wages that are excessive compared to those of workers in other parts of the world, as a matter of fact, he actually receives less from the standpoint of his production.

We endeavored to the best of our ability to carry out the mission that you intrusted to us. The experience has been not only instructive, but a most delightful one. We are thankful beyond expression for the hospitality, courtesy and most kindly feeling extended to us by our British colleagues. We are most grateful for the honor you conferred upon us and keenly appreciative of the opportunity afforded us.

Sincerely and fraternally submitted,

J. A. FRANKLIN,
E. E. MILLMAN.

Delegate Glass, Government Employees: On a question of personal privilege, if I may. Yesterday afternoon when the resolution was passed

pertaining to the personnel classification legislation, I was prone then to express my gratitude to the delegates in passing that resolution, because it means so much to more than 100,000 of my people. I may say here that I am also grateful because the Executive Council approves our plan on this classification measure.

With reference to civil service procedure I am mindful of many things that need to be done in order to correct some of the injustices and irregularities in our civil service procedure, and as your President can inform you, I stepped down from the Presidency of our organization and accepted the First Vice-Presidency, in order that I might make a study on this subject, so that I could devote my entire time to the study of civil service problems for government employees. I earnestly solicit your suggestions and comments, because the next twelve months of my time will be devoted entirely to this measure.

I realize the great task before me, and your earnest co-operation and help is asked. Again may I thank you for your wonderful co-operation and assure you that your act in approving this measure is one of the best things that could happen to our organization.

President Green: The Chair will call the roll of the committees and inquire if there are any committees now ready to report. It does not appear that any are ready at this time.

Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees: Mr. Chairman, I see nothing to do but adjourn and give the committees an opportunity to meet and get their reports ready. I offer a motion that the rules be suspended and we now adjourn until 9:30 o'clock Monday morning.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote, and the Convention adjourned at 10 o'clock a. m. to reconvene at 9:30 o'clock Monday morning, November 28th.

Sixth Day—Monday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio,
November 28, 1932.

The Convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

Absentees: McCallum, Bowen, McTigue, Rose, Tighe, Royer, Sullivan (H. W.), Burris, Starr, Hatch, Fay, Jewell, Scharrenberg, Taylor (T. N.), Raftery, Reed, Turnblazer, Reilly, Cherry, Taylor (J. A.), Davis (F.), Fox (H. W.), Kutz, Lang, Watkins, Hamilton, Parks, Koenig, Starkweather, Brooks, Mitchell (H.), Becker, Kramer, Fritz, Souza, Augustino, Gates, Myers, Rivin, Pierson, Hammer, Newbill, Draper, Uppleger, Switalski, Greenway, Curran, Carlson, Welsh, Woodmansee, Kromelbein, Saylor, Wells, McGeorgy, Bohm, Barnes, McElligott, Richardson, Scannell, Meyer, Thomn, Zander.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

St. Louis, Missouri,
November 25, 1932.

Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary,
American Federation of Labor,
Netherland Plaza Hotel,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dear Sir and Brother:

I am pleased to advise you that the Saint Louis Memorial Auditorium will be ready for occupancy in 1934 and this Council respectfully request that the American Federation of Labor consider the question of holding their 1934 Convention in this city.

Hoping you will bring this letter to the attention of the Convention at the proper time, I remain with best wishes,

Yours fraternally,
MAURICE J. CASSIDY,
Secretary, Building Trades Council.

Cincinnati, Ohio,
November 28, 1932.

Mr. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dear Mr. Green:

On behalf and by instructions of the Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C., it is a pleasure to extend a very cordial invitation to the American Federation of Labor to hold the 1933 Convention in the Nation's Capital.

The 1933 Convention rightfully belongs in Washington owing to the presentation to the people of the nation during the month of October, next year, a memorial to our immortal leader, Samuel Gompers. The Convention held simultaneously with the unveiling in the most beautiful capital of the world will mark a memorable occasion in the life of the organization.

All facilities necessary to the proper conduct of the American Federation of Labor Convention are available in one of the most thoroughly organized communities in the nation, Washington, D. C.

All civic and business organizations of the city join us in extending this invitation. We will be proud to have you in 1933.

CLYDE M. MILLS, Delegate.

A telegram was received from Victor J. Miller, Mayor of St. Louis, Mo., adding his personal endorsement to telegrams from civic and commercial organizations requesting the Federation to hold its 1933 Convention in that city.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT— COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Haggerty, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials beg to report that we have examined the credentials of Mrs. Mary L. Garner, representing the South Bend (Ind.) Central Labor Union, and recommend that the delegate be seated with one vote.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Lewis, United Mine Workers of America, requested unanimous consent to introduce a resolution. The request was granted, no objection being offered, and the following resolution was introduced:

AMENDMENT TO CONSTITUTION

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers of America.

RESOLVED, That Article V, Section 1, on page IX of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, be amended by striking out the word "eight," appearing on the second line, and inserting in lieu thereof the words "twenty-five."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Committee To Escort Secretary of Labor
W. N. Doak

President Green: The Chair wishes to announce that the Secretary of Labor, Honorable William N. Doak, arrived in Cincinnati this morning and will address the Convention at 11:15 o'clock today. Judge Nevin, of the Federal District Court of this district, will

meet with us and deliver an address at 3:00 o'clock this afternoon. These are the important announcements of today.

I have appointed Brother A. O. Wharton, Brother George Harrison, and Brother Martin F. Ryan, as a committee to call upon the Secretary of Labor and escort him to the platform for the purpose of delivering his address at 11:15 o'clock. I hope the Committee will be prepared to discharge its duties in this respect.

Vice-President Wharton: The Committee on Education is ready to report at the pleasure of the Convention.

President Green: The Chair will now call the committees in regular order.

Delegate Gairnor, Letter Carries: Mr. President, I move that the report of the Committee on Shorter Work Day be made a special order of business at 11:00 o'clock this morning.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: May I direct attention to the fact that Secretary of Labor Doak is to address the Convention at 11:15 o'clock this morning.

Delegate Gairnor: The Committee is ready to report now. The only reason I made the motion for 11:00 o'clock is that a number of delegates informed me they wanted to be here when the subject was taken up. However, I should regret to see the report interrupted by an address, and therefore, if the Chair deems it advisable, the Committee on Shorter Work Day is ready to report now.

President Green: I have called the committees in regular order and the Committee on Education comes first. If there are no objections, we will have it understood that your report will follow the report of the Committee on Education.

The Chair recognizes Chairman Wharton and Secretary Hanson, of the Committee on Education. Secretary Hanson will submit the report.

Report of Committee on Education

Delegate Florence Hanson, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Child Welfare

Under this caption on pages 71 and 72 the Executive Council in its report directs attention to a growing human need. In these days of widespread lowering of wages, standards of

living and general morale, the American Federation of Labor revoices its pledge to use every effort and resource to safeguard the childhood of the nation. Our children suffer most permanently and irremediably from lowered family income. The American Federation of Labor proposes to continue its efforts to see that existing social service agencies be not crippled and their effectiveness impaired by shortsighted economy measures, and that local welfare bureaus and centers, recreational centers, child health clinics, child guidance clinics and nutrition centers all have increased funds with which to meet an increasing demand for childhood protection and national welfare.

Your Committee urges all State Federations, City Central bodies and Local Unions to continued alertness and activity in these fields.

With regret we are compelled to report that while in the last decade there has been a decline of 23 per cent in the number of boys and girls between the ages of 10 and 18 gainfully employed, there are still over two million such boys and girls engaged in gainful employment. Conditions in different parts of the country show an appalling and striking disproportion, the numbers employed ranging from 2 per cent to 25 per cent for children from 10 to 16 years of age. These statistics on child labor are not to be disregarded.

Two per cent of all children between 10 and 16 years were employed in the Middle Atlantic, east North Central and Pacific states.

Fourteen per cent employed in the east South Central.

Nine per cent in the South Atlantic.

Eight per cent in the west South Central.

Twenty-five per cent in Mississippi.

Eighteen per cent in South Carolina and Alabama.

Fifteen per cent in Georgia.

Two-thirds of all the children of 10 and 13 years of age, inclusive, who were gainfully employed in the entire country were in seven southern states; North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas and Louisiana; although the same states had only 16 per cent of the total population of the children of these ages.

The seven states along the South Atlantic, with 16 per cent of the children of the United States from 10 to 18 years of age, employed a larger percentage of all children working; 67 per cent of all those from 10 to 13 years old; 44 per cent of all those 14 to

15, and 22 per cent of those 16 and 17 years of age.

During the decade, 1920-1930, while the number of children 10 to 15 years of age employed in manufacturing, trade and other non-agricultural occupations in the United States as a whole declined 52 per cent, there was an actual increase in the numbers employed in those occupations in South Carolina, Georgia and Florida.

Your Committee on Education recommends to you for adoption the statement of the Executive Council: "The employment of children at any time, and especially during a period of such unprecedented adult unemployment, is at variance with, and incongruous to all declarations of social policy and economic stability. Obviously, there is need for the enactment of social policy into mandatory legislation. The increase of child labor in some southern states, the obvious competitive handicap which this presents to states endeavoring to raise the standards of protection to children, are new and convincing reasons for renewal of efforts to secure ratification of the Child Labor Amendment."

Since but six states, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Montana, Wisconsin and Colorado, have ratified the Child Labor Amendment and since there is no time limit on the ratification of such amendment your Committee urges you to renewed activity.

Your Committee urges you to reaffirm your stand of last year that the initiative in securing the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment be taken by local labor groups in the various states and that they in co-operation with national and international unions and the American Federation of Labor assume largely the responsibility for securing this action. It recommends that ratification of the Child Labor Amendment be put foremost on the legislative programs for the coming sessions of State Legislatures by all State Federations of Labor and that the State Federations of Labor be so advised by the President of the American Federation of Labor. It also recommends that State Federations and City Central Bodies be called upon for a report of their activities on this subject to date, and each year, until the amendment is ratified.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the Committee's report.

Delegate McMahon, Textile Workers' Union: Without question of doubt, the report of the Education Committee is a true one and the

report as I read it, compiled by the Executive Council, is an important one. Unfortunately for us, the children in occupation are employed to a great degree in our textile mills in the South. While we have adults, both men and women, unemployed, we feel satisfied that the resolution adopted at one of the sessions last week will without question of doubt, after being investigated by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, tend to a great degree to change the conditions. Undoubtedly the adoption of the report of the Committee on Education by this Convention will have its effect on our child labor law. The delegates here should take back to their various centers the question of the adoption of the amendment to the constitution relative to children up to eighteen years of age. I am pleased to note the report of the Committee on Education. It concerns vitally our interests, it affects all industry, and, while I might say that the South alone is not entirely to blame for the conditions existing, this matter will without question of doubt be called to the attention of the various state branches and central bodies of the South—the necessity for their taking a more active interest in the organization of textile workers. Water will surely find its level, and there are textile states in the South where wages are so low that they are a disgrace to the nation. I feel that after this Convention ends the delegates will be imbued with a better thought towards the textile workers.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Compulsory School Attendance Laws

Your Committee recommends especially attention to legislation for compulsory school attendance laws in order to combat and destroy the tendency to lower the top age of compulsory school attendance.

In this connection we present for adoption Resolution 83, as follows:

Compulsory School Attendance

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates Robert J. Watt of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor and Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The age limits of compulsory school attendance have been lowered in many communities during recent months; and

WHEREAS, This is an especially appropriate time to urge on all states higher standards for the preparation of our young people for citizenship; and

WHEREAS, The unemployment crisis in which we find ourselves at present, added to the fundamental fact that the ever-increasing mechanization of industry makes less necessary the use of children in order to get out needed production; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled reiterate its position of other years and go on record in favor of compulsory full-time education to the age of 16 and part-time education to the age of 18 for all children in every state, and that adequate machinery for such law enforcement be provided and maintained.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Our Public School System

Under the above caption the Executive Council's report, Page 94, gives an account showing commendable interest in the public school situation. This account indicates the steadily increasing services rendered by the public schools. With the increasing complexities of modern society the schools have grown to meet that complexity. At this time of financial stress, when the need of sympathetic interest and support of schools is greater than ever before, when the responsibility of the schools due to our terrific unemployment situation has been increasing, when these added responsibilities call for added financial resources not curtailment, all those interested in safeguarding public education must arouse themselves to that end. Our public schools are experiencing an attack upon their very existence as an institution providing for the needs of the children of all the people, to say nothing of their functions as the bulwark of democracy.

Organized labor adheres to its traditional stand and as its predecessors established through their efforts free and general education and have sponsored and originated practically every progressive movement in the public school system, free text books, compulsory education law, vocational education, continuation schools, evening schools, tenure for teachers, retirement systems, workmen's compensation laws applicable to teachers, increased compensation for teachers, it is now ready to defend to the utmost our public school system against the attacks of financiers, industrialists and tax associations seeking to destroy it. As public education owes almost its whole being to the interest and support of organized labor, so will organized labor's con-

tinued interest and support preserve our free, tax-supported schools and see that they are maintained and developed, not only kept as good as they are but made better and better in spite of the depression, yes, because of the depression.

The schools are the subject of attack in the name of economy. These so-called economies take the following forms:

1. Reducing teachers' salaries—the favorite economy.
2. Employing fewer teachers.
3. Employing teachers of little training and experience at lowest salary levels.
4. Shortening the school year.
5. Increasing the size of classes.
6. Postponing erection of new buildings.
7. Postponing purchase of equipment and supplies.
8. Eliminating subject matter, as health education, vocational education, music, art, dramatics, kindergartens, child guidance, special classes for the handicapped, etc.
9. Eliminating free text books.
10. Eliminating top age limit of compulsory school attendance.
11. Repealing teacher tenure laws not in order to get better teachers, but in order to get cheaper teachers.
12. Eliminating sick leave pay.
13. Repealing minimum wage law.
14. Advertising for bids, teaching positions to go to the lowest bidder.
15. Eliminating dental clinics, medical inspection and attendance officers.

These are the fads and frills of which we hear so much and with which it is proposed to do away in the name of economy. And the children pay and they pay for all time. It can not be made up to them or to the nation. The school is the greatest institution for the training of sound citizenship. It is inextricably bound up with social welfare.

The first industrial revolution changed standards and practices and sent the children into the factories. The trade unionists of that day rose in protest and established the free, tax-supported public schools, which we have long regarded as our most cherished and most characteristic American institution. This has grown into our present great system rendering a tremendous social service.

Where will the second industrial revolution send our children? We are appalled at the increase in vice and crime in the last three years among our very young.

Reliable authority tells us that there are thousands of boys and girls of high school and college age now wandering the highways of the country. The press frequently informs us of tragedies that have befallen some of these homeless children through fatal accidents and temptation into crime.

No less a distinguished educator than President Hutchins has said: "Undoubtedly in the hysteria of inflation the schools, like the colleges and universities, did some things that they can now do without. But the things that communities propose to do to them in the hysteria of economy far surpass the wildest aberrations of bull-market days. The plain fact is that the schools are under attack because it is easier to get money from them than it is to correct the fundamental iniquities and antiquities of local government. Only a people that had no conception of the place of education in its national life could contemplate the ruin of the next generation as the best remedy for governmental insolvency."

The Executive Council report gives statistics to show the increase in school expenditures, showing that the increase went for longer terms and increased attendance, improvements in educational service to cover depreciation of the dollar. However, the percentage of national income spent for this purpose remained practically constant in the decade ending in 1929.

Much propaganda that the schools cost too much is being spread. Actually if a tax of 10 cents per day were collected from each person of 21 years of age and over in the United States the total amount so collected would pay the present public education expense for almost 26,500,000 pupils. In 1930, the average expense per adult for public education was \$36.42, the total cost of which was something over \$2,500,000,000.

The American Federation of Labor stands for more money for public education, not less. It reaffirms its position of increased revenues to maintain and develop our public schools.

It is true we are in a depression, but neither the schools nor the children are in any way accountable for it. It is not the schools that have failed.

Organized labor is interested in locating waste and extravagance in government and in schools, but wishes to see the responsibility for them placed where it belongs and to see that economy programs do not harm our children.

There is much talk to the effect that what was good enough for us is good enough for our children. Organized labor says that what was good enough for us is not good enough for our children. Our ethical standards have not fallen so low as that. Social progress has been made because parents have demanded a better, fuller life for their children than they had for themselves. The day of the three-R type of education has long passed. We have long left behind the day when the children needed from the school only the three R's, when he received in the home apprentice training, amusement and major training for living and livelihood. Our schools give a broader, more complex training to fit the child to meet the problems of our more complex modern world.

Our schools are worth saving. The task calls for complete unity of action among our common people. The American Federation of Labor pledges itself to conserve our public school system, for the maintenance and development of our civilization and for the perpetuity of our institution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the Committee.

Delegate Trotter, Typographical Union: As a member of that Committee, I feel there is one point that should be emphasized in connection with this report upon the public school system as presented by the Committee this morning. Many of our delegates, some of whom I have talked with on this question, have deemed that it is simply a question of the reduction of our public school teachers' salaries. The Executive Council in their report in one sentence makes this statement: "As a fundamental policy, it is axiomatic that as a nation we cannot afford to reduce the educational opportunities provided for our citizens, present or future."

But, Mr. President, they have been reduced and that is the situation we have to face today—they have been reduced. Not only have the educational opportunities been reduced, but they have been reduced the most in those areas in which that reduction is least desirable, illustrating that scriptural statement that "from those who have not shall be taken that which they have."

I have another statement in the Executive Council's report which says: "In some states schools have been closed. In Alabama all the schools, in at least eight counties, have been

closed, and, unless aid is forthcoming, all the schools in the state may close. The same is true in eight or ten other states."

Backing up the statement that the Executive Council put into that one sentence, we have a statement which has reached me, written by the Supervisor of High Schools in the state of Arkansas, who makes the statement that in the constitution of the state of Arkansas there appears this paragraph:

"Intelligence and virtue being the safeguard of liberty, and the bulwark of a free and good government, the State shall ever maintain a general, suitable and efficient system of free schools, whereby all persons in the state between the ages of six and twenty-one years may receive gratuitous instruction."

But what is the condition in Arkansas as reported by the same supervisor? One hundred fifty-eight thousand, four hundred twenty-eight, or one-third of the 468,428 white pupils in Arkansas, live in districts that do not have an elementary school meeting the very minimum standards.

Now you are confronted with a situation where, under the conditions I have reported here, they are shoving down that miserable minimum which previously existed in education facilities in spite of the constitution of the very state itself. Attention has been drawn also by the same writer to the point that I wish to emphasize, and it is this—and I hope the delegates will take notice of this point in connection with education:

"It is well known that education increases consumption by raising the standard of living of the people, that educated people desire more and better things, that the luxuries of a generation ago have become the necessities of today. Thus education creates a demand for increased production, which furnishes employment to more workers who, in turn, become consumers of more goods and stimulate production."

There you have the connection between education, production and consumption. The southern states, with their low purchasing power, are going to be still more affected by this present situation. What is the number of school years? Six to seven years in the elementary schools, and how many of these children are receiving even that much? If that condition continues, what will be the condition of the children of the future?

In order to still further emphasize to a gathering of trade unionists what we are driv-

ing at in this connection, I have here a statement of the per capita purchasing power of the people in the various states of the United States. It is not surprising to discover that our southern states are at the very bottom of that table of forty-eight states. For comparison the District of Columbia is related to have a purchasing power of \$681.65 per annum at retail stores; South Carolina, \$171.00 per annum of purchasing power per capita. Take it in another way, take two states of similar population, Georgia and Wisconsin. The population of Georgia is 2,908,506. The population of Wisconsin is 2,939,006, yet Georgia's net sales amount to \$617,000,000, and Wisconsin's net sales amount to \$1,232,338,677, the per capita sales being \$212.00 in the one case and \$419.00 in the other case. You have this situation, and just draw the picture for a moment, that if the purchasing power of the state of Georgia per capita were raised to that of Wisconsin, there would be \$617,000,000 spent in the retail stores of Georgia that is not there today. And what would be the meaning of the expenditure of \$617,000,000 in the state of Georgia for consumers' goods in relation to the general situation of the country?

Education is connected to the economic situation in this country. Where you have no education you have no consumption of consumers' goods as compared to that in better educated centers. People who are educated will not tolerate conditions that uneducated people have to tolerate, so that in considering the question as raised by the Committee on Education in this report you are not dealing solely with the reduction of teachers' salaries but you are dealing with the question of the fundamental economics of the country in which the American Federation of Labor is intensely interested.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Relation of Education to Economic Recovery

Your Committee desires to emphasize in the minds of the delegates the relation of education to economic recovery. Not only is the maintenance of the wages of over a million workers in this social industry important in the work of stabilization, but also education increases consumption, since it raises the standard of living of the people. Educated people desire more and better things; the luxuries of a generation ago have become the

necessities of today. With the increased consumption created by education comes increased production, which furnishes employment to more workers, who themselves create an endless chain demanding increased consumption, stimulating production in a constantly widening circle.

Your Committee recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to prepare and introduce into the next Congress a resolution providing for the undertaking of a nation-wide investigation into school financing, urban and rural, to ascertain and publicize how school finances are raised, how disbursed, what portion goes into instruction, what portion into physical equipment, maintenance, and other labor costs and what portion is intentionally diverted from its proper uses, this canvass to include the relations of the public school to public welfare, to discover how the public schools today function in our national economy and what is their worth as a social institution.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

The Committee considered Resolutions 36 and 37 together, and later offered a substitute for the two resolutions, which are as follows:

Protesting Against Curtailment of Public School Educational Facilities

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The demands of our modern society have become so severe and so complex that the problem of the schools in preparing their students for living under present conditions has become tremendously involved; and

WHEREAS, Because of the changing economic situation, many of the skills and arts formerly taught in the home have been transferred to the schools; and

WHEREAS, The enrichment of the curriculum made necessary to meet this complex civilization has been achieved by the addition of (1) vocational and industrial studies, (2) by instruction in the fine arts, (3) by health programs, (4) by training, in the social studies and understanding of social, economic and political organization, (5) by vocational and educational guidance to help the student adjust himself to the community in which he must live, and by other extensions of school service; and

WHEREAS, The shorter day in industry will mean that the generation in schools must be prepared for the right use of its leisure; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take vigorous action to guard against any curtailment of the school curriculum, or elimination of any educational activi-

ties, and that, furthermore, it work in every possible way to explain in all local communities the value of a diversified and purposeful course of study.

Protecting the School Year

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The school year of ten months has grown out of urban conditions, and

WHEREAS, The first step in economy in a time of financial stress is the attempt to shorten the length of the school year; and

WHEREAS, Under present conditions of unemployment which have resulted in the demoralizing of many homes, the school meets a social need in keeping the children occupied with educational activities of benefit to the individual, the state and the nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take all possible steps to inform the public of the dangers inherent in any shortening of the school year.

Economy Programs and School Support

WHEREAS, In time of financial stress and disturbance, among the most serious steps in so-called economy is the curtailment of school activity; and

WHEREAS, These curtailments take forms deleterious to the children for all time and therefore to the future of the nation, such curtailments being shortening of the school year, elimination of skills and arts necessary to meet our modern complex civilization; lengthening of the school day; increase in the size of classes, thereby defeating the purpose of education; such consolidation of schools as leads to an increase in the size of schools such as to make humanly impossible the inspired leadership which the head of the schools should give, unwise, unjust and dangerous reduction in teachers' salaries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take all steps to inform the public of the dangers inherent in these retrenchments; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take vigorous action to guard against curtailment or elimination of any school activity necessary to maintain and improve educational standards.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

The Committee considered Resolutions 32, 38, 61 and 62 together, and later offered a substitute for the four resolutions, which are as follows:

Urging Provisions For Raising Revenue For Adequate Educational Systems For Children of School Age

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, During the past two years, due

to the industrial depression, a tremendous increase in school membership has shown itself largely in the junior and senior high schools; and

WHEREAS, The education of these workers, forced out of employment by industrial conditions over which they have no control, is a proper responsibility for the community to assume; and

WHEREAS, The increased burden on the schools has been accompanied by a decrease in school revenues; and

WHEREAS, Public and private businesses have long used loans and bond issues as a means of financing; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor recognizes as serious the emergency, created by a vast increase in school membership and a decrease in school revenues, and urges the expenditure of money by Boards of Education in sufficient amounts properly to maintain adequate systems of education for all children of school age even though payment for this education must be made at some future date through issuance of bonds or loans.

Financial Support of Schools

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The public schools are universally admitted to be necessary for social stability and progress, which are effectively served only in proportion as the services of the schools are maintained and extended; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That (1) the American Federation of Labor protest against the false economy of curtailing the services of the schools and of reducing the incomes of the educational staff of these schools; and that (2) it believes that the available statistics of our national wealth and income, reduced as the latter is at this time, show that the individual states and that the nation as a whole are able to maintain without distress the aggregate of expenditure for public schools which they made in school year of 1929-30.

School Support in the Period of Retrenchment

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, A decrease in public revenue due to economic conditions has been general throughout the country during the last two years; and

WHEREAS, The retrenchment thus necessitated in public expenditures has in many communities been expressed in drastic cuts in appropriations for public schools; and

WHEREAS, These reductions must inevitably lessen the efficiency of this great institution of service at a period when its stabilizing force is most needed, and when its resources are most heavily taxed by the increased school population; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled call, 3rd, upon the people of America to take heed to the

danger to which this policy of retrenchment in public school support is exposing the nation, since democratic government is founded on public education; that it call, second, upon all organizations and individuals to whom the well-being of our nation is sacred to throw the whole weight of their power and influence into the protection of our public schools; and 1st, request its central labor bodies, state federations of labor, national and international organizations and affiliated unions that they recognize their responsibility for awakening in their communities anew the tradition of American devotion to the public school and that they place squarely before their fellow citizens the danger in which reduction of school revenues will place their schools, to the end that the sentiment of the community shall demand of public officials that crippling retrenchments be not made in that public service most vital to the welfare of the community and of the nation.

Educating the Community To Support Public Schools

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Taxpayers' associations and chambers of commerce are covering the country with propaganda designed to curtail school expenditures, thereby attacking the curriculum the length of the school day and the length of the school year and the general efficiency of the public school service; and

WHEREAS, Such propaganda, if successful, will deprive boys and girls in the public schools of the training which a depressed economic condition makes all the more imperative in order that these boys and girls may have the guidance and inspiration necessary to meet the new problems which youth and the community must face; and

WHEREAS, In some sections of the country such curtailment of the public school program would operate to deprive boys and girls in the public schools of educational advantages such as are received by students in the more favored private schools, the result being a discrimination in educational advantages between the rich and poor, a condition unthinkable in a democracy; and

WHEREAS, These attacks can be defeated only by an enlightened public opinion; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor will undertake during the coming year a publicity campaign for the purpose of presenting to the public the real effect upon the rising generation of injury to the public school system in order to build up an alert public opinion on school questions.

Your Committee presents for your consideration a substitute motion for resolutions 32, 33, 61 and 62 dealing in the main with the same topic, adequate financial support of public schools:

School Support in the Period of Retrenchment

WHEREAS, During the past two years, due to the industrial depression, a tremendous in-

crease in school membership has shown itself largely in the junior and senior high schools; and

WHEREAS, The education of those workers, forced out of employment by industrial conditions over which they have no control, is a proper responsibility for the community to assume; and

WHEREAS, A decrease in public revenue due to economic conditions has been general throughout the country during the last few years; and

WHEREAS, The retrenchment thus necessitated in public expenditures has in many communities been expressed in drastic cuts in appropriations for public schools; and

WHEREAS, These reductions must inevitably lessen the efficiency of this great institution of service at a period when its stabilizing force is most needed, and when its resources are most heavily taxed by the increased school population; and

WHEREAS, The public schools are universally admitted to be necessary for social stability and progress, which are effectively served only in proportion as the services of the schools are maintained and extended; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor protest against the false economy of curtailing the services of the schools and of reducing the income of the educational staff of these schools; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge first its Central Labor Bodies, State Federations of Labor, National and International Organizations and Affiliated Unions that they recognize their responsibility for awakening in their communities anew the tradition of American devotion to the public schools; that it call, second, upon all organizations and individuals to whom the well-being of our nation is sacred to throw the whole weight of their power and influence into the protection of our public schools; and that it call, third, upon the people of America to take heed to the danger to which this policy of retrenchment in public school support is exposing the nation, since democratic government is founded on public education, and that they put squarely before their fellow citizens the danger in which reduction of school revenues will place their schools, to the end that the sentiment of the community shall demand of public officials that crippling retrenchments be not made in that public service most vital to the welfare of the community and of the nation; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in order to counteract the propaganda of taxpayers' associations and Chambers of Commerce designed to curtail school expenditures, the American Federation of Labor will undertake during the coming year a publicity campaign for the purpose of presenting to the public the real effect upon the rising generation of injury to the public school system in order to build up an alert public opinion on school questions.

Your Committee recommends adoption of this substitute motion.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Vocational Education and Guidance

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, of the American Federation of Teachers.

In these days when educators are beginning to appreciate the growing significance of vocational education and guidance, we regret the reduction in the appropriations by the various states for vocational education and by the Federal Government for the Federal Board for Vocational Education; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates urge their respective State Legislatures and the Congress of the United States to increase rather than to decrease appropriations for vocational education and guidance.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor Lecture Series of National Committee on Education by Radio

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The last series of ten lectures broadcast over the Columbia Broadcasting System, under the general direction of Spencer Miller, Jr., Secretary Workers' Education Bureau, as well as the series of ten preceding these, proved not only informative and entertaining but offered a constructive contribution to American letters; and

WHEREAS, We are informed that other series are to follow these over the same national hook-up, and we believe that these would be listened to more generally if advertised more widely; and

WHEREAS, We deem talks of this nature to be a most valuable adjunct to the creation of a better understanding of the purposes and aims of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we authorize the Executive Council to give their fullest co-operation to the National Committee on Education by Radio to the end that the date, time and name of the speakers to broadcast be given the widest possible publicity; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all member Journals of the International Labor Press be requested to run such list of projected broadcasts in their columns under the common heading, "Labor Broadcasts," and giving underneath this heading the date, time of day, and name of speaker, so that the greatest number may be advised of the important addresses.

With the change in the second "resolved" of the elimination of "all member Journals of the International" making the resolve read, "That the Labor Press" etc., your Committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 4.

Delegate Cline, Typographical Union: I would like to draw attention to a few facts with regard to vocational schools. We are, none of us, of course, opposed to education in any shape. In a great many states, due to the laxity of our laws, and to some of the people who are supposed to enforce the laws, the vocational schools are entering into the commercial field in various lines. They are tending to lower the standard of the working man. I have particular reference to our own line, printing. We have found by investigation that a number of those schools have absolutely ruined the printing trade in places where they are located. In the smaller towns they go into the commercial field and do the work at a lower price than the commercial printer can do it.

I realize that we have a national act which is supposed to regulate these schools, but, due to the peculiar political situation, we have not been able to enforce the vocational laws that have been laid down. Under one governor we can have them enforced and under the next governor probably all the reforms we have been able to secure are thrown to the winds. In our own town we have a very good vocational school and they go into all lines. They go into town in a number of instances and solicit work. We have a large state institution in that town where business is stagnant, but they solicit work for this school, automobile repairing, printing and all the other things that are taught there.

I believe that particular attention should be given by the delegates when they get home to this condition, if it exists. The vocational work itself is very good and I don't believe, personally, we should cut down the appropriation for it, but I believe the rules and regulations laid down by the National Government should be carried out. We have in Alabama a very vicious political machine and it is very hard to do anything with it. We are expecting to somewhat mitigate the efforts of this machine, and we hope we will get some relief from it.

Where these schools are located in Alabama, this project of doing commercial work is giving the system a black eye among the laboring people. There are union men there who do not like the idea, because they are doing work in their industry at prices very much lower than the men working in that industry could do it. I am afraid it is giving them a

wrong opinion of vocational schools. I hope all the delegates will try to remedy such conditions when they get back to their homes.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Increased Cost of Public Schools

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, At this time the panacea for all economic ills is reduction in governmental expenditures; and

WHEREAS, The increase in the cost of public school education during recent years is being given widespread publicity without due emphasis on the cause of this increase; and

WHEREAS, The greatest increase in school population has been in the secondary schools where the cost is greater than in the elementary schools, as, for example, in Chicago where the increase in total school population in the last 16 years has been 63%, while the increase in the high schools has been 263%; and

WHEREAS, Much of the increase in school expenditures is due to the higher price levels, since as late as December, 1931, the dollar was worth 70 cents on the 1915 base in Chicago, where, according to the Columbia University Survey, 39% of the increase in the total school expenditures for the last 16 years was due to increased price levels; and

WHEREAS, Classes for anaemic, blind, crippled and subnormal have contributed to the school costs in many communities; and

WHEREAS, When the schools are paying for medical and dental inspection, school nurses, and are providing penny lunches in various localities, they are carrying the financial burden which should be borne by other governmental bodies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor advertise and in every possible way bring to the attention of the public these and other contributing causes for the increase in public school expenditures.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution and further recommends that organizations representing this field take advantage of existing facilities for dissemination of this information.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

WORKERS' EDUCATION BUREAU

Under this caption, pages 97-99, the Executive Council makes an encouraging and stimulating report on the work of the Workers' Education Bureau.

Rutgers Labor Institute

The whole-hearted endorsement by the Vancouver Convention a year ago of the pioneer

undertaking of the Bureau in setting up on the campus of Rutgers University, in co-operation with the New Jersey State Federation of Labor and the State University of New Brunswick, the first Labor Institute has given impetus to this whole labor institute movement. The Rutgers project provided a procedure which was admirably adopted to the trade-union movement; it provided the basis for a sound educational program. The success of the initial experiment has enlisted the interest and co-operation of representative educational institutions throughout the country. The holding of the second Labor Institute upon the campus of Rutgers University this year has consolidated the splendid advance already made. For a period of five days members of the State Federation of Labor met and considered the question of "Financial Instability." While the attendance was somewhat less than the previous year, due to the financial difficulties of some of the local unions, the interest expressed in the Institute was no less. The New Jersey State Federation of Labor, at its convention in September of this year, certified to their increasing appreciation of this practice by the enactment of a resolution renewing its endorsement and commendation.

Michigan Labor Institute

The Michigan State Federation of Labor, in co-operation with the University of Michigan and the Bureau, held the first of these Labor Institutes upon the campus of the University at Ann Arbor, in June of this year. The subject of the discussion was "Unemployment and the Way Out." The same general methods were followed as were inaugurated at Rutgers. It was the judgment of all those who took part in the Michigan Labor Institute, faculty and workers alike, that it was an experience of great value to the membership of organized labor, and that such an institute should become a regular part of labor educational activities of the State Federation.

Nashville Labor Institute

The Labor Institute set up at Nashville, in connection with the meeting of the Tennessee State Federation of Labor at their annual convention in May of this year, under the co-operation of the Bureau and representatives of the faculty of Vanderbilt University and the George Peabody Teachers' College, provided a notable opportunity to try out a plan for a one-day institute, which has long been

advocated by the Bureau. It proved to be a notable success, and by convention action will be a regular part of the educational activities of the Federation.

Mississippi Labor Institute

The Labor Institute held by the Mississippi State Federation of Labor in co-operation with the Bureau at its annual convention in Gulfport, followed the procedure of the Nashville Institute and proved equally effective; it will be a regular part of their annual program.

Colorado Labor Institute

For the second successive year the Colorado State Federation of Labor held a two-day Labor Institute at Fort Collins, which proved again to be of unique value to the movement of the state in appraising the general economic conditions and in reviving interest on the part of labor in workers' education as an approach to industrial problems.

Proposed Institute

The action taken by the Illinois State Federation of Labor Convention in support of holding a Labor Institute on the campus of the State University at Champaign-Urbana, during 1933, is encouraging evidence of the spread of interest in this plan to other parts of the country.

The plan to hold the Labor Institute, which was postponed from last June at Cheyenne, Wyo., to next June, and the further interest expressed by labor or educational groups in Oklahoma, Oregon, Washington, Montana and Nevada, for such labor institutes is encouraging.

It is hoped that even with the reduced budget of our state universities some methods may be found to continue an activity of such a distinct value to labor and to our educational institutions.

Your Committee wishes to take this opportunity of expressing its own gratification at the evidence of healthy growth of this sound educational device, and urges this Convention to give its endorsement to this plan of the Workers' Education Bureau for the holding of Labor Institutes as outlined above in different parts of the country. We further urge the full co-operation of the national and international state federations and central and local bodies in the development of these institutes.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

American Labor and the Nation Radio Series

During the past year, the Workers' Education Bureau of America, in co-operation with the American Federation of Labor, assumed responsibility for inaugurating a notable series of 20 addresses on American Labor and the Nation, under the auspices of the National Advisory Council of the Radio in Education, over a nationwide network of the Columbia Broadcasting System. This was the first time in the history of the Federation that any systematic effort has been made to present on a nation-wide basis the story of the growth and development of the American Federation of Labor together with an exposition of its policies on major economic and social questions. It has been a notable success. The addresses were divided into two series of ten addresses each, the first of these being historical in character and the second contemporary. The full list of subjects discussed and the representative spokesmen of labor selected has been set forth fully on Page 99 of the Executive Council report.

The method of presentation of this series was unique. A half hour was set aside for the program. The first 18 minutes were set aside for the address; the remaining ten for a question and answer period under the direction of the Secretary of the Bureau. Through the co-operation of the University of Chicago Press these addresses have been published in pamphlet form for wider distribution. A notebook also was prepared for these two series. By special arrangement a mechanical transcription was made of each of these addresses. The value of the whole undertaking has been widely recognized, not only for the quality of the addresses but for the unique way in which the work has been carried on. The interest aroused in this series, which has reached countless thousands and perhaps millions of persons in this country and in Canada and South America, has been striking.

Your Committee knows of no service in recent years to present the general aims and purposes of labor to the American people that have been more carefully conceived and prepared or more adequately presented, than this unique undertaking. It is a service of inestimable value to the Federation and reflects great credit upon the National Advisory Council of the Radio in Education and is a notable evidence of the public service on the part of the Columbia Broadcasting System in making their facilities available without charge. It is an

achievement of historic value on the part of the Bureau.

Your Committee further commends the National Advisory Council of the Radio in Education for their helpful co-operation and the Columbia Broadcasting System for its generous donation of facilities, and we urge that this Convention express its unqualified approval of the continuance of this important educational undertaking under the general direction of the Workers' Education Bureau.

Vice-President Wilson: I rise at this time for the purpose of supporting the report of the Committee. I think that a matter of such importance as this should at least receive some comment from the floor of the Convention. It has been, or perhaps it has not been thoroughly understood, that the Columbia Broadcasting System has donated the time allotted to speakers in carrying on the work of the Workers' Education Bureau without compensation, and while the report specifies the thanks of the organization for this contribution to this educational movement, it is generally known that there is no series of speeches made on the radio that has had a greater audience among the rank and file of the workers than the series that has been conducted under the auspices of the Workers' Education Bureau.

I think the Bureau should be commended for the work it has done. It was not possible for me to sit as a delegate to this Convention, knowing the great interest that was taken in this broadcasting, without rising and adding my word of commendation for the work of the broadcasting and a word of commendation to the Workers' Education Bureau for this work. I mention this merely for the purpose of directing the attention of the delegates to the fine work of this Bureau.

President Green: The Chair will interrupt the proceedings now while we proceed to the regular order of business. Our Secretary of Labor is here with Mrs. Doak, and our Convention will accord them a hearty welcome.

Secretary of Labor Doak and Mrs. Doak were escorted to the platform by the Committee appointed for that purpose early in the session.

President Green: We are very happy indeed to have the Secretary of Labor and Mrs. Doak with us this morning. They traveled all the way from Washington to pay us this visit, and I am sure that we very, very greatly appreciate this gracious act. The offi-

cers and members of the American Federation of Labor are deeply interested in the Department of Labor. This is one department of the United States Government in which we take special interest. We place great value upon this department and upon its relation to labor and upon the work it performs. We are always glad to have the Secretary of Labor, who comes so closely in touch with our work, attend our Conventions and bring to us his own message.

Secretary Doak was for years associated with the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen in an active way, serving in various responsible positions with this important, aggressive organization. I am pleased to announce to you that Secretary Doak is not only a member of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, but he is a member of a local organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

We have been privileged to come in close contact with the Secretary of Labor and with much of his work. I am pleased to report that our representatives have found him sympathetically interested in our work, doing all he can to promote the common interests of labor generally. I am sure you agree with me that we are highly pleased to have the Secretary of Labor here this morning.

Before I introduce him, I think it would be quite appropriate and, I think, appreciated by all of you, if I introduce to you the good wife of the Secretary of Labor, Mrs. Doak.

Mrs. Doak acknowledged the introduction by President Green, and was presented with a handsome bouquet of roses.

President Green: And now, without any further ado, I am happy indeed to present to you the Honorable William M. Doak, Secretary of Labor, and member of the Cabinet of the President of the United States.

HON. WILLIAM N. DOAK,
(Secretary, United States Department
of Labor.)

Mr. President, delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention, friends:

It is, indeed, a pleasure to be with you and to have the privilege of addressing this Convention, representative of the great body of American workers. My experience in the government has only confirmed and vindicated my claim of more than thirty years that the heart and the soul of America's workers present one of the finest examples of devotion to our country's ideals and institutions.

Let me say here that I bring you the cordial greetings of the President of the United States.

The events of the past few years have afforded all the opportunity to appraise fairly

the fiber of America's work people. While these experiences have been such as to try men's souls, yet our country has evolved therefrom a better understanding of the stamina and conscience of her people.

When I meet with the men and women of labor, it is pleasant to me because my lot in life has been cast with them; their cause is my cause. Now as never before, labor's efforts have been crowned with success; its fundamental position has been more than ever justified.

Giving thought to the difficulties of the times, I believe that labor has accomplished more this year than in any year of the past. These great accomplishments are found in the fact that although labor has passed through hard experiences, its fundamentals have proved to be sound and many of its prophecies of the past decades have been fulfilled. Labor, by standing firmly by its policies during the days of trial, has given an outstanding example of stability. From its actions in this crisis all classes of Americans will have a better understanding of labor's problems. Its experience in these distressed times gives further assurance of its stand in times of plenty. Thus it shows to the world labor's high importance for the future.

It has demonstrated beyond any doubt that the prosperity of this nation depends upon the well-being of the employed masses within its boundaries, because the proof has been adduced that the employed masses are the foundation of our national security.

The labor of men, both of brain and of brawn, has produced the things most worth while. Therefore, the better and the finer things of life are, as they should be, for those who produce the real wealth of the world.

The toiling masses of humanity constitute the largest number of our population and it follows as a most natural sequence that the stability of the government, the weal or woe of the nation, of our civilization, rests upon them in large measure.

With the broad use of labor-saving devices, provision for a fair participation in the benefits of such devices must be made for labor. This participation is absolutely necessary from a social, economic and civic standpoint.

Included in the modern method for such participation of labor in the saving of money and of time through the mechanization of industry must be a plan for the shortening of labor's hours, and for a general liberalization to the ultimate consumer of the cost of the products of machinery. In other words, the masses must be benefited by the machine, or the machine will destroy the civilization or society it is intended to benefit. I am a believer in the short workday and the short work-week.

It has been to me a pleasure and a privilege to have had a small part in bringing about such reforms in the years which I have been privileged to engage in the labor field, and in the department over which I have the honor to preside, we have established the five-day week.

I firmly believe that what might be called the human side of the machine's advent must be kept in mind. Caution must be wisely exercised in the "turnover" which the seemingly

boundless scope of the machine is likely to produce. There should be care exercised in the making of radical changes, giving thought first to the welfare of our workers. This should transcend speed and initial savings. Certainly, considerations of speed or initial savings should be coincident with the consideration of the welfare of those whose state in life is likely, or almost certain, to be disturbed.

Such a policy as this will mean the safeguarding of the men and women of labor in their various fields of activity. There should be, and I am certain they will be allowed to adapt themselves to the new state of affairs without in any way disturbing their economic condition, or without violent loss to them of anything they have gained through the years of patient industrial and personal advancement. The rights of labor must be conserved, in order that the laborers may continue unhampered in their contribution to the new age of production.

In the achievements of labor for the past half century there is sound reason for the statement that the working men and women of America have made a high contribution to the well-being of the country.

It is true that serious unemployment exists and that other difficulties have arisen to try the faith of our people, but throughout this period of trouble labor has remained unmoved in its position of adherence to the fundamental principles upon which its continuing progress has been built. No one can challenge the loyalty and devotion of labor to our government and to the welfare of all our people. Its loyalty and devotion in times of stress are as marked as they were in times of the highest prosperity.

It is a remarkable thing that despite all the difficulties that have beset us there have been no symptoms of that social unrest which formerly appeared in periods of business decline and unemployment conditions.

In other periods of depression the lockout or the strike was resorted to to accomplish that which nothing but forbearance and mutual understanding truly were able to accomplish. In these recent troubled days strife between employers and employees noticeably has been absent. There have been fewer troubles because a desire for co-operation and a common understanding have been the rule of the day.

Such things by themselves all point to the belief and the really strong faith which employers, employees and the public at large have had in the basic soundness of our economic and social system. The will to understand conditions and to avoid trouble has averted disaster and promoted confidence; such always will be the case in the labor field and in all others when reason rules.

The progress which labor has made in the past has been made possible in large part by the mutuality of respect between workers and the men who employed them, and by a realization of the interdependence of men and management if real progress is to be made. Labor is the productive force of the United States.

Without production there can be no progress, and without labor there can be no production.

In the days that have long gone labor had no great advantages. Since those early times, however, the long workday has been done away

with; workmen's compensation laws have been put upon the statute books, and there has been a great lessening in the hazards of the workday. The health, safety and general well-being of the workers of the country have come to be regarded as essential if our nation is to go forward and occupy its proper place in the sun.

Today it can be said that education, recreational opportunities and proper surroundings for the working men are among the important things that have been put into effect in a great measure through appropriate legislation following upon the truthful representation of the facts.

Labor itself has done much to establish standards that have inured to the benefit of all our people. In the United States laboring men and women with their families, form as I believe, the most vital part of our population. It would seem that consideration for labor would need no one to plead its cause, but in the old days of selfishness and of a desire to make much at the least expense, labor was exploited. Cheapness was the great consideration. Times have changed and thought on this subject has changed with the times.

Today the Federal Government is concerned deeply with the cause of the workers. There is now an enlarged and extended United States Employment Service which has the entire United States as its working field. Today a government employment official is placed in every state of the Union and in the District of Columbia. It is the duty of each of these officials to co-operate with state, municipal and other free employment agencies to put the workless in touch with work, and the employer in touch with needed workmen. This employment service has been successful in its labor even in these days of stress and difficulties.

Prevailing Wage Rate Law

For more than a year and a half the provisions of the Davis-Bacon Prevailing Wage Rate Law have been applicable to all parties engaged in the construction of public buildings of the United States; and within this period it has become more and more evident that this law, which was enacted for the purpose of compelling the payment of prevailing wage rates to laborers and mechanics employed on public buildings of the United States and the District of Columbia, has helpfully tended to stabilize and maintain wage rates.

Under this legislation, as clarified by the President's executive order of January 19, 1932, the Secretary of Labor is charged with the determination as to what the prevailing rates of wages are on the construction of any Federal building, in the event of failure of adjustment of the dispute by the contracting officer.

The practicable service which this law is rendering to the community and labor life at points where the government's construction projects are being carried forward, together with its far-reaching influence in wage maintenance throughout the country and in private enterprise, as well, has strongly commended itself in the work of the nation's economic reconstruction.

The enactment of the Prevailing Rate Law, was, of course, a new departure in the regula-

tion of wages, and it required a considerable time for contractors and others concerned in public building construction to realize the full import and intent of the new legislation. The fact today is, however, that this law has worked out even much more satisfactorily than many of us thought possible when it was first enacted.

In administering this law, I have assigned representatives of the Conciliation Service to the taking up with contractors, with representatives of building tradesmen, and with individual workers on government building construction the unadjusted wage controversy, in each case.

Conferences covering the questions which contribute to the misunderstanding are promptly brought about between the interested parties, and surveys are then made of wage conditions in the localities affected. In this way the facts are ascertained for presentation to the Secretary for decision, when necessary; but in the great majority of cases handled it has been possible to establish or determine local wage rates through understanding and agreement between the parties themselves, without resort to final decision of the Secretary. In these cases, investigations of local wages and working conditions have brought forth such truths, facts and circumstances that a better understanding at once came to pass between the parties, with the result that prevailing wages have been established upon the facts brought to light.

In many instances these understandings have later been written into final agreement between the immediate parties and the subcontractors, as well.

On January 19, 1932, the President's executive order was issued with specific stipulations as to the payment of prevailing rates of wages on public building contracts. This order clarifies the purposes of the organic act and specifically directs, among other things, that rates payable shall be posted by the contractor in an accessible place at the site of the work. This order puts each interested party on notice as to his obligations under the Prevailing Rate Law.

Experience is demonstrating the workability of the prevailing rate law, which is gradually eliminating disputes, stabilizing wages, and spreading assurance of the government's protective interest in the welfare of our workers; and the more than 400 cases already handled under the law in themselves constitute incontrovertible proof of its beneficial effects to labor and industry.

American Labor has advanced beyond that in any other land. It is the most influential of all. It had greater opportunities than any other, in that:

The working classes occupy the foremost position ever held by those who live by salaries or wages, and without having class prejudice as a handicap as is the case with other peoples. The influence of the workers is more powerful in the affairs of the nation, and the general welfare of the people is more clearly reflected in the weal or woe of the country than was the case among the civilizations that have preceded or are existing at the present time. The opportunities afforded by our democratic or popular form of government have been so pronounced as to give into the hands of the employed masses

the very direction of the free government under which we live. With the advanced position, with this influence and with the opportunities afforded labor in America, go the greatest responsibilities ever imposed upon the employed masses by any nation in the world's history. There is no escape from the assumption of responsibilities when leadership is taken. It is as true as is the case when a political party takes over the reigns of government after a spirited campaign in which definite promises of reforms have been made.

This being the case, labor should be in a position to have an articulate expression in the form of some kind of an association or federation that may ascertain the correct sentiments of the masses, and should maintain a mobile contact to give impetus to its endeavor.

This, I have hoped, could be achieved in a more representative way than has been possible in the past, for the medium through which to accomplish this aim, this great organization, the American Federation of Labor, has been my ideal. Therefore, in my lifetime advocacy of its solidarity, I think I have not been wrong; for the culmination of its objects I am still an ardent advocate. If there had ever been any doubt in my mind as to the value of such a set-up, it has long since been removed by the experiences through which I have gone.

We have builded a nation, a new form of government upon the earth, greater by far than any that has preceded. It offers, even despite the present difficulties which beset the world, the greatest opportunities ever open to the masses of humanity.

It affords to the people themselves an opportunity to change their methods of government, their administrators, in fact, their own form of rules. This should ever remind us that each individual has a greater responsibility than that reposed in the citizen of any other country. This responsibility imposes upon each the greater exercise of individual thought and independent action. We, therefore, should think and act sanely and forcefully, uninfluenced by glaring promises of reforms which do not square with individual conscience.

I respect the opinions of all men politically, socially, religiously, economically and otherwise, as much as any man making sincerity the standard of the test. Any other standard than sincerity is a false standard. Prejudice and animosity are not a product of sincerity, and neither its expediency.

This brings me to the suggestion, which is based upon a conviction gained after many bitter experiences, that America's employed masses are better guided by those who have come up from the ranks of the employed than they are by those who are professionally trained in the schools of the so-called reform thought. Some are sincere, many of them perhaps, but they lack wholly that experience which belongs to the graduate of the school of hard knocks.

The time has come when, if I may use an old expression, we must call a spade a spade, and today in this land there is every reason for calling things by their right names, and to do it unafraid.

Racketeering! It is with us today in all of our large cities and in some of our smaller ones, and it takes many forms, every one of which is deadly to Americanism.

In the service of which I am chief today there has been racketeering of the basest kind. Aliens in this country, either legally or illegally, are a prey of those who would exploit them in any way that is possible, in order to filch money from them. They are threatened, and assaulted in case they do not respond to threats.

Let me give you an example of this kind of racketeering; it will cover scores of cases. An alien who is in this country legally, is approached by some one displaying a false badge of authority, and is told that an inaccuracy has been found in his papers of admission. The alien has not been long enough in the land to understand his rights. He is afraid of being deported and under the threat of exposure by the supposed Government agent, he pays money for immunity. He not only pays it once, but he pays it many times. He is "worked" to the limit of his ability to pay, and frequently the racketeers compel him to give up half his living wage in order to appease their gluttony. As I have said, there are scores and scores of just such cases as this.

Nor can we ignore the case of the alien who is in this country illegally. A racketeer will discover that his victim is here without proper papers, and under threat of exposure to the authorities, he bleeds the alien, and continues to bleed him until there is no blood money left. The fact that an alien is here illegally furnishes no excuse for the operations of these harpies.

I am glad to say that the representatives of the Immigration Service of the Department of Labor, have been able to check this kind of racketeering to a considerable degree. Many arrests have been made and convictions have been secured and many of these racketeers are now serving prison sentences, but this illegal industry still operates to some degree.

The victims in these cases are afraid to appeal to the authorities because they fear bodily harm from the racketeers. They are slow to answer questions when approached by proper authority; fear holds them speechless. Literally, they are terror-stricken.

The racketeer is not content with preying upon the aliens already in this country. He engages in the practice of smuggling foreign-born persons into the United States, then under threat of exposure blackmails them continuously. Such a smuggled alien who has managed to secure a job must give up the greater part of his earnings to those who have made him their victim.

I want to assure you that the representatives of the Immigration Service of the Department of Labor are keeping after these violators of the law and intimidators of the foreign-born, and they will keep everlastingly after them until these criminal practices are ended.

There is another form of racketeering which comes close to us in the labor movement, and with which you are familiar and which you have been combatting, and I congratulate you on being alert to this situation, and on the strong efforts you are making to kill it. Labor must stand solidly behind its leaders in this fight, because of the covetous and criminal elements in our communities. Racketeering grows from what it feeds on, and it has spread from the minor fields of graft by violence into the greater fields occupied by virtually all our large legiti-

mate industries. Their challenge is not only to labor and to commerce, but to the American Government itself.

This battle must go on until the last specimen of this kind of parasite has been exterminated. I know that your leadership is expending its every energy to put an end to the plots of the agencies and agents that are seeking to enrich themselves at the expense of the honest wage-earner and the honest business man. I appreciate and I applaud the successful efforts of the American Federation of Labor to overcome this evil.

Their whole thought is for the good of labor and the laboring men of the country. I am sure in my heart that your efforts will be crowned with success, and when they are so crowned, you will deserve and receive the gratitude of all our people.

From the distant past my memory brings to me in panoramic view the struggles, the hopes, the aims of organized labor, and the time when we were struggling for just the crumbs that might fall from the tables of the barons who dominated American business and industry. Those days when an organizer or officer of one of our unions took his life in his hands when he went about his organization work. Those times when no more complete ostracism could fall to the lot of an individual than to be known as a representative of labor. Those were the days when the members of labor organizations were the "reds" of America.

I have often thought of what the head of a famous detective bureau once told me, perhaps twenty-five years ago—that was when there was a great and wholly unjustified public outcry against the American Federation of Labor, and in particular, against the late Samuel Gompers and the late John Mitchell. This detective said, "We have tried by every ruse known to the ingenuity of sleuthing, by bribery, intimidation and pitfalls, to ensnare these two men, but they are honest and no money can buy them. Neither can you scare them nor swerve them from their purpose."

Of course, both of these men have had monuments erected to their memories, but in my mind I shall carry the greater and more lasting tribute, "they were honest," money could not swerve them from their purpose.

Later on in life when I was brought in contact with these men, particularly with Mr. Gompers, with whom I was associated in perhaps more than a thousand battles, I had the undying belief inculcated into me very being that what labor needed was leadership which stands by principle. I was also impressed with the truth of the Gompers philosophy that the success of labor rests with labor itself.

This fundamental doctrine has been the cause of many hard knocks from some of the labor people, because I have never espoused the cause of the so-called reformers who, to use again the language of Mr. Gompers, are "ravens eating at the substance of the employed masses."

There is another "old-timer" in the labor movement, and thank God he still lives, that seasoned veteran Andrew Furuseth who has done more, perhaps, than any other one man to keep our labor cause free from intriguing alliances with any other force.

I have heard him criticized, condemned and

made light by our labor people, but as the days lengthen into years, and the years into decades, the brighter his star shines, casting its radiance along labor's pathway. Were I to be asked to name the man among all others living today, who, in my opinion is most unselfish in his devotion to the laboring masses, I would without hesitation name my dear friend, the venerable president of the Seamen's Union.

I could go on at length pointing with pride to the fortitude and honesty of the men, past and present, in America's labor movement.

I could cite such men as Arthur and Morrissey and others in the Railway Brotherhoods and in the affiliated bodies, who have stood and are standing for labor's principles. I could not let this opportunity pass without paying my respects to your splendid officers, President Green and Secretary Morrison, and the present great leaders of this great body. No pages of history can record a more illustrious service than these men have performed.

These records of achievements on the battlefields of peace for civic righteousness and human uplift mark a starry epoch in the history of mankind that will shine down through the ages lighting the pathway and inspiring the hopes of future generations.

However, I would have you not forget the secret of these successes was that everyone built on the unshakable foundation of devotion to labor's fundamentals.

The labor movement in America is not dead. When it dies, our civilization will be in the last stages of decay. Therefore, I am convinced that one can perform no greater service than to urge upon our employed masses the importance of having a solidified labor movement. This I do today, while occupying the greatest labor post in the world, to the same degree and with the same fervor that I have done as a member of a labor organization. Nothing would be more pleasing to me than to devote my remaining life to the cause of this movement.

After having occupied the most exalted labor post in the world for more than two years, that of Secretary of the United States Department of Labor, I shall within a few months return to the ranks as a private in that greatest of all humanitarian agencies, the American Labor Movement, with the consciousness that no greater privilege can fall to the lot of any man than to be able to serve those with whom he has labored throughout life. In retiring from public office, I do so with a heart full of gratitude to the men and women constituting the greatest agency for good to the masses that the world ever has known, the American Federation of Labor, assuring them of my continued co-operation with and the future advocacy of a cause to which I have been wedded for years.

I shall stand in season and out of season for the unity of American labor, and under its banner I shall march.

President Green: In behalf of the officers and delegates at this Convention, I want to thank the Secretary of Labor and Mrs. Doak for their visit to us this morning. We thank him most sincerely for the address which he has just delivered. I want to express to him, in behalf of all of you, our gratitude for the splendid tribute which he paid to our great

organized-labor movement. We place great emphasis and value upon the fine and noble sentiments which he expressed. We are indeed grateful to him for the tribute paid to our great leader for so many years, President Gompers, and his associate on the Executive Council, the late John Mitchell. We are also grateful to him for the fine tribute he paid to that old veteran in labor's cause, whose face we see in all our Conventions and who is held in veneration by the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor, our old veteran friend, Andrew Furuseth.

We appreciate the very great difficulties which Secretary Doak has experienced in his work as Secretary of Labor. We know something about his difficulties, particularly in his attempt to enforce immigration statutes, but we have been proud to observe that he has been in hearty accord with the immigration policy of the American Federation of Labor. We know that he has attempted to interpret and apply the immigration law in a broad way, both in spirit and in letter. I want to assure him that his address will become a part of the permanent records of this Convention. It will be read and studied not only by our officers and delegates who are in attendance at this Convention, but by our membership at home. In conclusion, may I express to him and to his good wife our sincere thanks for their visit to our Convention this morning.

I just want to introduce to you the President of perhaps the newest organized national union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. He is in the employ of the Government and he accompanied Secretary Doak to this Convention, and I want you to know him. I present to you Brother John Arthur Shaw, President of the American Federation of Government Employees.

Mr. Shaw: Thank you very much.

Report of Committee on Education (Cont.) American Labor and the Nation Radio Series

President Green: We will now proceed with the regular order of business. The Chair finds that he overlooked the necessity of following parliamentary procedure upon the report of the Committee on Education on the subject of Radio addresses. You will recall we were discussing this subject when we were interrupted in order to carry on the special order of business. When that interruption took place Vice-President Wilson had called the attention of the Convention to the great service rendered by the Workers'

Education Bureau in arranging this series of labor addresses. I want to add to what Vice-President Wilson has said, this brief expression of appreciation to all of the speakers who gave their time and service in the delivery of these addresses. Every one of us appreciates the high educational value of these addresses, the benefits that attain to our local movement, the great good that was accomplished through these addresses. Of course these addresses could not have been delivered and the cause of labor could not have been presented in the impressive and convincing way it was presented if it had not been for the service rendered by those outstanding representatives of labor who gave their time and service in the preparation of their addresses and in the submission of those addresses over the radio. I hope sincerely that another series of addresses will be arranged at an appropriate time, and I hope that not only those who served in the submission of radio addresses during the last broadcast series, but that other representatives of labor will be called upon to deliver addresses in consecutive order as conditions will warrant and circumstances will permit.

May I inquire if there are any others who desire to make remarks upon that particular subject reported by the Committee on Education? If not, we will revert to that now for final action.

The motion to adopt the Committee's report on the subject of "Radio in Education" was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Hanson continued the report of the Committee as follows:

Affiliated Summer Schools for Workers in Industry

The work which has been done by the Affiliated Summer Schools for Women Workers in Industry, beginning with the pioneer activities of the Summer School for Women Workers at Bryn Mawr 11 years ago, has been notable. Upwards of 1,800 women workers have been given a new understanding of economic and industrial problems and new realization of the service and function of the labor movement. Eleven years ago the Federation Convention commended the Bryn Mawr Summer School which was just embarking upon its first summer session. Your Committee feels that it is most appropriate at this time not only to recognize the value of the work of these schools as an organic part of the

workers' education movement, but also to commend their work which has grown naturally out of the initial activity at Bryn Mawr.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Des Moines Adult Education Project

Your Committee has learned with genuine interest of the inauguration in the city of Des Moines, Iowa, of a five-year project in adult education under the auspices of the public school system, with the cordial co-operation of the Iowa State Federation of Labor. An experiment of this kind soundly conceived and co-operatively sponsored in connection with our public school system, deserves not only the co-operation of labor, but also its careful appraisal. We, therefore, recommend to this Convention that the officers of the Iowa State Federation of Labor be commended for their co-operation with this Des Moines project, but we also urge that a report of this experiment be submitted by the State Federation of Labor at regular intervals to the American Federation of Labor and the Workers' Education Bureau for appraisal.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Occupational Retraining for the Unemployed

The present unemployment crisis is a challenge not only to our economic practices and institutions, but to our educational institutions as well. We need to re-examine our aims, our methods and our general assumptions in the whole field of public education. But there is a more pointed challenge to our public educational institutions to provide something in the way of definite leadership in the retraining of our unemployed adults for new skills and new occupations.

Your Committee is of the opinion that the lack of such guidance and leadership is due to the fact that our public school system as such has no definite, clear-cut policy toward adult education. It is a serious defect in our system. At the very time when the rapid technological changes altering the whole basis of occupations, we find ourselves with a vast plant equipment but no adequate policy of re-education of the unemployed.

Your Committee recommends that the Department of Education make a rapid survey of what is now being done to meet this emergency and formulate a program which is adopted to these rapidly growing needs. Your

Committee further recommends to the Convention that representatives of the American Federation of Labor in the various communities give every assistance to the United States Department of Education both in conducting such a rapid survey and in the formulating of some adequate program for vocational counselling and occupational retraining.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Conclusion and Recommendation on Workers' Education Bureau

One of the heartening facts during the third year of the depression has been the awakened interest on the part of wage earners in workers' education. After the initial bewilderment and disillusionment, arising out of the two long years of the depression, working men and women have realized more keenly than ever the necessity for more critical study about the underlying causes of our economic situation and various plans for reconstruction of our economic system. It is a hopeful change in outlook. The evidences of this awakened interest in workers' education are to be found in increased application of students in the various Study Groups, Labor Colleges, Summer Schools and other workers' educational projects. In a number of cases the applicants have been two or three times the number in normal times. In other cases the sacrifices that workers have been willing to make for educational opportunities have been greater during the period of the depression than previously. The increased space provided in the Executive Council Report for the work of the Workers' Education Bureau, as well as the character of the report itself, is another index of the revived interest in this important work. It is, of course, true that in some cases the classes have had to be discontinued because of the dire economic circumstances of labor groups. Weighing all of these factors, however, it can be stated definitely that the revival of interest in workers' education among various groups in the labor movement has been greater during the last year than in the previous years of the depression and immediately before.

Your Committee recommends that this Convention record its own satisfaction in this genuine renewal of interest in workers' education and commend the Workers' Education Bureau for its constructive service in giving direction to that revived interest.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the Committee.

Delegate Birthright, Barbers: I would like to make an observation for the benefit of the Convention of the work of the Workers' Education Bureau in various localities where I have been familiar with it. Last spring in the Convention of the State Federation of Labor of Tennessee, under the direction of Mr. Miller and with the assistance of professors from the George Peabody School and Vanderbilt University, a Labor Institute was held during the time of that Convention, taking most of a whole day. It was very instructive to the delegates as well as to the outside public who were invited to this Convention. The delegates and officers of that meeting expressed themselves as being surprised at the results that came from such institutes, and I believe that the labor movement of the various cities and states where these institutes have not been held should realize how important they are to the workers and the labor movement in general and that they should set about to adopt plans whereby they may have these institutes at their respective meetings. Mr. Chairman and delegates, I heartily endorse the work of this Bureau.

The motion to adopt the Committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

Committee to Escort Judge Nevin

President Green: The Chair desires to announce that Judge Nevin, of the Federal Court of this Judicial District, in which Cincinnati is located, will address the Convention at 3:00 o'clock this afternoon. Judge Nevin served, before his appointment to the bench, as an attorney for the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and while serving in that capacity he was afforded an opportunity to understand much about the organized-labor movement and its problems.

I want to appoint as a committee to escort Judge Nevin to the hall at 3:00 o'clock Vice-President Frank Duffy of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, President John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers of America and President Charles P. Howard of the International Typographical Union.

Vice-President Woll: The Committee on Resolutions will be ready to report at the afternoon session tomorrow. I therefore move that 3:00 o'clock tomorrow afternoon be set aside as a special order to hear the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison: A public recording of the addresses in the Labor Radio Series will take place Monday evening, November 28, at 8:15 o'clock in Parlors E and F of the

Netherland Plaza Hotel. All delegates are invited to hear for the first time the mechanical transcription of these notable labor addresses.

At 12:40 p. m. the Convention adjourned to reconvene at 2:30 o'clock.

Sixth Day—Monday Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order by President Green at 2:30 o'clock.

Absentees: McCallum, Bowen, Tighe, Hagan, Moore, Royer, Sullivan (H. W.) Starr, O'Connell (J. P.), Hatch, Fay, Jewell Scharrenberg, Taylor (T. N.), Raftery, Reed Turnblazer, Reilly, Cherry, Taylor (J. A.), Davis (F.), Fox (H. W.), Kutz, Lang, Watkins, Williams, Ackerman, Parks, Koenig, Starkweather, Brooks, Mitchell (H.), Becker, Kramer, Fritz, Souza, Gates, Myers, Sheehan, Rivin, Pierson, Hammer, Newbill, Draper, Uppleger, Switalski, Greenway, Curran, Carlson, Welsh, Woodmansee, Kromelbein, Saylor, Wells, McGeary, Bohm, Marquardt, Barnes, McElligott, Richardson, Scannell, Meyer, Thoman, Zander.

St. Louis, Missouri,

November 28, 1932.

American Federation of Labor Convention,
Netherland Plaza Hotel,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

The General Executive Board of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Ironworkers extends to the American Federation of Labor a most hearty invitation to hold the 1934 Convention in the city of St. Louis, Missouri, where unusually fine Convention facilities will be made available by the construction of St. Louis's new Municipal Auditorium.

WM. J. McCAIN, General Secretary.

Savannah, Ga.,

November 25, 1932.

Hon. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dear Sir and Brother:

The Trades and Labor Assembly of Savannah takes pleasure in inviting the American Federation of Labor to hold the 1933 Convention in our city.

We wish to extend to all delegates to the present Convention our heartiest greetings. We are sure that they will accomplish many things that will benefit organized labor.

We, in conjunction with our city and county governments, the Chamber of Commerce and many other organizations, civic, fraternal, etc., are very anxious to have the Federation honor us by bringing the Convention here next year. Nineteen hundred and thirty-three will be the 200th anniversary of the founding of Georgia, as a result of this fact many Conventions are already scheduled to come here. We hope that the A. F. of L. will also be among those who will honor us.

With best wishes and kindest regards, we are,

W. B. JARVIS, President;

W. B. RICHARDSON, 1st Vice-President;

D. F. ALLEN, 2nd Vice-President;

G. H. McGEIE, 3rd Vice-President.

Fraternally,

Trades and Labor Assembly,

A. W. THIOT, Secretary.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Secretary Hanson, Secretary of the Committee on Education, to continue the report of that Committee.

Report of Committee on Education
(Continued)

Schools of Trade-Union Philosophy

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, At both the New Orleans and Toronto Conventions of the American Federation of Labor, resolutions were introduced, proposing the establishment or endorsement of an existing school wherein labor students might study those subjects that are more closely allied with his or her interests but which are not available by other means; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, to whose study these resolutions were referred, have had ample time to have made exhaustive and satisfactory inquiries concerning this subject, now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we urge the said Executive Council to make a report on this subject to this Convention together with any recommendations they may have to offer.

The committee recommends that this matter be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Special Labor Day

Under the caption "Special Labor Days," pages 92 and 93, Executive Council's report, your Committee desires to report as follows: Labor's own days are Labor Day, the first Monday in September; Labor Sunday, the Sunday preceding; Labor's Memorial Day, the fourth Sunday in May.

Your Committee commends the statement of the Executive Council's report of the purpose of the observance of these special days to your consideration "to honor the traditions which are our heritage and review existing situations so as to plan for the future with clear perspective, by fitting observance to add to the dignity and significance of labor in public opinion and revitalize our movement, and to provide definite and regular opportunities to strengthen the idealism and spiritualism forces of our movement."

Your Committee is proud and happy to be able to state that the observance of these special labor days has increased in number and dignity. It urges that effort be made for the continuance and increase of this interest. Now in this hour of distress we need, as never before, to show our solidarity, our devotion to our movement as a course for social justice and human welfare, and to this end to make our Labor Day programs worthy of the cause of Labor. It urges a sense of responsibility on the part of every individual member for the proper observance of these days.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: We now approach the special order of business to hear Judge Nevin. The Committee is here and will please escort Judge Nevin to the platform.

(The Committee appointed at the morning session escorted the speaker to the platform.)

President Green: I am pleased indeed to present to you this afternoon a distinguished member of the United States judiciary, Judge Robert R. Nevin, who is Federal Judge for the Southern District of Ohio. His presence here can be properly interpreted as evidence of his deep interest in labor and in the problems of labor. For years he served as attorney and counsel for the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America before he was selected and appointed to serve as a district Federal Judge. I know we are all anxious and happy to hear the address that Judge Nevin will deliver this afternoon. It is indeed pleasing to have a member of the judiciary honor us by his presence.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you Judge Robert R. Nevin, Federal judge for the Southern District of Ohio.

HON. ROBERT R. NEVIN,
(Federal Judge, Southern District of Ohio.)

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: I am deeply appreciative of the distinct

honor which you have conferred upon me by inviting me to address the members of the American Federation of Labor and its officers and delegates in convention assembled.

For 31 years, before being appointed to the Federal bench, I practiced law continuously. During that period of time the firm with which I was connected, and of which originally my father was the senior member, represented, as is usually the case with lawyers who are in general practice, many and varied interests. We represented for many years a number of railroads and were counsel for numerous corporations and many corporate interests and individuals, who were employers of labor. During this time, however, it was also our privilege for many years to have represented in our locality and sometimes in other localities, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America. Through this representation, in the course of the years, I had the honor and great pleasure of becoming well acquainted with Mr. Hutcheson, the General President of that organization; Mr. Duffy, its General Secretary and a Vice-President of this organization; Mr. Carson, the General Counsel, and many of the representatives and individual members. Our representation of this organization and my association with these gentlemen tended to give me an understanding of some of the problems with which labor is from time to time confronted, and of which otherwise I would have had little or no knowledge. I shall always recall these associations with pride and with the feeling that through them came a breadth of vision, which I hope I possess, that otherwise I would have been deprived of. I am happy to have this opportunity to express my high regard for them as among our former clientele, and to say that their friendship has meant much to me in the passing years.

From the knowledge which I acquired in having represented, while in the practice, both employers and employees in various capacities, I know and fully realize that you represent a great cause. Always, and of necessity, you are concerned with at least three fundamental problems, all of which are of vital importance and interest in the times in which we are living and under the present existing conditions; that is to say, the maintenance of wage standards, the betterment of working conditions, and the assurance of continuous employment. To the accomplishment of these ends in an orderly and well-considered manner, you have dedicated your lives and your services. Much you have accomplished, but your efforts are not entirely concluded. However, milestones of progress are clearly and easily distinguishable along the way.

I have no special message to bring to you today other than to point out and very briefly call attention to another milestone that has recently been erected marking certain progress which, in my opinion, is of mutual advantage both to you who are interested primarily in the affairs of labor, and to me and others situated like myself, who are interested by virtue of our position, in the proper administration of the law of the land. The Constitution of the United States provides in Article 1, Section 1, that

"All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States,

which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives."

In Article 2, Section 1,

"The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America."

In Article 3, Section 1,

"The judicial power of the United States, shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish."

Thus, as is familiarly and well known, there is provided in the Constitution the three great arms of the Federal government—the legislative, the executive and the judicial. While as to many of their duties, obligations and prerogatives, there is a distinct line of demarcation, yet in certain instances there has been and probably always will be a shadowland, in which it may be difficult to determine just where the authority and responsibility of one leaves off and the other begins. This condition has existed practically from the beginning of the Government itself.

In a recent book entitled "Our Wonderland of Bureaucracy," written by Hon. James M. Beck, former Solicitor General of the United States, he states among other things that "When in 1789 the curtain first rose upon a new form of government for the American Commonwealth, it consisted of a roll of parchment, George Washington, and Congress." And he then goes on to cite and quote from the earliest debates bearing on the question of the distribution of the Powers of Government among the three branches and the possibility of the encroachment of one branch upon the duties and functions and prerogatives of another. I make reference to the distribution of the Powers of the Government into the three branches for the reason that while it is clearly understood that the judiciary do not and cannot and in all instances refrain from enacting laws, nevertheless the construction which is placed upon legislation by the judiciary many times has resulted in what has popularly become known as "Judge-made-Law." Such result, to some extent is perhaps more or less inevitable and cannot be avoided, and therefore, when there may have grown up some confusion as to just what the law is or should be, just what principles should control in the construction of laws as they concern the affairs of men, it seems to me that it is well both for the judiciary who are required to interpret and construe the law, and to the best of their ability enforce it as it is understood, and to those who may be vitally interested in any given subject-matter, to have some chart laid out by which their course may be guided, so that the course to be pursued upon a given state of facts may not only be plain, but may be the same in all jurisdictions throughout the country.

To my mind in the recently enacted Federal law, approved March 23, 1932, regarding the issuing of injunctions in a case involving or growing out of a labor dispute, and commonly known as the Anti-Injunction Law, there is furnished such a chart. Its enactment will be helpful and beneficial not only to those who were interested in or are affected by its provisions, but as well to the Courts who are called upon to render their decisions in controverted cases to which its provisions are applicable. It should be, and no doubt will be, welcomed by

the Courts in the spirit in which it undoubtedly was intended—a spirit of co-operation. It is true that in expressing his views in his opinion on the Act, rendered to the President, the Attorney General, among other things, stated: "In a number of respects it is not as clear as it might be and its interpretation may involve differences of opinion" but it seems to me that regardless of what the future may develop as to differences of opinion with regard to certain constructions which it may be sought to place upon various parts of the law in given cases that may arise from time to time, it is helpful to have the public policy of the United States declared and defined by the Congress, in which body, as I have heretofore indicated, all legislative powers are vested.

Section 2 of the Act provides:

"Public Policy of the United States. In the interpretation of this Act and in determining the jurisdiction and authority of the courts of the United States, as such jurisdiction and authority are herein defined and limited, the public policy of the United States is hereby declared as follows:

"Whereas under prevailing economic conditions, developed with the aid of governmental authority for owners of property to organize in the corporate and other forms of ownership association, the individual unorganized worker is commonly helpless to exercise actual liberty of contract and to protect his freedom of labor, and thereby to obtain acceptable terms and conditions of employment, wherefore, though he should be free to decline to associate with his fellows, it is necessary that he have full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of his own choosing, to negotiate the terms and conditions of his employment, and that he shall be free from the interference, restraint, or coercion of employers of labor, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives or in self-organization or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection; therefore, the following definitions of, and limitations upon, the jurisdiction and authority of the courts of the United States are hereby enacted."

All of the other pertinent provisions of the Act are to be and in the future should be, read in the light of and interpreted within the meaning of what thus has now been by Congress declared to be the public policy of the United States.

In the case of *American Steel Foundries vs. Tri-City Central Trades Council, et al.*, 257 U. S., 184, the Supreme Court of the United States, in an opinion rendered by that distinguished jurist and splendid American, Chief Justice Taft, say on Page 209, labor unions "were organized out of the necessities of the situation. A single employee was helpless in dealing with an employer. He was dependent ordinarily on his daily wage for the maintenance of himself and family. . . . Union was essential to give laborers opportunity to deal on equality with their employer. . . . They were withholding their labor of economic value to make him pay what they thought it was worth. The right to combine for such a lawful purpose has in many years not been denied by any court. . . . To render this combination at

all effective, employees must make their combination extend beyond one shop. . . . Therefore, they may use all lawful propaganda to enlarge their membership and especially among those whose labor at lower wages will injure their whole guild."

No doubt along with the efforts of the members of this and kindred organizations, and others not members who were interested in the subject-matter, the views of the Supreme Court, as expressed in this and many other cases, had its influence upon and perhaps not a little to do with the passing of the Act referred to and with the public policy of the United States as now declared by Congress in the Act. In its opinion in the case just cited, referring to other principles which Congress had theretofore declared should thereafter be controlling under certain circumstances, the Supreme Court say that "Congress thought it wise to stabilize the rule of action and render it uniform." And it appears that again this equally was the purpose of Congress in the passage of the recent Act.

Although we are living in a time of great distress and hardship, in the midst of an economic condition, the results of which are so appalling as truly to try man's soul, such a condition as none of us had ever thought could exist and which all of us hope will never be visited upon future generations, although it may be that we can not help but feel that as Shakespeare says, "The times are out of joint," nevertheless, I think that we should not become hopelessly disconsolate, but rather viewing the accomplishments of the past, we should take courage and still feel that slowly and gradually, though our progress may at times be hard to discern, the relationships between man and man are becoming better. That in various fields of activity what might have been thought in given instances a heresy by former generations, now becomes a public policy to be recognized alike by all patriotic and law-abiding citizens, and that while there will always be honest differences of opinion, that these nevertheless gradually yield when a principle has once been established and its truth recognized.

So indeed, though the way may seem long, the effort great and the progress slow, nevertheless, I believe by proper and sincere co-operation and in the pursuing of the orderly processes under and in keeping with the principles and institutions of our great government, we are gradually working to that end which you and I and all of us are striving for and which I believe in keeping with the Will of the Infinite eventually will come, when there shall be peace on earth and good will to man, and when there may be what that great leader of men, Samuel Gompers, once expressed as a fullness of his hope and the ultimate aspiration of Labor, that is, "more of the opportunities to cultivate our better natures to make manhood more noble, womanhood more beautiful and childhood more happy and bright."

President Green: We are indeed grateful to Judge Nevin for his visit this afternoon and for his address. We are especially pleased with his reference to the newly enacted legislation,

the anti-injunction measure, and particularly his reference to the declared public policy of our country that is incorporated in that act. I am glad indeed to hear this distinguished judge announce to the representatives of labor that his association with the representatives of organized labor as their legal counsel enables him to understand the problems of organized labor in a broader and perhaps a more sympathetic way. We want to thank the Judge most sincerely for his visit and for his address this afternoon.

Report of Committee on Education (Cont.)

President Green: We will resume the regular order of business. The Chair recognizes Delegate Hanson, who will continue the report of the Committee on Education.

Delegate Hanson reported as follows:

Publications

Under the caption "Publications", Page 93, Executive Council's Report. Your Committee deeply regrets the necessary reduction in the number of valuable publications during the last year and congratulates the officers upon the high standards maintained in those continued, The American Federationists, The American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service and Monthly Survey of Business.

Your Committee earnestly recommends that these services be increased and improved wherever possible.

The American Federationist is soundly educational in social, industrial and economic problems and wins for the organized-labor movement the respect of economists, scholars and the general public. It is a gratification that our official publication is sufficiently appreciated to make it more than self-supporting.

The American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service performs a very distinct service in furnishing to the labor press reliable news of Federal Governmental happenings and outstanding events within the organization itself. It provides a special service in furnishing to all affiliated bodies news matters of particular concern to them. At a time when accurate information as to the labor implications of important proposals before our nation is imperative, this service is invaluable.

The Monthly Survey of Business is recognized by economists, government bureaus, the press and competent judges as scientific and reliable. The American Federation of Labor has every reason to be proud of the splendid

service and the credit it has brought to our movement.

These publications of the American Federation of Labor are invaluable in their work of educating and informing the people of the nation regarding the economic and social crisis through which we are passing.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Labor Press

Under the above caption, pages 93 and 94 of the Executive Council's report.

The Fifty-first Convention of the American Federation of Labor adopted a resolution as follows:

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor is hereby directed to appoint a special Committee of five, of which he shall be a member, to study the situation surrounding the weekly labor press and news services and to make recommendations to the Executive Council, these recommendations to be placed before the Executive Council prior to its winter quarterly meeting; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be authorized to give effect to the recommendations of the special Committee so that the labor press may be strengthened.

This instruction was faithfully carried out and upon investigation it was determined that "present difficulties of the labor press are due primarily to a restricted circulation. Circulation is the life of a publication, bringing with it increased advertising. Labor papers have done, are doing and will continue to render an invaluable service to organized labor. Their usefulness is limited only to the extent to which our trade-union members fail to avail themselves of the opportunities presented. It is essential that labor papers reach the trade-union membership. It is equally essential that the trade-union membership reached the labor papers. The spirit of co-operation between the two, built upon circulation and interest, must be had."

Your Committee sincerely approves the recommendation of the Executive Council that labor papers should be aided in every way possible and be accorded a full measure of service and support. It desires also to concur heartily in the statement of the report, "Anything and everything that will add to the strength and circulation of the labor press contributes to the power and strength of the labor movement to advance the interests of the working people. With the Executive Council it desires to acknowledge also the splendid

work performed by the labor press, whose particular proprietors, managers and editors frequently serve the cause of labor without the inducement of adequate financial reward.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Samuel Gompers Memorial

Under the above caption, Page 100 of the Executive Council's Report. Your Committee congratulates the Executive Council upon the progress made upon the Samuel Gompers Memorial in the acceptance of the design and the advancement of the actual work upon the memorial. It looks forward to the dedication date, October 1, 1933, as an epoch in the history of the labor movement and an occasion upon which all National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Bodies and Local Unions may participate in putting before the world what organized labor has done in the promotion of the status of the worker and in the progress of society under the leadership of this great man, Samuel Gompers.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Legal Information Bureau

Under the above caption, Pages 111 and 112, Executive Council report.

Your Committee regrets the necessary discontinuance of the valuable service of the publication of the bulletins of the Legal Information Bureau and recommends that their publication be resumed as soon as financially possible.

Your Committee desires to call attention to the availability of decisions relating to labor at the headquarters office. Also, the columns of the "American Federationist" will be open to a synopsis and discussion of such important labor cases as will be decided during the discontinuance of the bulletin.

The decisions cover many different topics. Included among them are decisions referring to workmen's compensation, with particular reference to the question of whether a worker is engaged in interstate commerce at the time of the injury, and the constitutionality of prevailing rate of wage laws.

It is recommended that every trade unionist read with care the dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Brandeis in the New State Ice Co. vs. Liebmann case republished in full on Pages 111 and 112 of the Executive Council report.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Hanson: This concludes the report of the Committee on Education, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

A. O. WHARTON, Chairman;
L. P. LINDELOF,
THOMAS E. BURKE,
WILLIAM R. TROTTER,
M. T. FINNAN,
JOHN B. HAGGERTY,
ROBERT MORGAN,
JOHN N. BISHOP,
ROBERT WATT,
W. A. MCKAY,
P. T. FAGAN,
HARRY J. STEEPER,
R. G. SODERSTROM,
W. M. COLLINS,
JOHN E. GROSS,
GEORGE V. FAY,
LEO E. GEORGE,
FLORENCE CURTIS HANSON,
Secretary, Committee on Education.

Delegate Hanson: I move the adoption of the report of the Committee on Education as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Committee is now discharged with the thanks of the Convention.

Report of Committee on Shorter Workday

Delegate Carroll, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee, in submitting this report to the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, desire, with all the earnestness possible, to emphasize the overwhelming importance of an immediate reduction in the hours of labor as a condition absolutely essential to the restoration and maintenance of prosperity. Let us make a fleeting survey of industrial, business and economic conditions generally as they now present themselves. For more than three years our country has been in the throes of a depression which in its intensity and ravaging effects surpasses all that have gone before. Moreover, candor compels the statement that there is little if any prospect of early relief unless drastic reforms are invoked to balance production and consumption on a measurably equitable basis.

In addressing ourselves to the causes and correction of the pending economic dislocation in industry generally, one must marvel at the sheer absurdity of the whole situation. In response to the efficiency impulse and dating

back many years, industry has centered its efforts on increasing production through machine refinements and improved means and methods, based primarily upon labor displacement and a reduction in labor costs, without any regard as to what effect this policy would have on consuming power or public welfare. This short-sighted policy has brought about virtual business prostration until in fact conditions are now so serious as to warrant the declaration that an emergency exists that must be met and promptly answered by the entire nation. This depression has come at a time when the productive agencies of our country developed to the nth degree have attained a capacity both actual and potential that can deluge every demand. The problem that confronts us is in fact a problem of plenty. The genius of man has solved and more than solved the problem of production. Today, however, with this problem of surplus and the disposition of surplus on the one hand we find on the other some twelve million workers in this country begging vainly for liberty to toil while millions of others on part-time employment must in addition thereto suffer intolerable wage reductions. During these same three years the total national production loss variously estimated, has run from fifty billion to seventy-five billion dollars, due to the vicious circle of wage cuts, reduced consuming power, maladjustment of labor hours, and widespread unemployment, until the material cost of the pending depression is now much greater than the World War. All have lost. Unemployment has had no beneficiaries.

These conditions must not be permitted to longer continue. To admit that this problem cannot be solved in an orderly manner would be an indictment on American common sense. For millions to suffer the lack of adequate food, clothing, and shelter and be denied work opportunities solely because of increased productive efficiency is to stamp the word defeat on our entire social system. This must not happen. We must master the machine and make it serve the public welfare. With the restoration of economic health as our objective, this means that we must stress the right to work as a fundamental right, and in doing so declare that there is no hope for the return and maintenance of prosperity except on a basis of lessened labor hours and high and steadily advancing living standards.

With these conditions before us prompt ac-

tion is imperative. We must make definite recommendations. We must offer a specific program. Grounding our recommendations on the rock of economic truth, we should call upon the nation for co-operation in making our way out of this economic debacle which now weighs so heavily on all workers and indeed all the people.

With this purpose in mind, we therefore declare that economic health cannot be restored except through observing the principle of balance in our economic relationship. This means that there must be a balance achieved between the increase in productive efficiency and average labor hours so as to provide a wider and an adequate diffusion of work opportunities as well as to grant the workers larger leisure as a condition precedent to enhancing consuming power. We also declare that the advance in wage rates should keep steady step with expanding productive efficiency, not only as a matter of social justice and enlarged purchasing power, but also as indispensable to the future prosperity of the country. There is no other way. If we are to measurably match production and consumption, wages must go up and the hours of labor be progressively lessened as the only answer to the machine era in which we now live. No program of social or economic reform can hope to attain success that does not embrace this economic truth as the cornerstone of its reasoning.

Conditions that now confront us compel a great forward movement. Labor hours must be reduced and wage rates maintained and increased, something vastly different from the spread-work movement with its pay reduction policy now urged in many quarters and which would defeat the very purpose it is proclaimed to serve. Public sentiment has advanced to the point where it is well nigh universally recognized that a reduction in the average hours of labor must come as a means of re-establishing prosperity. The Democratic and Republican parties in their recent national convention declarations record themselves strongly in favor of reduced labor hours, and for reasons substantially the same as set forth in this report. We approvingly direct your attention to page 30, report of Executive Council, where under the caption "OUR OUTGROWN WORK WEEK" the extreme seriousness of the existing unemployment situation and its relation to average labor hours is presented for your consideration. We warmly commend the following declara-

tion of the Executive Council as graphically summing up this situation.

"The average workweek in all industry in 1929 was about 49 hours. If the unemployed had been put to work there would not have been over 45 hours a week for each worker. Trade union standards average 44.8 hours a week at that time. Since 1929, depression has forced still greater use of labor-saving devices. The return of normal times could not provide even 44 hours' work a week for all now.

"The 5-day 40-hour week and the 6-hour day with a 36-hour week, represent standards applicable to normal times at present. But in the emergency of this fall and winter, hours must be reduced even below this standard to provide work for the unemployed and prevent starvation."

The time has arrived when the American Federation of Labor should vigorously and definitely declare itself in support of a sharp reduction in the work-day and the work-week. It must come. There is no other way. In keeping with the best thought of the time on this subject we therefore recommend that this convention hereby records itself in advocacy of and as proposing to the country the universal adoption without delay of the six-hour day and five-day work week. We further recommend, and for the unanswerable reasons hereinbefore stated, that such reduction in labor hours should carry with it no reduction in pay, but on the contrary wages should be maintained and steadily increased in keeping with the expansion of productive efficiency. We further recommend that this convention declare that this objective of the shorter work-day and work-week be now declared its paramount purpose and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to spare no effort in giving purpose and direction to this program, and that they call upon the people generally in support thereof as the only means whereby the prosperity of our beloved country can be restored.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt that portion of the Committee's report that had been read.

Delegate Volz, International Photo Engravers: I am heartily in favor of the report. However, I believe it might be qualified in stating that we are not in favor of rejection of the weekly wage. It might be construed as meaning the hourly wage, which would mean very little if we are going to reduce the hours.

President Green: The Committee advises

me that is covered in another section of its report.

Delegate Gairnor, Chairman of the Committee: Mr. President, owing to the overwhelming importance of this subject which is now before this great national labor forum as a definition of its policy, I would express a hope that the delegates be not at all reluctant to submit some observations thereon. That report makes many drastic recommendations. It declares that the problem that now confronts America, from which we are suffering, is a problem of plenty. It also says that we marvel at the sheer absurdity of the situation where men suffer for the want of things because there is too much of them. We cannot but be mindful of the fact that, dating practically from the close of the World War, the nations of Europe—and for largely the same economic reasons that now prevail here—found themselves confronted with a similar economic situation, which for the past ten years has steadily grown worse.

I remember being in England in 1924 and observing the dole line. At that time the Labor Party was in power. It was succeeded by the Conservative Party, then later by the Labor Party again, and then by a coalition of Conservative, Liberal and Labor, but the bread line is longer now than it was ten years ago.

Three years ago and more the result of these same economic forces brought a similar situation in this country. As this report says: "candor compels the statement that the situation has not improved," and if one is to judge by the price of agricultural products reported during the past week, when prices hit a new low; if one is to judge by the price of silver, which has gone lower than ever before, or of the English pound, which hit a new low today, and then reasons that this situation will automatically correct itself, he is living in a fool's paradise.

Now it occurs to me that the American Federation of Labor, the one body of men of balanced thought, affords the greatest hope for the country. Think of the statement made in that report that the cost of this depression now is much greater than the World War, being a loss of \$75,000,000,000 in the last three years. Therefore, it is of primary importance—because we have all been hit in a large measure alike—that we try to offer some program to the country that will give hope to millions that are now suffering.

Therefore, I take the liberty, Mr. President, of trespassing upon your time for a few minutes to give you my views on the subject and ask you to accept them with such toleration as you may.

The laws of nature say to man, "Obey my laws or I will punish you. And I will not tell you my laws, you will have to discover them yourselves. Moreover, I will punish you as severely when you sin innocently as when you sin viciously." The laws of economics apply with equal and like effect.

Economic pressure, when you violate these laws, will push individuals and parties and nations aside. Therefore, our first duty, our first obligation is to understand economic laws as the foundation upon which to base our recommendations. And thus the first obligation of the American Federation of Labor is to base its recommendation upon economic truth.

First, we know this is a problem of plenty. We know that our natural resources have been developed to such a degree that we can deluge every demand. Recently, I saw corn selling for 10 cents a bushel, while cotton was selling for six cents a pound. It is a problem of plenty. No man will challenge that statement.

Second, we are beginning to learn that when our social system, like the body, gets sick in one place it gets sick all over, and consequently, broadly speaking, we all suffer alike.

When I know how the potato growers, the cotton workers and the mine workers are doing I can tell you what the street car men and others are doing.

The man that is out of work must be kept by those at work. There is no escape, and thus all the people have a common interest in the subject. We point out in this report that one of the prime causes of this depression is that we have developed our machinery to a point where it deluges every demand, and that there is no opportunity to restore prosperity or give men work upon a basis of existing conditions. We challenge contradiction of that statement. We say definitely there is no hope of a restoration of prosperity if we continue upon the plan we have been following or entertain the vain hope that this situation will automatically better itself. Therefore, the thing that must be done is to observe the principle of balance.

There was a committee appointed by Presi-

dent Harding for the purpose of investigating the cause and to discover a way to correct the economic depression. That committee, composed of seventeen of the greatest men in the country, headed by the then Secretary of Commerce, now President Hoover, and including such men as your beloved President, William Green, and John J. Raskob, Daniel Willard, Owen D. Young and others. They brought out a report in two volumes, and yet in those two volumes there are only two recommendations that strike me as of special note. One is what they call a dynamic equilibrium, and the other is the growing importance of leisure. There is no universal panacea for hard times or for depressions. In all instances it is a matter of observing a series of balances, balances between production and consumption, balances between the cost of living and wages, a series of fine balances all along the line for the purpose of maintaining economic health.

Furthermore, that committee called it a dynamic equilibrium because the balance is not always at one point. The maintenance of balance is the way out of this dilemma, and therefore what this report calls for as a cornerstone of any return to prosperity is a balance to be struck between production and consumption, a balance that will lower the hours and create larger leisure. That means that we must continually expand into a larger life; it means that by solving this problem we will have a degree of prosperity here, a degree of leisure, a degree of larger life such as we never had before. To that purpose this convention should devote its best efforts.

Delegate Mahon, Street and Electric Railwaymen: I agree with Brother Gainor. I feel that such an important report and the conditions surrounding it should be discussed and considered seriously by this convention. I appreciate everything the committee has said in that report. It is a wonderful statement, but I feel that if not further considered it will go out to the world as another one of our declarations and there it will end. What I would like to see would be to devise some means of bringing forcefully to the attention of the people of this country the importance of this declaration and get it in some shape where we could enforce the principles laid down in this splendid report.

I want for just a moment to call your attention to some of the conditions affecting my organization, which I know are the same as are affecting other organizations. A few minutes

ago we listened to a distinguished Judge upon this platform. I happen to have a case in our organization which is now in his hands which will illustrate what I want to bring to your attention.

We made agreements this year that further reductions of wages would not be asked. We have reduced our hours in most cases. As you all know, we were formerly a seven-day organization. Our men worked seven days a week, and of course our wages, our environments and our living were based upon that seven-day week. We went to the six-day week and thousands of our men today are upon the five-day week. We have reduced our hours. Our eight-hour day has gone down until the majority of our men today are on six hours. Among our shop and mechanical men they are working three days a week. But reduction after reduction has come in.

Now in this particular case I want to refer to are some roads in central Ohio which are in the hands of a receiver. Some four or five months ago the roads went into the hands of receivers and three months ago the receivers asked us for a reduction of wages. We took a reduction of 4 cents an hour. We have a co-operative agreement with this company in which we had insurance provisions for our men and at a cost of about \$3.50 a month. Under our co-operative plan that insurance was paid and a certain bonus came to us. We sacrificed a cent and a half an hour of our bonus pay and took it upon our shoulders to pay our own insurance.

Within three months they came back for another decrease in wages. The Judge refused to reduce the basic wage, but he called our people in and submitted it back, and they are now going among our men discussing whether or not to take a 10-cent reduction that has been asked for. The companies say they cannot keep the roads running if the 10-cent reduction is not taken. The Judge, trying to keep the men at work during the year, suggested that it be considered between them, and if acceptable to them it would be accepted.

We have sacrificed our hours to where we are down, in many cases, to an average of only six hours a day and about five days a week, and still these reductions are coming. It is pointed out to us that the business cannot be continued without further reductions, and the men, fearful of the conditions coming before them, are naturally accepting it.

I would like to see some conference called that would be stronger than the American Federa-

tion of Labor. If we could bring, through political influence, a conference such as has been sought by President Green and the Executive Council, with the employers of labor or some political force, a conference that would take the splendid report made by this committee and place it before the country as a declaration upon which the country would stand, upon which the business men could stand, for which Labor could stand, and that no further reductions in pay would be effected, then my friends, we would be meeting the situation.

I confess, with the rest of you, that I don't know just how to do it, but it seems to me that the brains and thought of our delegates here—many of them young and ambitious, that have given serious thought to this subject—ought to this afternoon express themselves, and if possible, find some way to get a stronger distribution that would bring forth greater force to send this declaration out to the country in such a shape that every workman and every union could stand upon it and refuse any further reductions in wages.

That is the subject in my mind, and, as I said a moment ago. I feel that every mind in this convention should be centered upon this report. It is the real question now before Labor. We have many other things we can adjust as time goes on, but the situation now before us calls for this action. We have got to stop the reductions of wages or they will demoralize and destroy our very civilization. We have got to, as men of labor in this convention, take the position that the time has come when no further reductions of wages can be considered if our American civilization is to be saved to our American people.

That is why, Mr. Chairman, I desire to make this suggestion and excite the delegates to every one express something, so that we may go out of this convention with some declaration that will enable us to put a halt to this condition and turn our faces in the direction which they should go.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: Mr. President, the question under discussion at this time is the most important that will come before this Convention, and I have the same fear as was expressed by the previous speaker. That is, that an excellent report of the Committee will be adopted and then will be lost in the volume of work transacted by the Convention. And the fear is not entirely baseless. I assume the reason for the indisposition in discussing this question is be-

cause the delegates are unanimous in their support of the Committee's report and its recommendations. However, if I may have your indulgence for a few brief moments I desire to turn back the hands of time and call your attention to the fact that this question has been discussed in every convention of the American Federation of Labor for more than a decade. And for the purpose of adding a feeble support, if you will, to the report of this Committee at the present time, I desire to call your attention to the report of the Committee on Shorter Workday delivered to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor which met in this city ten years ago.

The reason I call your attention to this report is two-fold:

First, there are in this Convention many delegates who did not attend the Convention to which I refer.

Secondly, the report of the Committee adopted by the Convention ten years ago was almost prophetic in looking into the future and seeing the present conditions from which this country is suffering. And if I may be permitted to refer to that report I desire to read a few paragraphs. First, the report says, in dealing with the subject of the shorter work day:

"Your Committee unhesitatingly declares this to be of paramount importance among the matters considered by this Convention. We further assert that year by year it is becoming more and more the conviction of thinking men and women that herein is to be found the one solution for many of our industrial and economic ills; that only by universal establishment of the scientifically calculated shorter work day can we build a continuing and enduring condition of national and world prosperity; that by thus balancing production and consumption and in that way only can we solve the problems of unemployment and all of its attendant social, political and economic ills which threaten the perpetuity of American standards and American institutions."

When we understand that this utterance was given by the American Federation of Labor ten years ago I ask you, was it not a proper evaluation of the condition which has developed since that time, and while it was a sound declaration, while it offered to the American people a sound solution to avoid the condition which has developed during the past three years, we find that for some rea-

son we were unable to make the proposed solution effective to a sufficient extent at least that we could avoid the condition from which we are now suffering.

I ask you, if that policy had been accepted in that time, would we find a condition in this day where the farmer is bankrupt because of his inability to sell his wheat and corn, while millions of Americans willing to work are suffering the pangs of hunger because of their inability to buy that wheat and that corn? I ask you if we would find the cotton raiser, the wool grower bankrupt because he has produced too much cotton and too much wool, and at the same time millions of willing workers in the cities unable to buy clothing that might be produced from that cotton and that wool?

We are suffering all these things because of our inability to put into effect a solution to this problem which was declared a decade ago. Is the report of this Committee which follows the thought of the American labor movement of the past to be published in the proceedings of this Convention and then to be lost sight of? Are we to do nothing more in the next ten years than we have done in the past, or that we have been able to do in the past in order to make effective and apply the solution we are offering to the country?

The suggestion has been made in some places—and I believe it is a sound suggestion. I believe we should consider the advisability of having the American Congress declare it to be the public policy of this Government that the work week should not exceed five days a week and the work day should not exceed eight hours. And there is a reason. It is necessary to go beyond the American Federation of Labor and the national and international unions in making effective this solution.

You have heard a discussion upon the question of reducing wages, and the statements of Delegate Mahon are in accord with the thought of every man in this Convention. However, we cannot lose sight of the fact that we are confronted with practical problems. We cannot lose sight of the fact that here is an organization, a business establishment employing members of that organization and paying the highest wage it can pay and exist under a competitive system, and we cannot lose sight of the fact that just across the street there is a business institution that is paying a much lower wage because it is

not employing organized workers and is in competition with that institution that is trying to maintain an established standard of wage.

I believe if it were possible for a declaration to come out of this Convention, or perhaps what would be better, a declaration to come out of a conference such as has been suggested, calling upon the American Congress to declare public policy upon other questions, we will be able to accomplish more in the next ten years in making our program effective than we have in the past ten years. And it seems to me that if Congress can declare a public policy upon a question of so much importance as the one with which the member of the Federal judiciary dealt this afternoon, Congress can also declare a public policy upon a question which many of us believe threatens the very life of American ideals and American institutions.

And it is out of my desire to see that this report of the Committee should not be lost and it is because I am completely in accord with that report that I rise at this time, not only to support the report, but to offer a suggestion which I am hopeful might make more effective the policy for which the Committee has declared.

President Green: Are there any further remarks? If not, I should like to make a brief observation or two regarding this very important subject. I have been so profoundly impressed with the subject itself as to be forced to the conclusion that prosperity in its fullest sense can never be realized until we make adjustments such as have been suggested by the Committee on Shorter Work Day. It appears to me that the country is face to face with a momentous decision, whether we shall dismantle industry or whether we shall make adjustments necessary to provide employment for all who are able and willing to work. It seems to me that it is clear indeed that it is quite impossible for industry to provide work for fifty or fifty-five million able-bodied working men and women eight hours per day and six days per week. We have developed such mechanical technique as to make it impossible to absorb into industry the workers of the nation. If that is true, then—and I have never heard it successfully contradicted—what must America do? Are we to resign ourselves to an economic situation where from eleven to fifteen million people are to remain idle constantly and continuously? Will our social order

sustain such an economic condition as that? How long will we be patient? How long will it be tolerated? These are the questions pressing for an answer that must not be denied.

It occurs to me that we can with profit reflect upon the economic developments of the last decade in order, if possible, to place our finger upon the developing causes which brought about the creation and existence of this emergency. As we look back now we can understand and see many things that occurred during the so-called period of prosperity, wrong in principle and wrong in effect, and much of our trouble can be traced directly to those things that occurred.

During the period prior to 1929, during the years just before the crash came, we passed through a period of unusual industrial activity and industrial expansion, and it is now my firm opinion that the money that industrial management placed in plant expansion, in the construction of additional producing facilities, in stock dividends, and in extra stock dividends ought by all means and in accordance with all laws of economic reasoning, to have been paid in wages to the men who performed the work. Is there any man who cannot behold the unnecessary expansion in many industrial plants, new processes undertaken that should never have been touched, the money that should have been paid in wages diverted into this expansion and into this erroneous industrial policy? And then in the declaration of stock dividends they only served to hasten the evil day. If the money thus spent had been paid in wages the demand for manufactured goods would have increased and the adjustments in working hours could have been made inside the plants without the expansion in such an extraordinary way as took place during all of these years.

Some economists have told us that these expansions were made by industries earning large dividends and large profits for two reasons: one, because they did not want to pay labor such extraordinary wages; and secondly, because they did not want to pay it in income tax to the government. In either case they pursued what to me seems now to have been a false, unsound, and indefensible policy. I will admit that some of the expansion to which I refer in some lines of industry can be directly traceable to the war and the demands of war. This is particularly true of the mining industry. That industry has never

yet recovered from the effects of that artificial stimulation because it is so greatly overdeveloped and over-expanded now, because during the war they called for coal and more coal, until it will take more years until the demand for bituminous coal will approximate the present facilities to produce. And so those connected with the mining industry are grappling with the stern economic problem, endeavoring as best they can to apply remedies that will bring some relief at least to a stricken industry that can trace its troubles more directly to war stimulation, perhaps, than any other industry in the nation.

But it all goes back to the period when we were living in a hysterical way, as it were, the money that should have been paid in wages to workers diverted into plant expansion, stock dividends and extra dividends, improvements and betterments that never should have taken place, and particularly in the light of subsequent events.

Now labor is made to suffer and we are appealing, we are asking for relief. We are protesting against the conditions that now exist. We are offering remedies, we are asking that these remedies be accepted and applied. And one of the remedies that we propose is the reduction in the number of days worked per week and the number of hours worked per day, so that at least the work can be spread over a larger number of people and over a wider and more comprehensive territory.

Take the mining industry alone, suffering from mechanical equipment and the troubles that still haunt it as a result of the war. In one great mining state in this nation where 80,000 or more miners were employed in the mines during the war and shortly following the war, practically the same amount of coal is now being produced and can be produced with fifty per cent less men. That is going on everywhere, and where is the fifty per cent that are displaced and driven to go, what is to become of them, and what shall they do? That process is going on in every line of industry from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Well, my friends, the point has been reached when we must speak plainly, when we must talk in language that cannot be misunderstood, and when we, the men and women of labor, must tell the world that we are deeply in earnest, that we cannot tolerate this situation longer, and that we de-

mand that action be taken without further delay.

For years we have been pressing upon industry and upon government for the acceptance of these adjustments in working time so necessary as a partial remedy for unemployment. We have been appealing to reason and judgment and to public opinion. I think we have made some progress, but not enough. There are more working men now employed on the five-day workweek basis and the shorter workday than ever before, but the number employed are only a drop in the bucket. What we need and what the country needs above and beyond any action upon this great economic reform is to bring about a condition where industrial management in America will be compelled to apply it universally, spontaneously, and over a nation-wide area.

I recognize that this is a most difficult thing to do and I am wondering how it can be done. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, at a meeting held in Atlantic City last July, directed the executive officers to call upon the Chief Executive of the nation and present to him the seriousness of this situation, the necessity of applying the shorter workday and the shorter workweek throughout the nation as quickly as possible. The appeal was made to the President of the United States to call a conference in the city of Washington of the representatives of industry, all industry in the United States, and of labor for the purpose of devising ways and means by which and through which the five-day work week could be universally applied in the United States of America. For some reason or other the President decided that the time was not opportune. But in the opinion of the Executive Council that step, if it had been taken, would have crystallized public opinion in support of this great economic reform, and if the Chief Executive had told labor and industry that the nation is in peril because there are ten million idle men walking the streets all the time, and in my judgment the time has arrived for the application of the five-day week and the shorter work day, public opinion would have been behind him and industry would have been compelled to yield.

Now, what shall we do? My friends, there are several suggestions. For the first time in the history of the nation the two great political parties of the country declared in favor of the shorter work week to be applied in industry. Isn't that of some political significance? Isn't that a great force in support of labor's position?

Can't we call upon these two great political parties to make good on their promise to the American people?

That means, in my judgment, that for government employes we can proceed, demanding that the government carry out its declared promise, its platform declaration, demanding that the biggest employer in America, which is the government, shall show its good faith by giving all government workers the five-day week and the six-hour work day. At the last session of Congress a resolution was adopted which authorized the Interstate Commerce Commission to make a study of the question as to whether or not it was practicable to apply the six-hour day to the transportation industry of the United States. The Interstate Commerce Commission has been making a study as directed by Congress. Of course I cannot tell you at this time what its report may be, but isn't it significant and heartening that these steps are being taken? For if the Interstate Commerce Commission reports that it is practicable and possible, then can't we appeal to Congress to enact the necessary legislation applicable to the transportation lines of the nation, giving them the six-hour work day? That is a step that we can take and we can bring into support of that proposal the full strength of the organized labor movement of the nation.

Our course is clear in that respect, that so far as Government employes are concerned and those governed by Interstate Commerce regulations and Interstate Commerce laws, they can be made to enjoy the benefits of the shorter workday and the shorter workweek through legislative enactment. The two great parties have declared in favor of the principle. We ought to demand that those parties make good their promises. The argument is on our side. Let us use it to the limit and call upon them to make good at the next session of Congress.

Now, upon the furtherance of this great principle in private industry, we are confronted with a more complex situation, and by what seem to be insurmountable difficulties in many instances. The argument now offered by many employers of labor, a large number of our industrial managers, is this, that our plants have expanded so greatly, they are so over-expanded, due to the very causes I pointed out that our overhead charges are now so great that we just could not put in the shorter workday and the shorter workweek. To me that is no argument at all, be-

cause it is not so much a question of overhead charges as it is an adjustment in the working time, for after all, the cost of production is reflected in the sale of manufactured products.

Another difficulty we meet is this, and it is particularly noticeable in the textile and shoe industries at present. These industries improved just a little during the past two or three months. Perhaps more people have been employed in the textile mills and in the shoe manufacturing plants, but what do they do? As soon as a slight demand for goods is in evidence, instead of hiring new workers, instead of adjusting their working time, they begin to go on a double shift or increase the number of hours worked per day, and thus give more employment to those already employed. That is the very thing that is adding to and aggravating the already serious situation of unemployment.

But the way must be found. I repeat again what I said: Either industry must be dismantled or the adjustments must be made. We must find a way. Otherwise we must face a situation where from 10 to 12 million people will be permanently unemployed. We have sounded the note, as Brother Howard said, not only for the past 10 years, but for many years. We have repeated it over and over again. I wish we could have made more progress, but we have made some. Public opinion supports us more generally now than it did. When we first suggested the shorter workday and the shorter workweek we were considered as revolutionary and revolutionists, but now people in high places, considered as more respectable than labor representatives, perhaps, give to this great economic reform the same enthusiastic approval as we give it ourselves, and there is scarcely an economist of any standing in America who does not heartily agree with labor that the time has come when the shorter workday and the shorter workweek must be put into effect.

These are days of trial and tribulation for labor. If our people were 90 per cent organized in all trades there would be no trouble whatsoever, but much of our trouble is due to the indifference of those who refuse to come with us. But even though they will not come we cannot stay the fight. We are standing now in the midst of this great emergency like the great army of General Joffre when it was defending Paris, and he announced that, "My left wing is driven back and my right one is

broken, but I have served notice that I will strike with my center." And that is the position of labor: We are not going to stand, we are going to strike for this great economic reform.

Perhaps you can recall when a few years ago the American Federation of Labor decided to take a forward step in support of our demand for the institution of the eight-hour workday? I think that was back in 1897 or 1898. I do know that the great Mine Workers' organization, with which I have been associated, made the fight in 1898 and secured the eight-hour day as a part of the working agreement between the United Mine Workers of America and the coal operators of the nation. But at about that time the convention decided that the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America would lead the fight, that that organization would make the fight for labor to secure the eight-hour workday. You know how it made the fight and you know how it fought and suffered success and defeat, but finally emerged victorious in securing the eight-hour day for the members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

I am wondering whether or not the time has arrived when we could select some strong, militant, fighting organization identified with the American Federation of Labor to make the fight now for the five-day week and the six-hour day? How long shall we tolerate the present condition? What shall we do? Something must be done, and so far as I am concerned, along with my colleagues on the Executive Council, I propose to find some way, to suggest some plan, even though it may be to resort to forceful methods to compel industry to give us this great reform.

The trouble has been, as we have pointed out in the Executive Council's report, that industrial management seems never to have learned. They do not respond to the appeals made to their hearts, their minds and their consciences. They seem to think we will follow the old line and that eventually some power not yet in evidence will correct our economic ills. Labor knows that every reform we have ever secured, every advancement that has come to us for realization and enjoyment has really been forced from the reluctant managers of industry, and I presume that aside from a few who will step out willingly and accept the reform, it will ultimately rest upon labor to utilize its economic

strength in a constructive and practical way in order to secure this great change. And in doing that we are fighting the battle of the unemployed, we are fighting for those who are yet working, and we are fighting for the nation. We will not be denied the realization of this great reform. The world must know, we must be given it in response to reason, or we will secure it through force of some kind.

(At the conclusion of President Green's address the delegates arose and applauded enthusiastically for some little time.)

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: Mr. Chairman, I want to congratulate you on your speech. You were speaking when I came in. I hope that the real, practical propositions that you made can come from this Convention with the necessary force that you put behind it. The Constitution of the United States gives to Congress the right to deal with Federal employees. They can make the laws dealing with them. It gives them the absolute right to deal with employees in interstate commerce. If they want to they can apply the principle there. Whether they will do it or not except upon the greatest kind of pressure is a question that may arise, because there are men working in interstate and foreign commerce today who work twelve hours a day regularly, eighty-four hours a week regularly. And when we asked to have the shorter work day applied to them by law we met objections that up to the present we have not been able to overcome.

There is no doubt, however, that a demand coming from this body in language such as I have listened to, showing its earnestness and sincerity, will have a tremendous influence, if not upon the coming session of Congress, then upon the next Congress, because that Congress is pledged to take the necessary steps to bring into full view the so-called forgotten man and to take such remedies as can be taken.

With reference to the financial situation of the private employer—God knows, I don't want Government employment—with reference to that I doubt most seriously what can be done along the lines we are going. I want, if I may, to take up a little time to show you the reason why I doubt it. I hope I may be forgiven for injecting this thing into this discussion. It has come to me as something that I have picked up from time to time in more than forty years. I know that the struggle between what is historically known

as the Third Estate, what in America we know as Big Business, has now come to the front with all of its strength and force, and we are only in the beginning of that fight. Historically it has got to come. From a religious point of view it has to come. From a racial point of view, if the race is to be saved from destruction—and I mean our race, the white race—it has got to come upon that issue. It is a question of how long we can wait to recognize those facts at their full strength.

The first Constitution of the United States, the Declaration of Independence, sums up the religious duty and the historical evolution toward which we are tending and which we have been occupying for centuries, when it says that men are born equal, entitled by their Creator to the right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The question as to whether we are going to have those things must be settled on the industrial plane. It took more than 1,600 years to give humanity a recognition of equality and equal justice on the religious plane, and that struggle was continued and carried on by religious organizations, based upon religious discontent, and inasmuch as that principle went on from the religious to the political field and it took another 200 or 250 years or more, with men dying by the thousands and millions, inasmuch as it took that long a time to give us official recognition of humanity's equal rights on the political field, equal rights in the state and equal rights before the law, and that was carried on by the political organizations based upon political discontent, so must the great struggle to complete the evolution and bring the religious truth embalmed in our Declaration of Independence into real fructification. There must be industrial organization, group organizations, trade unions, or whatever you may call them leading the fight for human equality and equal justice on the industrial field. Now there are people who understand that very much better than I do. There are people who understand those things thoroughly and, Mr. Chairman, they have used their influence over the states to attain the right to unlimited capitalization. They have used their influence over the states to obtain the right to organize holding companies, and by those two powers put together they control our wages, they can put us out of work in a moment, and unless we can clip the claws of the corporations and the banks, unless we

can break their tusks in such a way that they become what they were originally intended for in this country, and not what they became in the Roman Republic, if that can be done—and that the Constitution gives ample power for—then the corporations that we are dealing with and that are making the fight against us, the whole purpose of which is to take from the working people, whether organized or unorganized, all feeling of strength, all feeling of hope, all feeling of self reliance, so that we will be willing to accept whatever they graciously give us, they want to bring that condition amongst us and the fight against the five-day week and the six-hour day will come from them, and they have the Constitution to back them.

How to overcome it I don't know, but there are some things we can do to take their power from them. They get their right of corporation out of a little state. If the interstate commerce clause could be used—and I think it can be used—to bar their papers and their right and their capitalization out of every other state through the Interstate Commerce Commission, then the over-capitalization can be destroyed. Holding companies operating throughout the entire country can be destroyed. You know what they are doing, what they take away from us. We have an agreement with one corporation or two, but they make a holding company of several. They get the majority stock and they order the corporation to break the agreement, they order the corporation to reduce wages, they order the corporation to lengthen hours, and when it comes to the Government itself they say, "Now, you shall not do these things because we object to it," and they raise the Constitution as a barrier.

In the things suggested by our President here about capitalization, the interstate commerce clause undoubtedly can be used. In the matter of holding companies and interlocking directors—and you got all that information most perfectly from Comrade Frey's speech—in that matter I have no doubt that we can succeed in clipping their claws and breaking their tusks in such a way that they will not be able to accomplish what they otherwise could.

I hope and trust that we will go on with this kind of fighting, knowing that it is the great fight, the fight between wealth and man, the fight on the part of wealth to return to the system of feudalism destroyed in the

French Revolution. All that they want to destroy. As I see it, they want to destroy governments by law, government by law made by legislative bodies, they want to destroy the condition as it now is, but in order to destroy that they must destroy the courage and the fighting force and the fighting capacity of the working people and the common people of the country. That is what is behind this tremendous drive to starve people into submission. I hope and trust that when you come to the question you will take all steps that you can take in a practical way, something that the Constitution grants, and then whatever can be done in addition with reference to what has been otherwise proposed I hope you will go on with that.

I take this occasion to speak thus to you because I expect to leave here tomorrow night. I have got to get to Washington. All the work of the American Federation of Labor for human freedom for forty years may be going into the waste basket. It may be abolished and wiped out if a certain treaty that will come up very soon is adopted. It is not simply the question of the Seamen, it is the question of how far the Interstate Commerce clause may be made to go in the battle with the 13th Amendment, and every transport worker may come, as it now stands, under the Interstate Commerce law insofar as it does not transgress upon the 13th Amendment. What it may do when the treaty is passed, I don't know, but Congress has never passed any law to make that 13th Amendment effective. The second section of the 13th Amendment gives them the power, but they have not done it yet.

You must excuse me, Mr. Chairman, but, my God, I got so happy when you spoke here and I felt so good about it that I had to come now instead of some other time to tell you what I think is the real purpose of the labor movement, a struggle that has to go on, God knows how long, on the industrial plane until the law of creation and the religious principle will extend itself and dominate the industrial field as it now partially dominates the political and the religious fields. How many thousands and millions of men have got to suffer I don't know, but I don't think there is any escape from that fact.

One thing more and then I am through. In my historical reading—and it has gone over many years and long periods of time—I have found a parallel with the introduction

of machinery into our society. It is the parallel of the introduction of the population of Carthage as slaves into Roman organized society. It destroyed Roman society and Roman freedom and it established a slavery—nine slaves to a freeman. The machine is the modern slave. The five-day week and the six-hour day is a temporary remedy and is good so far as it goes but that fact in the hands of somebody has to be controlled. Otherwise we shall shortly afterward meet the necessity for the four-day week and the four-hour day. There are men in the labor movement who would like to see it. I know it. There are men working who would like to see no work between meals, but everything that civilization has accomplished has been accomplished through work—work properly done and done without destroying man. So that while the proposition of five days and six hours is good for the time being, there is nothing final about it. The final thing will be to make the instrumentality of society known as corporations the servants of society instead of its master.

Delegate Rose, Cloth Hat and Cap Makers: Mr. President and delegates to this convention, I am almost sure that, as I felt overcome by the speech of our President, so every one of you sitting here today at this conference felt. I therefore want to suggest that this convention go on record as expressing its thanks, its appreciation and its admiration for the splendid and eloquent address delivered by our President on this question. He has not only voiced the needs and the problems on the forgotten man, but he has spoken so eloquently on behalf of the forgotten nation, the American nation.

I feel that this report for a shorter work-week and a shorter workday will only carry importance and a possibility of realization when it will be fought for in the spirit expressed by our President. I feel that his speech should become the slogan of the labor movement from now on, and the slogan of the American nation from now on. I feel that this speech is going to be historical, that it will be the turning point in the American labor movement and of the American people at large.

Delegate Poll, Printing Pressmen: Mr. President, fellow delegates, ladies and gentlemen—I am a new delegate, and I am proud to be one of the units that compose this majestic body. I have watched with keen interest and appreciation your efforts at this convention. It came as a light in the night, and though I did not

have sight it lighted up my intellect bright.

Paul of Tarsus saw a light, too, and do you know what he did? He turned back on that Appian Way and devoted his life thereafter as an Apostle of the Redeemer. A spirit inside woke me, I got up and I wrote the following message. As a school boy I read, in McGuffey's Reader, the speech of John Quincy Adams. We had this so often that it has burned itself in my memory. In part, John Quincy Adams said:

"The injustice of England has driven us to arms and, blinded to her own interests, she has obstinately persisted until independence is now within our grasp. We have but to reach for it and it is ours."

My brothers, this is the highest and mightiest body of labor in this land. If we do not do something substantially and nationally relative to the conditions that exist, in God's name, who can do anything for labor? Labor is out of employment, and misery and want are widespread, as you all know.

Labor is out of work mainly because those who own or control the capital of this country will not allow the workers to use this capital. Let us see who has a better moral right to the use of this capital. In other words, whose capital is it, from a moral standpoint, I mean? Of course legally it belongs to the bankers and industrialists. Lincoln said: "Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital could never have existed if labor had not existed first." In other words, labor is the father of capital. It is your own congealed flesh and blood. The capitalists do not produce capital, they sit on the political body and the social body, and they are like so many ticks on the sheep—that is all they do.

Labor has created all of this capital which today we are being denied the right of access to. One thing that has impressed me very strongly here and that is your evident intense interest in legislation. Now I know, and I know that you know, that we are extremely interested in legislation and I cannot understand why we do not go upon the political field and there ask and do for ourselves those things which we want done. Good God! haven't conditions become bad enough to warrant this? Labor, you must have a political party! It is the only thing that is wrong with your actions, basically, because once you have taken this step you will be a more potent factor and correct all the conditions upon the economic field that we are suffering from.

Now I say honestly to you I believe in our

American flag and I believe in our American Government, but we must develop our political arm or we cannot say we are leaders any longer.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Mahon: I move that the Executive Council of this organization be instructed to place before Congress, the executives of the states and all other forces, including labor, immediately, to use their best judgment to bring about the principles set forth in this resolution, with the demand that it be carried into effect.

Secretary Carroll: I desire to add an amendment to this motion. I intended to make a similar motion embracing the declaration of the committee, and that it be placed in pamphlet form, together with that masterly address of President Green, and after that given the widest possible publicity over the entire nation.

Delegate Mahon: I accept the amendment.

The motion as amended was adopted by unanimous vote.

Legislation for Compulsory Enforcement of Shorter Workday and Workweek

Resolution No. 1.—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Organized labor, as represented by the American Federation of Labor, has consistently advocated the shorter workday and workweek as necessary if the vast army of unemployed are to be placed back in productive industry; and

WHEREAS, Due to the highly competitive conditions under which employments are carried on, it is impossible in many lines for individual employers to put the shorter workday and workweek in effect, however much they may favor it now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we reaffirm our faith in the shorter workday and workweek as one means of restoring the purchasing power to the workers and consumers of this nation; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we instruct our Executive Council to take all necessary steps toward having proper legislation, embracing this suggestion, and of a compulsory nature, and to have same presented to the incoming session of Congress for their consideration and approval.

Your Committee concurs in this resolution, but feels that the establishment of shorter workday and workweek must be brought about without reduction in the present established wage. If the shorter workday and workweek is brought about at the cost of the worker by reducing his wage in proportion to the hours and days of work reduced, we are retreating and are accomplishing nothing good. For if this is done we lower the wage and living

standard of the worker by dividing among the unemployed that will be given employment by reducing the week and the day of the labor our now only too meager earnings. Industry in the past several years has made huge profits at the sacrifice of the worker by the establishment of labor-saving devices. Industry as it is now established, and from a public welfare point, should be esteemed as much the property of the worker who established it as the capitalists who invested their money in it and can and must reduce the hours of day and the days of the week sufficiently to provide work for the willing worker without any reduction in the wage.

Your Committee recommends that this principle be incorporated in this resolution and that every resource of all organized workers be placed at the disposal of the Executive Council in carrying out the mandates of this resolution and, therefore, we revise this resolution to read as follows, changing only the second resolve:

WHEREAS, Organized labor, as represented by the American Federation of Labor, has consistently advocated the shorter workday and workweek as necessary if the vast army of unemployed are to be placed back in productive industry; and

WHEREAS, Due to the highly competitive conditions under which employments are carried on, it is impossible in many lines for individual employers to put the shorter workday and workweek in effect, however, much they may favor it; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we reaffirm our faith in the shorter workday and workweek as one means of restoring the purchasing power of the workers and consumers of this nation; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we instruct our Executive Council to take all necessary steps toward having proper legislation, embracing this suggestion, insofar as possible without reduction in the daily, weekly or monthly wage, and to have same presented to the incoming session of congress for their consideration and approval.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Eight-Hour Day For All Fire Fighters

Resolution No. 12.—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and John Redmond, of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The movement for shorter working hours in all divisions of industry is recognized by all fair-minded men and women as one of the foremost methods of ending the depression, stabilizing industry and helping to prevent further unemployment; and

WHEREAS, The majority of the fire fighters of the United States and Canada are

working, what is known as the "two-platoon system," that is, an eighty-four-hour week or an average of twelve hours per day, seven days per week; and

WHEREAS, The establishment of an eight-hour day in the fire department of all cities in the United States and Canada will help relieve the distress of unemployment, increase the efficiency of fire forces, and give relief to men who now work eighty-four hours a week in protecting the lives and property of the people; and

WHEREAS, In accordance with this policy, Local No. 94 of the International Association of Fire Fighters, the Uniformed Firemen's Association of Greater New York, caused to be introduced in the Municipal Assembly of the City of New York a measure having for its purpose the enactment into law of the eight-hour working day, or three-platoon system, in the fire department of the City of New York; and

WHEREAS, This measure was introduced in the lower branch of the said Municipal Assembly of the City of New York in March, 1931, and up to the present time has not been acted upon by the legislative body in question, either favorably or unfavorably; and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters in its convention held in August of this year went on record as favoring an eight-hour day, with one day off in seven, for all members of fire departments in the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is sponsoring a program calling for a six-hour day and five-day week in all industries in order to alleviate the present acute and disastrous unemployment situation; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, hereby endorses the program of the International Association of Fire Fighters in its efforts to secure shorter working hours for all fire fighters of the United States and Canada; and, further, be it

RESOLVED, That this program of shorter working hours is in conformity with the ideals of organized labor, and that every member local of the American Federation of Labor is hereby urged to give its whole-hearted support to the movement for an eight-hour day with one day off in seven for all fire fighters in the United States and Canada; and, further, be it

RESOLVED, That the different State Federations of Labor and the Central Trades and Labor Councils be hereby instructed to actively assist the International Association of Fire Fighters in their states and cities when

campaign is made for the eight-hour day for fire fighters, and that all trade unionists are hereby called upon to urge the adoption of such eight-hour day for fire fighters as in keeping with labor's ideals and as a means of reducing the present number of unemployed.

In view of the fact that civic employees can only obtain relief through Legislation, your Committee concurs in this resolution. We are firmly of the opinion that not more than an eight-hour day should apply to the uniformed fire-fighting force in municipal employment, and as the hours of labor in industrial employment are shortened, we feel that the hour of labor of fire-fighting forces should also be shortened, and further recommend that the American Federation of Labor and its component parts encourage and assist at every opportunity the International Association of Fire Fighters in their efforts to bring about more humane working conditions for those they represent.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Carroll: This concludes our report, which is signed—

E. J. GAINOR, Chairman;
T. C. CARROLL, Secretary;
L. A. BEAUDRY,
JOHN SIMONS,
MICHAEL HARTNEADY,
HARRY J. HAGEN,
JOSEPH W. MORTON,
JAMES P. MEEHAN,
L. O'KEEFE,
FRANK B. POWERS,
ROBERT B. HESKETH,
JOSEPH MCINERNEY,
WM. G. POWLESLAND,
MARY MEEHAN,
HENRY F. SCHMAL,
SIMON O'BRIEN,
WM. L. MCFETRIDGE,

Committee on Shorter Workday.

Secretary Carroll moved the adoption of the report as a whole. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

At 5:30 o'clock p. m., the Convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock a. m., Tuesday, November 29th.

Seventh Day—Tuesday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio,

November 29, 1932.

The Convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

Absentees: McCallum, Bowen, Horan, Nelson, Wills, McFetridge, Tighe, Royer, Berry, Sullivan (H. W.), Burris, Starr, Hatch, Fay, Jewell, Scharrenberg, Taylor (T. N.), Rafferty, Reed, Turnblazer, Reilly, Cherry, Taylor (J. A.), Davis (F.), Fox (H. W.), Kutz, Lang, Watkins, Williams, Parks, Koenig, Starkweather, Brooks, Mitchell (H.), Becker, Kramer, Friedrich, Souza, Augustino, Gates, Myers, Rivin, Pierson, Hammer, Newbill, Draper Uppleger, Switalski, Greenway, Curran, Carlson, Welsh, Woodmansee, Kromelbein, Saylor, Wells, McGeory, Bohm, Barnes, McElligott, Randolph, Richardson, Scannell, Meyer, Thoman, Zander.

Cincinnati, Ohio,
November 29, 1932.

Mr. Frank Morrison,
Secretary, American Federation of Labor,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dear Sir and Brother—We desire to substitute Fred Wahlbrink in place of Wm. O'Keefe as delegate to the American Federation of Labor Convention.

Fraternally,

M. J. COLLERAN, President,
Operative Plasterers and Cement Finishers'
International Association.

President Green: The request will be granted.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

Newport, R. I.,
November 28, 1932.

Frank Morrison,
American Federation of Labor Convention.

To Officers and Delegates—We urge you to endorse and work for immediate enactment of Federal Unemployment Insurance legislation.

NEWPORT CENTRAL LABOR UNION,
G. A. Spooner, Secretary.

L. H. Reichelderfer, President of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, sent a letter offering the co-operation of every department of the District Government toward making the 1933 Convention a success if that Convention is held in Washington. The letter further stated that if the dedication of the Samuel Gompers Memorial took place during the time of the Convention the Commissioners would place at the disposal of the officers facilities to make the dedication orderly and successful.

A letter offering the co-operation of the Hotel Association of Washington, D. C., was received from its President, Arthur J. Arnett, urging that the 1933 Convention be held in Washington.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies, Chairman Weber and Secretary Swartz. Brother Swartz will submit the report of the Committee.

Report of Committee on Local and Federated Bodies

Delegate Swartz, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the American Federation of Labor, in Fifty-Second Annual Convention Assembled at Cincinnati, Ohio, November, 1932.

Your Committee would respectfully make the following report and recommendations:

The following is the only resolution on the all important question of the Local Unions and their affiliation to Central Labor Unions and State Federations of Labor, referred to this Committee:

Affiliation of Local Unions with State and Central Bodies

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly requested that National and International Unions insist that their affiliated locals effect and maintain an affiliation with local central labor unions, Trades Assemblies and with regularly chartered State Federations of Labor, to the end that the moral and financial support of all affiliated trades unionists might be united in the development and maintenance of these bodies; and

WHEREAS, Where this co-operation does not exist a heavier burden is placed on the membership of other affiliated organizations and the labor campaigns that may be undertaken lose prestige by reason of this lack of co-operation and affiliation; and

WHEREAS, This affiliation with subordinate central bodies, when these are chartered by and maintain an affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, would greatly strengthen the trade-union movement and would add to the effectiveness of the local and state central labor bodies; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates in session assembled at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in session at Cincinnati, Ohio, this twenty-first day of November, 1932, that we urge continued efforts to make this affiliation and co-operation effective with all National and International Unions.

We approve the foregoing resolution and recommend its adoption by this Convention.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Committee's Recommendations

The Local Union is the basis of all work of the American Federation of Labor; its importance can not be over-emphasized. It can contribute in marked degree to the work of the Federation in overcoming the dire effects of the still continuing business depression.

The year that has elapsed since the Vancouver Convention has been replete with convincing evidence of the soundness of the wage philosophy of the American Federation of Labor. Revival of business still awaits restoration of the buying power of workers.

Continued wage cutting has so decreased demand that nearly all industry is prostrate. Caught in the vortex of their own folly, many great wage-cutting corporations have also been compelled to reduce or entirely discontinue dividends, and are showing heavy operating losses, thus completing the vicious circle of destruction.

It appears that no industry or group of industries is both wise enough and strong enough to lead the procession back to prosperity. Many leading executives now give lip service to our principle of increasing the buying power of the wage-earner. But still each industry holds its own labor cost down by the introduction of additional labor-discharging machines, and by wage cuts to their remaining employes.

Thus the management of each industry lessens the demand for the products of all industry. If all, or even a large per cent of all employers could at one time be induced to give a shorter workweek, hire more workers, and pay but a modest increase of wages, all industry would profit, workers would again be happy and dividends to stockholders would be resumed.

But no one dares to start, and pending this general action so devoutly desired there is an impasse. The breaking of that barrier is the

question of the hour. What is the keylog of the jam? Can the Local Union find and dislodge it?

In this connection we would quote the clear statement of President William Green, contained in his most inspiring address opening this Convention, page 5 of the first day's Proceedings:

I am proud to observe that many outstanding representatives of industry are accepting the economic philosophy of the American Federation of Labor, the one great reform now needed in order to inspire hope and faith and confidence, and in order to put men and women back to work and to establish in a universal way the five-day working week and the six-hour day. That would be a step in the right direction. The great benefit of such an economic reform could not come home to us with full force and effect if it is done in isolated instances, a corporation here and there, forward-looking, progressive men in this city and in other cities, but inasmuch as we are a national unit and industry is national in scope, shipping its goods into all sections of the country, it must be applied in a universal way. I am one of those who believe that it would serve to electrify this whole economic situation if this great reform, which must ultimately be accepted and put into effect, was accepted and applied immediately.

Then I want to refer to the question of wages. We have always upheld the high-wage policy enunciated by the American Federation of Labor in the beginning. We hold that industry cannot manufacture and sell goods, even in a limited way, unless it develops along with the production a market where goods can be bought and used. And in this wage-cutting policy, stupid, indefensible, that has been pursued by short-sighted business management, industry has not only borne heavily upon labor, but it has destroyed its own market.

In 1929 there were a large number idle. It was impossible then to find a market for all the goods which industry produced, but the buying power of the people had reached its highest level. Since that time the purchasing power of the masses of the people has been reduced many, many billions of dollars. Now, how is it possible in 1932 to buy and consume goods in the same volume as they were bought and consumed in 1929 when the buying power of the market is thirty billions less? It seems to me that it is indeed contradictory.

The foregoing puts the searchlight exactly on the problem and its solution. The need of universal action is unquestioned. What part shall the Local Union play in securing that universal action?

This Committee has no illusions and offers no universal panacea. We do recommend building up Local Unions to their utmost power, closer affiliation of all Local Unions into their Central Labor Bodies, and then a

never-ceasing education of our members to confine their patronage to the products of fair employers.

The piecemeal shortening of hours and paying a greater percentage of product to the workers by fair employers will be accelerated in direct proportion to the compact organization of the workers, and the foundation of this organization is the Local Union.

Bearing sharply on this point, we are heartened by the advice of one outside our own ranks, one who has viewed the situation with unbiased eye and analyzed it by cogent reasoning. We refer to the wonderful address of His Grace, Archbishop McNicholas, on the second day of this Convention, page 162 of second day's proceedings:

Increase Membership

I wish, indeed, that labor in our country would realize fully the advantage of a sane organization of all workers into unions. If during the last two or three decades practically all of our workers had freely enrolled themselves under the standard of organized groups, and had continued to take a keen interest in their affairs, we could have prevented in some measure the present social and economic debacle. If even now, in these tragic days of depression, we can begin to bring about a local, state and national organization of our workers, with a voluntary enrollment many times its present membership, we shall have taken an important step toward the reconstruction of the social order. It seems incredible that at present approximately only 15 per cent of our workers are organized.

While deeply appreciative of the foregoing truths, this Committee does not either infer nor imply that effective action must await the day of perfect organization. Our present and former partial and faulty organization has achieved wonders, pointing the way to still greater success. That cherished ideal of all workers united in Locals, all Locals affiliated into Central Labor Unions, and with the State Federations combined into an irresistible American Federation of Labor is a glorious purpose toward which to strive, but as progress is made toward that end, more and more power will be available.

If a forward-looking manufacturer, who today in theory accepts our philosophy, but who hesitates to apply it to his business for fear that the slightly increased labor cost of his product would prove suicidal in competition with other makers of the same product employing non-union labor, if such a manufacturer could have reasonable assurance of the patronage of even a fair per cent of wage-earners, his hesitancy

would vanish and he would lead the way to prosperity. And it is in the Local Unions, Central Labor Unions and through the labor press that the individual members could be educated to give preference to his product.

Human nature being what it is, as long as it seems profitable in some cases to grind down labor, there will doubtless be heartless employers who will continue this ruthless practice. They are business pirates. Not only are they exploiting their employees, but in a very real sense they are tearing down the standards of their own class by unfair competition. But if fair employers were to receive the deserved patronage of organized and well-paid workers, then the piratical price-cutting manufacturers would have only the patronage of their own distressed employees. The cream of the business would go to the fair employer. Here the Local Union must be the dominant factor in teaching its members to avoid the product of the unfair factory, even though slightly cheaper.

There is no magic wand to wave save the wand of organization and even that does not produce instant results.

The American Federation of Labor has brightened the homes of millions of families by increase of wages and betterment of working conditions. During the passing years of depression the Federation has resisted decreases of wages. While our members have undeniably suffered, their pay reductions have been much less than those imposed upon unorganized workers, whose condition is now most pitiable. Their sad state is largely chargeable to their own neglect or refusal to join Local Unions and so become part of the great Labor movement.

While the uniting of Local Unions with Central Labor Unions is voluntary, we would once more quote Article XI, Section 2 of Constitution:

Section 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

We would therefore recommend that all Organizers of the American Federation of Labor, and all officers and members of Local Unions, and Central Labor Unions, exert every possible proper effort to build up their membership and to educate that membership to confine their patronage to union-made goods.

We would further recommend that this Convention reaffirm the pronouncements of former Conventions of the American Federation of Labor, urging all National and International Unions to take such action as in their judgment may best be calculated to bring their locals into their respective Central Labor Unions.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Swartz: This completes the report of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies, which is signed by the following members:

JOSEPH N. WEBER, Chairman.
L. E. SWARTZ, Secretary.
J. O. HOLMGREN.
JOS. M. MARSHALL.
R. R. MCINROY.
JAMES B. CONNORS.
JOHN C. SWEENEY.
EDW. BIERETZ.
A. ADAMSKI.
JAMES C. QUINN.
C. C. COULTER.
JOHN R. O'CONNELL.
R. E. WOODMANSEE.
L. J. NOLAN.
WM. C. BIRTHRIGHT.
J. H. COOKMAN.
WM. H. CLENNENING.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Delegate Swartz moved the adoption of the report of the Committee as a whole, and the motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Committee is discharged with the thanks of the Convention.

The roll of the remaining committees was called and Vice-President Bugniazet, on behalf of the Committee on State Organizations, stated that that Committee was prepared to report.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Vice-President Bugniazet, Chairman of the Committee, and Delegate Martel, Secretary. Brother Martel will submit the report of the Committee.

Report of Committee on State Organizations

Delegate Martel, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Puerto Rico

Under the above caption of the Executive Council's Report, Pages 113-115, the Committee reports as follows:

Your Committee desires to congratulate the Free Federation of Working Men of Porto Rico for its successful achievements in this trying period of the years 1931 and 1932. The Committee approves of the practical piece-by-piece

work of the Porto Rico Free Federation of Working Men in dealing with the problems of labor. There is a certain emotional pleasure in visioning glowing remote goals for a movement like the labor movement, but merely issuing manifestos does not solve labor problems. The only way by which these problems can be solved is by the sane, practical methods of the Puerto Rico group. The legislative record is a case in point.

We approve, too, of the attitude of the Free Federation of Working Men upon "indivisible association and unification of the people of the Island with the people of the United States." If the labor movement of North America can not achieve a friendly solidarity, what can be hoped for the wider associations and contacts with the labor movements in the rest of the world?

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

LAME-DUCK AMENDMENT

On this portion of the Executive Council's report, Page 63, the Committee reports as follows:

Lame-Duck Amendment

Since the report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor on the lame-duck amendment was issued, one other state has entered the favorable column. This makes a total of 17 states which have approved this amendment. These states are:

Virginia	Louisiana
New York	Illinois
Mississippi	West Virginia
Arkansas	Pennsylvania
Kentucky	Texas
South Carolina	Indiana
New Jersey	Alabama
Michigan	Maine

Rhode Island

This leaves 28 states in which the Legislatures have not met since the amendment was submitted, and which will meet in 1933.

Your Committee urges every State Federation to work with unanimity to secure favorable action on this important amendment by State Legislatures. We do not need to stress the importance of this amendment. Its passage means a much more responsive and flexible Federal Government in this day of depression when we realize more than ever that our national problems must be met quickly if they are to be solved intelligently.

Delegate Martel: This concludes the report of your Committee, which is signed:

G. M. BUGNIAZET, Chairman.
FRANK X. MARTEL, Secretary.
J. GOLDSTONE.
GEO. W. LAWSON.
JOHN P. REDMOND.
GEORGE POLL.
JERRY J. HORAN.
JOHN BOYLAN.
HERBERT RIVERS.
WM. MCCARTHY.
J. M. GILLESPIE.
PATRICK GORMAN.
WM. E. WALTER.
J. B. PREWITT.

Committee on State Organizations.

Delegate Martel moved the adoption of the report of the Committee on State Organizations as a whole. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Committee is discharged with the thanks of the Convention.

Vice-President Wilson, Chairman of the Committee on Executive Council's Report, stated that that Committee was prepared to submit a partial report.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Chairman Wilson and Secretary Charles Sumner, of the Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Report of Committee on Executive Council's Report

Delegate Sumner, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Printing Pressmen—Photo-Engravers —Lithographers

On page 79 of the Executive Council's Report, reference is made to the Printing Pressmen—Photo-Engravers and Lithographers dispute.

We note with approval that upon the invitation of President Green several conferences have been held between the representatives of the parties in interest and that another conference is being arranged in a further effort to reach an adjustment which we hope will be successful and bring about an acceptance by all parties in interest of the decision of the 1916 Convention which clearly established the jurisdiction of the respective organizations.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the Committee.

Delegate Volz: Mr. Chairman, if I may be permitted at this time, I believe it is your intention and that of the members of the

Executive Council to assist during the coming year in trying to bring about an amalgamation between these organizations?

President Green: Yes sir.

The motion to adopt the Committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

Engineers—Firemen

On Pages 79 and 80 of the Executive Council's Report will be found reference to the Engineers and Firemen and we note that under the directing influence of the Executive Council conferences have been held and progress is being made toward the carrying out of the agreement reached by these organizations at the New Orleans Convention.

We recommend that the Executive Council continue to co-operate in further conferences and assist in every way possible to bring about a complete understanding between these two organizations.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers—Pulp and Sulphite Workers

On Page 80 of the Executive Council's Report, the Executive Council reports on the controversy of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers and the Pulp and Sulphite Workers.

The report indicates that a conference was to be held at this Convention for the purpose of bringing about an adjustment of this difference. We recommend that a conference be called at as early a date as possible for the purpose of bringing about an adjustment of this dispute.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the Committee's report.

(The Committee's report, as originally submitted, contained the following language: "But due to the absence of the Pulp and Sulphite Workers from the Convention, this conference has not been held.")

Delegate Burke, Pulp and Sulphite Workers: I noticed in the Committee's report it states the Pulp and Sulphite Workers are not represented at the Convention. I was not here the first two days, but I am here now and ready to meet President Morrin of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers this evening if that is satisfactory to him to try to adjust this dispute.

Vice-President Wilson: Brother Burke, I have been looking for you all through this

Convention. I asked Delegate Morrin yesterday if you were in the city and he said no, and that is the reason we submitted our report as we did. We will change the report to read that the conference will be held during the Convention and strike out the words relative to your absence. Will that be agreeable?

Delegate Burke: Yes sir.

The report of the Committee, as amended, was adopted by unanimous vote.

Pavers and Rammermen—Hod Carriers

On Page 80 of the Executive Council's Report, reference is made to the dispute between the Pavers and Rammermen and Hod Carriers' International Unions.

These two organizations have met in conference during this Convention and have decided to hold further conferences for the purpose of composing their differences, and we recommend that the Executive Council render all possible assistance in bringing about an adjustment of this dispute.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Teamsters—Railway Clerks

On Page 80 of the Executive Council's Report, reference is made to the dispute between the Teamsters and the Railway Clerks.

We are pleased to note that the Council has continued its efforts to compose the differences between these two organizations, and we recommend that they continue to use their good offices in bringing about a complete settlement of the differences between these two organizations in accord with the decision rendered by the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Theatrical Stage Employees—Electrical Workers

On Page 80 of the Council's Report reference is made to the dispute existing between the Theatrical Stage Employees and the Electrical Workers.

We recommend that the Executive Council continue its efforts to bring about an adjustment of this dispute, and with the Council we join in the hope that this matter will soon be satisfactorily adjusted to the satisfaction of both organizations.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Flint Glass Workers—Glass Bottle Blowers

On Pages 80, 81 of the Executive Council's Report, the Executive Council deals with the dispute between the Flint Glass Workers and the Glass Bottle Blowers.

Due to circumstances over which the organizations involved have no control it has been impossible to carry out the agreement entered into at the Vancouver Convention, which provided for the appointment of a committee. This Committee has been unable to meet, and we recommend that this Committee meet at the earliest date possible for the purpose of rendering a decision in accordance with the agreement entered into between these two organizations.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposed Amalgamation of Cigar Makers—Tobacco Workers

On Page 81 of the Executive Council's Report will be found reference to the Cigar Makers and Tobacco Workers.

The Executive Council reports that nothing new has developed in this case since the last Convention and expresses the hope that an understanding may eventually be reached.

Your Committee recommends that the matter be left in the hands of the Executive Council to continue its efforts.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

American Federation of Government Employees

Under this caption, on Pages 82, 84, 85 of the Report of the Executive Council, a lengthy and detailed account is given of the events that led up to the granting of a charter by the Executive Council to a group of Federal employees representing twenty-six Local Unions that were opposed to the withdrawal from the American Federation of Labor of the National Federation of Federal Employees. It is regrettable that any grievances, fancied or real, could be considered sufficient during this period of strain on the labor movement to justify a withdrawal of affiliation of any group of workers from the American Federation of Labor. The sincere efforts of President Green to avert this breach in the solidarity of the ranks of the affiliates to the American Federation of Labor are appreciated by your Committee. All efforts failing to avert this breach, the quick but studied decision of the Executive Council, to protect the interests of those members of the National Federation of Federal Employees who

petitioned for a charter so that their affiliation to the American Federation of Labor would not be severed by issuing a charter to them, is approved.

Your Committee commends to all affiliated organizations this new organization and urges that all encouragement and co-operation be extended to it.

Your Committee recommends that the report of the Executive Council on this subject be approved and its action concurred in.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the Committee.

Vice-President Wilson, Chairman of the Committee: In order that we may have an interpretation. There seems to be in the minds of some members of the National Federation of Federal Employees that they are not officially out of the American Federation of Labor until this Convention acts upon that question. By this action in ratifying the action of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, does that revoke the charter of the National Federation of Federal Employees, or was it surrendered upon their notice to cease their affiliation with the American Federation of Labor?

President Green: It is the opinion of the President, the Chairman of this Convention, that the National Federation of Federal Employees surrendered its charter when it withdrew from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. Subsequently a new organization was formed, a new charter was granted to those Federal employees who desired to remain in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. That organization is now functioning as the American Federation of Government Employees, chartered by and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

In view of that fact, it is the opinion of the Chair that the charter of the National Federation of Federal Employees has been automatically revoked, that it no longer has any relationship with the American Federation of Labor, and that Federal employees may become affiliated with the American Federation of Government Employees.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Benefit Service of National and International Unions

Under this caption, on Pages 86 and 91, the Executive Council submits a summary of the benefits paid to the members of organized labor by the various unions affiliated to the American

Federation of Labor. The total amounts to \$39,961,873.14. This is something over \$3,000,000 more than was contributed by the same organizations the year before for the same purpose. It is certain that this inspiring showing does not fully tell the story of the contributions of the labor movement in this phase of its activity.

The published figures show that there have been decreases for 1931 in payments for sick, death and miscellaneous benefits and a material increase in old-age, disability and unemployment benefits. That in itself is illuminating and gratifying. How little credit trade unions get from the Social Welfare agencies and Community Chest groups for its protective aid to its members that has kept them self-respecting and free from the humiliations of seeking public relief. This contribution to social welfare is inestimable and alone justifies public recognition of the trade union as a component part of the forces necessary to bring this country through this crisis and to prevent its recurrence.

Not enough publicity is given to works of this kind that the trade union does as a matter of course and as a part of its day's work. It is hoped that better use can be made of this "talking point" in our favor than to have it buried in the official records of the Executive Council and the printed proceedings of this Convention.

The report itself is so detailed and informative that further comment is unnecessary. Your attention is invited to the report itself and the hope is expressed that the affiliated unions may find some way to disseminate the news in a favorable manner.

Your Committee heartily approves of the report and recommends its adoption.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Workmen's Compensation Insurance

Under this caption the Executive Council reports on Page 114 the decision of the national convention of insurance commissioners to increase the rates for workmen's compensation insurance and that the decision is being opposed in practically every state where advances have been asked.

The report calls attention to the fact that the cost of administration—which sometimes amounts to 38 per cent of the premium rates—is largely responsible for this demand for increase in rates. It compares this administration cost with the cost in Ohio under the state-fund

system where it is only 1 per cent of the money paid in by the employers. It urges that this is an opportune time for all State Federations of Labor to urge the adoption of the exclusive state-fund plan where it is not now in effect; and states that the next Congress will be asked to enact a law providing that the funds shall be administered by the District of Columbia for all business arising within the District.

Your Committee is in hearty accord with the suggestions made by the Council and urges that its recommendations be adopted. It is one of the surprises of life that with all the facts in evidence of the great saving in cost to the employer wherever the state-fund plan is in exclusive use that he will not join with labor in pressing to adoption a similar law in every state in the nation. As the Council says, "this is the opportune time." A new spirit is abroad in the land and the "old order changeth." If a renewed effort is now made to enact legislation of the character proposed the minds of our legislators may not be closed to facts and the employers may not be deaf to reason.

Your Committee is sure any effort on the part of the Executive Council to call this matter to the attention of the movement as special openings occur will be approved by this and succeeding Conventions.

Delegate Graham: I think this is a very important matter. The old line insurance companies have been the hardest ones we have had to combat when we went before the Legislatures trying to get the compensation act liberalized. If we are aggressive the insurance companies are not backward in sending into the states high priced lobbyists to prevent legislation. The sooner we cut them out of the compensation field the better it will be for the workers.

Wyoming is not different from other states. One of the worst companies we have to deal with is the Employers' Liability Assurance Corporation of London, England. They will not give justice to an ignorant working man unless we take every case to the Supreme Court. That takes time and money. We want to go before the Insurance Commission of our state and ask that the London Liability Employers' Assurance Corporation be prevented from acting in our state. The insurance magazines and periodicals are carrying on a campaign against the liberalization of workmen's compensation. They claim there is too much liberality being used with regard to the law and that working men are being

pampered, and it is costing too much for the employers to take care of the injured. They are opposed to all forms of liberalization of the compensation act.

I hope when the delegates go home they will carry this message of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to all the unions in the state and try to get the Legislatures to put the insurance companies out of business. They are a set of parasites and they are getting their money out of the injuries of working men.

Delegate Watt: I think there are two reasons for this being an opportune time to discuss this question of workmen's compensation. One is that other committees are not ready to report. Many of our states are going back to our common laws. In our state, Massachusetts, we have a very good Act, but after we have analyzed the Act we find—well, let me briefly say this: We have discussed here at great length what many of our men call rackets. This, in my opinion, is the greatest racket of all, the insurance racket, that is taking between 38 and 40 cents of every premium dollar.

I have here a questionnaire that was sent out to forty-four states that carry workmen's compensation, asking specific and definite questions as to what it cost the employers for every premium dollar for so much protection; in other words, upon \$100.00 payroll protection. I received replies from the Insurance Commissioners of those states. I find in Massachusetts, for instance, that we are paying the third highest costs, or at least the employers are paying the third highest costs for the protection of the injured worker. It would naturally be assumed that we would secure the third highest benefits, but we only secure the thirty-first highest benefits.

The Federal Government right now is building a post office in the city of Boston, and they are building post offices in Ohio cities. The insurance companies say, according to their figures, that the iron worker who falls in Boston falls five times harder than he does in a city in Ohio. To prove that they say it costs five times as much to protect that worker in Boston as it does in an Ohio city.

Last year they issued a pamphlet that was a conglomeration of lies. I see the hand of F. Robertson Jones, their national lobbyist, in this. They say the state fund in Ohio, in West Virginia, in fact, they take all the state

funds, are absolutely worthless. All right! I immediately answered this, and a bill that was pending was defeated. The Insurance Commissioners in four states wrote back saying the insurance lobbyist in the state of Massachusetts was an unmitigated liar. This is the sort of campaign that is being carried on.

I think it is rather important, because many of the states are paying little or no attention to the fight that has been carried on. I have heard it said in this Convention and in the State Federation of Labor that a dead line for employment exists. Five years ago I was employed in an industry in my state as shop steward. One of the largest companies in America had the coverage of that shop, and they said: "If you will lower the maximum age rate of the men in your employ we will give you a lower premium cost."

The insurance company wants young men because they are not so great a risk. Unless you take the dirty hands of the insurance companies—and their hands are dirty—out of your workmen's compensation insurance you will have the dead line in industry continually lowered.

I am frank to say, Mr. Chairman and delegates, that, in my opinion, this is one of the most necessary things we can do for the protection of thousands of our men who are being injured, not only in the state I represent, but in every state every year. Take the insurance out of the hands of the insurance companies and place it in the hands of the state where it rightfully belongs.

Delegate Poll, Printing Pressmen: Mr. Chairman, the last speaker has certainly given me an eye opener. I want to say to you that the action of those insurance companies is nothing else but the logical action of capitalistic corporations as they are organized today. When you stay off the political field that is what you can expect and you really don't deserve any more respect. It is a shame that men and women when they grow old are put on the state or have to be supported by their relatives. It will be a shame if you adjourn this Convention without taking the action you should to protect the men and women of this country.

You know what the primitive action of men who are put upon the street is. They will wreck the court house if something is not done. I can not understand why this Convention, year after year, goes on and

acts in such a hide bound manner. You should help yourselves. You don't need any servants. You should depend upon your own brain. You have brains enough and you have talent right here.

Charles Darwin gave us Law of Evolution. De Vrees gave us the mutation theory of spontaneous generation. I claim we have reached this point in the development of this capitalist system.

Delegate Flynn, Newspaper Writers: The previous speaker called attention to the action of the insurance companies. They started first with driving out of employment men nearing 60, and now the employer is told that the age limit is 45 or 40. There isn't anything you can do about it. At the present time there are a number of employers throughout the country who have no insurance coverage because in some instance today the insurance premium isn't paid. As was pointed out in the report of the Executive Council, one of the strange things in life, when the cost of everything else has been reduced, is that the stock insurance companies say they want an increase of 25 per cent and the mutual companies want an increase of 15 per cent. That means that the 25 per cent on the 15 per cent additional costs will come out of labor, as such costs are charged to labor.

There isn't a worker in this country, other than those covered by state funds today, that is guaranteed any compensation insurance because of the financial conditions of the stock and mutual casualty companies. We had before us in Massachusetts at the last Convention the Deputy Insurance Commissioner. He admitted, in answer to questions, that in order to permit present day stock and mutual companies to show a solvent condition it was necessary for the Insurance Commissioners of this country to accept securities based on absolutely fictitious values, so that if any worker is injured tomorrow it is a question, "Is the company solvent?" "Is the employer insured?" Nobody knows it until he comes to look it over. The only absolutely solvent funds in the country today are the state funds.

I want to give you an idea of the financial condition of some casualty insurance companies. In the report filed on December 31, last year, of most of the companies operating in this country, those that have American Telephone Company stock, placed a value

on it for solvency purposes of \$182.00. The actual market value at that time was \$119.00. Baldwin Locomotive Preferred was carried at \$77.00, and it was selling at \$17.00. Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad was carried at \$166.00. At that time it was selling for \$85.00 and is now selling for \$40.00.

That is just an illustration, and when we had this Deputy Insurance Commissioner before us he admitted those statements to be true, but his alibi was that the stock market was going up, and we all know it is lower today than it was last December. According to that statement, whether the injured workman gets compensation or not may depend upon the stock market.

Massachusetts pays the third highest insurance rate in the country, but is thirty-ninth in payment for injuries. The large employer says he is insuring in a mutual company. You will find that the payments of the mutual companies are less than the stock companies; in other words, the worker in the mutual company, according to these figures, gets less than the fellow insured in the stock company. Neither one is of any value to us. If we get a state fund and eliminate private profits you will insure that the injured workers will get compensation, not only irrespective of their ages, but they will get an opportunity for a job, and there will be solvency in all cases and not possible insolvencies.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried by unanimous vote.

Supplemental Report, Executive Council, American Federation of Labor, To The Cincinnati Convention.

The Supplemental Report of the Executive Council, Pages 159 and 160 of the Executive Council's Report, together with Resolution No. 85, Pages 177 and 178, Second Day's Proceedings, has received the consideration of your Committee and we recommend that the President of the American Federation of Labor shall continue his efforts to bring about a better understanding between the two International Unions. However, should all further efforts fail, the plan of arbitration recommended by the Executive Council shall be accepted beginning April 1, 1933. Should arbitration be necessary the Arbitration Board shall base its decision upon the jurisdiction claim now in force between the two international organizations.

With the adoption of this report no action is necessary on Resolution No. 85.

Hatters vs. Cloth Hat and Cap Makers

Resolution No. 85—By Delegates Michael F. Greene, Martin Lawlor and Charles W. Cullen of the United Hatters of North America.

WHEREAS, For several years previous to the Baltimore Convention in 1916, the United Hatters of North America protested to the American Federation of Labor that the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America were encroaching on their jurisdiction and the Executive Council after an exhaustive study of over two years of the jurisdictional dispute between the two International Unions, made the following recommendations to the Baltimore Convention, "that the making of all felt, straw and panama hats and the trimming of same, comes under the jurisdiction of the United Hatters of North America and the making of all cloth hats and caps under the jurisdiction of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America"; and

WHEREAS, This recommendation of the Executive Council was approved by the Committee on Executive Council's Report and adopted by the Convention, conceding to the United Hatters, the making of all headgear, with the exception of cloth hats and caps, and the Committee on Executive Council's Report further recommended that the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America be directed to discontinue the words "Millinery Workers" in connection with their title and this recommendation was adopted by the Convention; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor at their meeting in 1917, agreed that the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America be expelled from membership in the American Federation of Labor, unless they complied with these decisions before January 1, 1918; and

WHEREAS, The Convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Buffalo in 1917 decided that the time of their expulsion should be extended to April 1, 1918, and the word "Suspended" be substituted for the word "Expelled" and the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, failing to comply with these decisions, were automatically suspended from membership in the American Federation of Labor, April 1, 1918; and

WHEREAS, The United Hatters of North America then having full jurisdiction over the headgear industry, with the exception of cloth hats and caps, upon the earnest solicitation of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and in the interests of peace and harmony in the industry, on October 23, 1924, entered into a jurisdictional agreement with the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, wherein the jurisdiction of each International Union in the millinery industry was clearly and definitely set forth under the articles of agreement, and was ratified and approved in the Convention of the American Federation of Labor at El Paso, Texas, November, 1924, and in consideration to the application of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America for reinstatement to membership in the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The agreement entered into provided full and free opportunity for the members of both International Unions to follow their trade in the millinery industry, irrespective of which International Union might have jurisdictional control in any particular factory and the United Hatters of North America have carefully and faithfully respected this agreement in detail, in order to avoid controversy with the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union; and

WHEREAS, The Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union has continuously violated the terms of this agreement for the past eight years, despite the repeated protests to that organization by the United Hatters of North America and have unlawfully organized and are continuing to organize, disregarding the terms of the agreement, a number of factories which come under Section 1 of the Jurisdictional Agreement, which clearly and definitely provides that this part of the millinery industry shall be controlled by the United Hatters of North America; and

WHEREAS, This agreement was entered into mutually by the two International Unions as the instrument through which the workers in the millinery industry would be fully organized and protected, and inasmuch as the American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council, was the means of bringing about this jurisdictional agreement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the United Hatters of North America respectfully request that the American Federation of Labor, take such steps as are necessary to compel the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union to carry out the terms of the jurisdictional agreement entered into between the two organizations and approved by the American Federation of Labor in the El Paso Convention in November, 1924; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That failure on the part of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers to live up to their agreement with the United Hatters of North America (through which they gained admittance to membership in the American Federation of Labor and got their title extended to embrace the words "Millinery Workers") and as the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers don't want to live up to the agreement made with the United Hatters of North America, we respectfully request that the words "Millinery Workers" be eliminated from their jurisdiction.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the Committee.

President Green: The Chair would like to take advantage of this opportunity for just one or two observations. We have been endeavoring as best we could during the past year to compose the differences existing between the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers and the United Hatters of North America. I am happy to note

that in our negotiations the representatives of the two organizations have shown a fine spirit and have manifested a real desire to work out their difficult problems in a way that would best conserve the highest and best interests of the two organizations involved.

Since coming to this city I understand that conferences have been held between the representatives of the two organizations and a most friendly and cordial relationship has been manifested in these conferences. I understand that very great progress has been made in reaching a solution of the perplexing jurisdictional controversies. I wish to congratulate the representatives of the two organizations involved for the fine spirit which they have shown and for the success which has thus far attended their efforts. They have manifested a desire to serve the high and noble purposes of organized labor.

I think I can see, if I interpret their action, a desire to unite and join their forces for the purpose of organizing those employed in the cloth hat and cap making industry and in the hatting industry. They sacrificed personal views for the good of the common masses of the people. That, to me, is the manifestation of a fine spirit. If these two organizations can unite and co-operate, as I feel sure they will, there is nothing that can stop us from organizing this industry completely. And, after all, that is the outstanding achievement to be desired.

The membership of these organizations, or those eligible to membership, are interested in the development of their economic, social and industrial welfare. They do not want to spend their energy and their time and service in fighting each other over some jurisdictional question. What they desire, above all, is to unite in a compact organization so that they can enjoy better wages, more tolerable conditions of employment and the shortening of the hours of labor which must inevitably come.

The American Federation of Labor will give to these organizations a full measure of support, will help them with the full force of the power of our organized labor movement, and I hope that when the next convention meets a report will be made that the jurisdictional troubles between these two organizations have been finally composed and fairly settled, and that they are doing team work in the interests of the men and women who toil.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried by unanimous vote.

William P. Clarke

The Committee on Executive Council's Report wishes to report its loss of the services of William P. Clarke who has acted as Secretary of the Committee with such fidelity and success for so many years that his absence accentuates his worth to the Committee more than his presence, perhaps, was appreciated.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice-President Wilson: That concludes the report of the Committee, except for two matters which we will be ready to report on after the noon adjournment.

Report of Committee on Industrial Relations

Delegate Henning, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Stove Mounters—Auto Stove Company—Cleveland Co-Operative Stove Company

The Vancouver Convention, acting upon Resolutions Nos. 2 and 19, directed the Executive Council to use its good offices in the effort to bring about an amicable settlement of the controversy of the Stove Mounters' International Union with the Auto Stove Company of New Athens, Illinois, and the Cleveland Co-operative Stove Company of Cleveland, Ohio. In the efforts made to adjust these controversies it was found that circumstances surrounding the two cases were such that the Executive Council deemed it inadvisable to carry out the intent of the resolutions.

Your Committee on Industrial Relations refers to that part of the officers report on Page 82, dealing with the Auto Stove Company of New Athens, Illinois, and the Cleveland Co-operative Stove Company of Cleveland, Ohio. The report of the Executive Council shows that every effort has been made to adjust these two controversies, and that the Council deems it inadvisable to carry out the full intent of Resolutions 2 and 19 adopted at the Vancouver Convention of the American Federation of Labor. Your Committee recommends that the report of the Executive Council be approved, and that the Executive Council be requested to continue their efforts to bring about an adjustment of the dispute between the Stove Mounters' International Union and these two companies.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the Committee.

Delegate Egan, Stove Mounters' International Union: The question is that we do not recognize the Cleveland Stove Company and

the Auto Stove Company would not recognize the representatives of the American Federation of Labor. I think they ought to be put on the unfair list, and we ought to have got to that long ago. They have been simply laughing at organized labor. In Cleveland they get out a report that they are fair to labor. Then they go out in New Athens, Illinois, Belleville and East St. Louis and say they don't have to recognize labor, that they will run their own game. I don't see why the American Federation of Labor should not place them on the unfair list, and give them a good fight.

President Green: The Chair will take the liberty to explain the reasons that inspired the Executive Council to report upon this controversy as it did. When a move was made to carry out the instructions of the Vancouver Convention it was discovered that the Cleveland co-operative concern particularly, and as I recall, the Auto Stove Company at New Athens, Illinois, employed a large number of union workers, particularly molders and members of other trades union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. These molders employed by this concern, recognized and paid union wages, protested against any action on the part of the Executive Council putting these firms upon the unfair list and making it appear that these union workers were employed by firms placed upon the unfair list.

The Executive Council also corresponded with the officers of the Cleveland Central Trades Council and the officers of that body advised us that, with the exception of the dispute the firm had with the stove mounters, they recognized the Molders' International Union and other organizations and made wage agreements with them. The Executive Council was then confronted with a serious situation if they placed the firm on the unfair list. Because of some trouble with the stove mounters they would be compelling workers to work for firms advertised all over the country as being on the unfair list. The Council therefore felt it should continue its efforts to settle their troubles with the stove mounters rather than place the firms on the unfair list. That is the basis of the report of the Committee.

Delegate Egan: The molders put in a protest. Take the molders, the polishers and the stove mounters. The minute one has a grievance the most powerful organization pro-

tests. Is it right for a union molder to make the castings for a non-union stove mounter? If that is unionism, I would like to know what unionism means.

Take the case of Hamilton, Ohio. They cut the stove mounters out. The molders worked and the company said their stoves were union made. That could not be. The molder made the castings and the stove mounter finished them. The molder makes the casting and it lays on the floor, but we are asked to assemble it.

The same case happened in Chattanooga, Tennessee. The Mascot Stove and Range Company forced the mounters out and the molders passed them on the street and would not recognize them. They came out in Knoxville, Tennessee, and the Secretary of the Chattanooga Local went into the office and got a letter from the foreman saying they never had any trouble. The next year the same firm forced the molders out.

If I can turn around and make work and then give it to a scab, and they protest against the organization that is out trying to help to get better conditions, the labor movement will never get anywhere if this continues. Ever since organizations have existed one has been fighting the other. How in the name of God will we get anywhere if we don't co-operate?

The stove mounters gave the Cleveland firm a fair reduction, but the firm said: "We want to put them out of business." I don't say the molders tried to help put them out of business, but they did wrong when they protested against putting the firm on the unfair list.

President Green: Have you taken the matter up with the officers of the Molders' International Union?

Delegate Egan: Our Secretary has been corresponding with them. I have all the correspondence at my home, including your correspondence. Brother Kehough, the former President, is dead—I hope his soul is at rest—he is the one who put the protest in.

President Green: Would it not be a step in the right direction for your officers to have a conference with the officers of the Molders' International Union and see if you can prevail upon them to join with you and agree upon a policy and plan?

Delegate Egan: I had a talk at the Metal Trades Company with Brother O'Keefe. I said I would talk to him again before the Convention was over. I am First Vice-President and I was

delegated to represent the organization. Our President is in St. Louis. I had a talk with Brother Frey and I expect to have another talk with Brother O'Keefe.

President Green: I think that would be the best course to pursue.

The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Molders Protest Attitude of Richardson & Boynton Company, Dover, N. J.

Resolution No. 58—By Delegates L. O'Keefe, Robert T. McCoy, Thomas Connelly of the International Molders' Union.

WHEREAS, The Richardson & Boynton Company, Dover, N. J., manufacturers of stoves, ranges, warm-air furnaces, hot-water and steam-heating apparatus, abrogated an agreement entered into between the International Molders' Union of North America and the Manufacturers' Protective and Development Association, of which it was a member, locking out its molders on April 30, 1928, and subsequently the union stove mounters and union polishers in its employ, since which time this company has operated a non-union plant; and

WHEREAS, The Richardson & Boynton Company has rebuffed persistently every attempt to effect a settlement of the difficulty, and continue to manifest an extremely unfair attitude toward organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in its Fifty-second Annual Convention assembled, renew its declaration of the unfairness of the Richardson & Boynton Company toward organized labor, and instruct its officers to convey this declaration to all of its city, central and federal labor unions, requesting members of organized labor to refrain from the purchase of any and all Richardson & Boynton products.

This resolution deals with the unfair attitude of the Richardson & Boynton Company of Dover, N. J., in its relations with the International Molders' Union of North America. As this company has persistently refused to endeavor to reach a settlement of the difficulty existing with the members of the International Molders' Union, and has continued an unfair attitude toward organized labor, your Committee therefore recommends in lieu of the adoption of the resolution, the reaffirmation of the action of a previous Convention of the American Federation of Labor with reference to the Richardson & Boynton Company.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Henning: This completes the report of the Committee, which is signed:

JOHN COEFIELD, Chairman.
R. A. HENNING, Secretary.
CHARLES D. DUFFY.
WM. P. WALSH.
CHARLES J. CASE.
EDW. CANAVAN.
JOHN C. McDONALD.
SAMUEL A. MATLOCK.
THOS. F. MARTIN.
FRANK J. BACIGALUPE.
L. G. GOUDIE.
WM. T. EGAN.
HUGH McTIGUE.
HENRY BEESTEN.
GEORGE TURNER.

FRED. W. BAER.
JAMES DOYLE.

Committee on Industrial Relations.

Delegate Henning moved the adoption of the report of the Committee as a whole. The motion was seconded and carried, and the Committee discharged with the thanks of the Convention.

No further Committees were prepared to meet at this time, and on motion of Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, the rules were suspended and the Convention adjourned at 11:40 a. m. to reconvene at 2:30 o'clock.

Seventh Day—Tuesday Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees: McCallum, Bowen, Horan, Nelson, Wills, McFetridge, Flaherty, McTigue, Royer, Sullivan (H. W.), Collins, Burris, Starr, Hatch, Fay, Jewell, Scharrenberg, Gross, Taylor (T. N.), Raftery, Reed, Turnblazer, Reilly, Cherry, Taylor (J. A.), Davis (F.), Fox (H. W.), Kutz, Lang, Watkins, Williams, Parks, Koenig, Starkweather, Brooks, Mitchell (H.), Becker, Kramer, Friedrich, Souza, Augustino, Gates, Myers, Rivin, Pierson, Hammer, Newbill, Draper, Uppleger, Switalski, Greenway, Curran, Carlson, Welsh, Woodmansee, Kromelbein, Saylor, Wells, McGeary, Bohm, Marquardt, Barnes, McElligott, Richardson, Scannell, Meyers, Thoman, Zander.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

Portland, Ore.,
November, 28, 1932.

William Green,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Congratulations on your wonderful step in urging the six-hour day. If your plans were carried out and backed up by the leaders of business we would be out of this slump in six months. If a man consumes he must have a chance to produce. Your shorter workdays would soon pay, would bring prices of every commodity back to normal making it possible for everybody to meet their obligations. The mortgages on farms and homes of this country will never be paid if we go along the way we are, asking even the man that is working to pay two dollars on every dollar of debt contracted back in 1929. The cry of "cut down, cut down," has nearly cut us all down. Our government is floundering around spending our money trying to cure our ills from the top, hoping that a few crumbs will fall on the poor

man's table. Your plan goes to the root of the trouble. Success to you.

GEORGE H. ROWLINSON,
President of the Oregon State Laundry
Owners' Association.

Long Island City, N. Y.,
November 29, 1932.

William Green,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

As an employer of labor, president and director of several corporations, I endorse your shorter workday one hundred per cent.

A. H. JETER.

Ottumwa, Iowa,
November 29, 1932.

William Green,
Care of Labor Convention,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Farmers' Holiday Association will back labor to the limit in its demand for 30-hour week and right to live as Americans.

MILO RENO.

Supplemental Report, Committee on Credentials

Delegate Haggerty, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

We, your Committee on Credentials, beg leave to report that we have examined the credential of Steve Sumner, received today, representing the Calumet Joint Labor Council, Kensington, Ill., and recommend that the delegate be seated with one vote.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Jimerson on a question of personal privilege.

Delegate Jimerson, Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen: Mr. Chairman and Delegates of the Convention: Some one without authority has been circulating rumors that International Secretary-Treasurer Dennis Lane, of the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, has withdrawn as

a candidate for fraternal delegate to the British Trades-Union Congress. In behalf of Secretary Lane, I wish to deny that statement.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Vice-President Woll, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions.

Vice-President Woll: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, in reporting on the subject matters submitted to it, the Committee will report in the order of matters referred to it by the Executive Council's report. Where there are resolutions dealing with the same subject in connection with the Council's report and which are so inter-related as not to be separately considered, the Committee has taken into consideration all of such resolutions. There is one resolution presented dealing with six different phases touched upon in the Council's report and in some other resolutions. That, of course, will be reported upon separately. The resolutions themselves will be reported upon in the order in which they have been presented to the Convention. I make this statement so that every delegate may know the procedure followed by the Committee in considering all subjects referred to it and the manner in which it will report to the Convention on the subjects delegated to it.

President Green. The Chair recognizes Delegate Olander, Secretary of the Committee on Resolutions.

Report of Committee on Resolutions

Delegate Olander, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Introduction of the Report of the Executive Council

In recent years the American Federation of Labor has frequently warned the people of the United States that the nation was entering upon an era of development in which highly significant trends and events were menacing the well-being of the entire population. Six years ago the Detroit Convention hoisted a very definite danger signal. "Modern industry," the Convention pointed out in a declaration which it adopted, "has gone forward so rapidly that even the closest observers are unable to keep fully abreast of it. In some respects this development has taken the form of financing on a basis that is leading to a point where no one may say exactly what will happen. Able men . . . have pointed out the extreme danger that lies

in the direction along which our business affairs are now traveling."

The reality of the danger and some of its results are now apparent on all sides. In the opening sections of its report, under the caption "Introduction," the Executive Council reminds us that "the years of unemployment have swept away incomes, savings, investments, securities, leaving distress and despair in their wake." What has happened to cause this? It is, as the Council states, "a breakdown in our business structure." Wherein lies the blame? Who is at fault? Insofar as the question relates to men, the answer is easily ascertained. Thoughtless, disorderly, irresponsible and often unscrupulous manipulation of the credit facilities of industry, commerce and agriculture, and utter failure to recognize the imperative need, so often urged by the American Federation of Labor, to adjust industrial and commercial practices to conform to the tremendous strides of technological progress, mark the majority of the leaders of American finance and commerce as incompetents or worse. They occupy the most favorable positions in our economic and social structure. They were, and are, at the vantage points, with greater opportunities to observe and therefore to plan for their own advantage and for the welfare of others, and above all to warn of pending dangers. And what have they done? How have they performed their trust? A terrible indictment rests upon them, not only in the bitter thought of the millions of American citizens—of vast numbers of suffering men, women, and children—who now exist at the point of destitution, but also through publicly uttered charges made (or shall we say admitted?) by their own associates. At the meeting of the International Chamber of Commerce in Washington, D. C., a little over a year ago, they listened to one of their most prominent leaders conclude a description of evil financial practices in the following words:

"Are we to have a repetition of this kind of financial leadership? If it be true—as I believe it is—that credit is the life-blood of the nation, and that there can be no economic stability or social progress without a sound financial structure; and if it be true—as I also believe—that no financial system is sounder or more useful than its management, then financial leadership in this country must take stock of itself, turn over a new leaf, and chart a new course of conduct for its future guidance. If it be objected that not all financial leaders are guilty of such misconduct—and certainly there are some who are not—the indictment, nevertheless, stands. As far as the record discloses, not one

had the courage to fight in the open against the tendencies he knew were wrong and to demand a right-about-face. Knowledge is one thing, but courage of leadership is another."

Thus it was that one among them, within their own councils, had the temerity to speak and later to publish a charge so grave that, under the circumstances of its utterance, it should have aroused every financial leader in America either to vigorously deny its import, or to offer reformation and to present guarantees against future misconduct.

We take no delight in repeating the charge. It is an unpleasant task to impugn the motives of our fellow creatures on such a huge scale. But it must be done, again and again, until the air of smug self-complacency which still characterizes so-called "Big Business" is dissolved by some tangible evidence of honest concern for the national welfare on the part of its controlling leaders. It is not enough that they join in campaigns to raise charity funds or permit their subordinates to join in presenting appeals to Congress and to State legislatures for public relief funds. They must recognize their own shortcomings. They must be made to understand that the reformation needed in American life is not so much in the matter of public government as in private business. They must be brought to a realization that the time has come when the methods and practices of industry and commerce must be adjusted to the needs of the people as a whole. The Committee will have more to say on this subject in other sections of its report.

All will agree with the statement of the Executive Council that "The immediate and urgent problem is unemployment." The task before the American labor movement is that of bringing about such changes in commercial, industrial and governmental practices, policies and principles as may be necessary to firmly establish conditions of life and labor that will not only make continuity of employment possible and thus prevent actual hunger and want, but that will safeguard the freedom and liberty of even the humblest person in our great land.

We must be alert against the imposition of any form of involuntary servitude. To speak figuratively, as we participate in the arrangements for the supply and division of bread we must be watchful to make certain that between the pieces offered to our people there is meat and not a stone. With these observations and in this light your Committee recommends approval

of the opening section of the report of the Executive Council.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The report of the Executive Council deals with the subject of "Unemployment" at some length and in considerable detail. An impressive array of interesting facts and figures is presented in the report which is divided into several subsections under the following sub-titles:

1. Workers' Income Loss.
2. Failure of Buying Power.
3. Income Distribution.
4. Uses of Excess Income.
5. Deficit in Buying Power.
6. Low Wages Mean Low Profits.
7. Co-operation Essential to Balance Wages and Production.
8. Our Outgrown Workweek.
9. Worker Security.
10. Planning Our Lives.
11. Principles of Relief.
12. Unemployment Relief Funds.

The Committee finds all of these subjects so closely inter-related as to make it difficult to deal with each separately. We have therefore divided our report on "Unemployment" into four sections. Part I relates particularly to the preface and the first seven sub-titles. Part II relates to the "Outgrown Workweek" and associated problems. Part III concerns "Worker Security" and "Planning." Part IV relates to "Principles of Relief" and "Relief Funds."

Unemployment—Part I

"Estimates based on Government figures," says the Council, "show that unemployment this year averaged 10,826,000 persons in the first nine months, and that in June, July and August the number out of work passed the 11,000,000 mark." Other millions have only part time employment. "Skills for work are lost, and even the desire to work," continues the report, "many will never again be able to earn their living. People cannot go on for two or more years without work or income and keep normal." The Council estimates that, counting the workers and those dependent upon them, at least 60,000,000—nearly half our entire population—are now living below proper minimum standards.

All will agree fully with the statement of the Executive Council that it is "sheer stupidity" to "allow this national deterioration when we

have in our farms and industries a wealth of resources to supply every need." Why are not the tools and material at hand used to meet the pressing requirements of the moment? What, or who is it that stands in the way?

The failure of our industrial and commercial activities to meet the needs of the people are failures in human management. In a nation such as ours, where nearly all business is conducted on the basis of private enterprise, and ownership, such failure must be charged against those who are primarily responsible for the conduct of our business institutions, that is to say, against the industrial, commercial and financial leaders who own, control and manage those institutions. Until that obvious fact is recognized and admitted to a far greater extent than at present, it will be impossible to apply an effective remedy for existing conditions, or to develop workable safeguards against future depressions.

The whole nation is confused and public thought led astray by the hue and cry on the part of commercial and industrial interests against the various divisions of government—local, state and national. It is a performance that reminds one of the story of the thief diverting attention from himself by shouting "stop thief" at another. We would not, however, have anyone infer from this that we are lodging any charge of knavery against all business leaders. But how shall they, as a group, free themselves from the charge of ignorance and incompetence in the management of the business life of the nation? For certainly we now have a spectacle of failure that is most astounding. In this crisis, where is the business and commercial leadership with the courage, the intelligence and rectitude to face squarely the terrible situation in which factories, shops and mines stand idle, and the manufacture and movement of essential commodities have reached the lowest ebb in the history of our nation, while millions of our people are destitute and facing hunger and want? These "leaders" have few suggestions to offer for the elimination of evil practices in business which tend to unduly disturb values, and offer no plans for reformation, but content themselves with railing against "government interference with business," while at the same time brazenly requesting the government to aid them in maintaining their credit, which is one of the greatest essentials of modern business. And what is the significance of this cry against government interference with

business? What else but a desire for the restoration of the state of law existing prior to the enactment of such regulatory laws as the government now enforces? And what happened in those early days? One has only to read the stories of the operations of the Jay Goulds of that time to find the answer. There was deliberate and conscienceless looting to such a degree that the devastating effect of those activities is felt in certain property values even up to the present day.

While demanding for themselves, the right to be free from restriction in the management of business activities upon which the people as a whole depend for their very lives, and notwithstanding the frequent failures which must be charged against them, these "captains of industry" have set their faces against the exercise of the most fundamental of rights on the part of the common people. For they have so effectively denied the legal right and natural impulse of the workers to organize that, outside of perhaps the railroad industry which is required to face many problems in the legislative halls of the nation and therefore is vitally affected by political activities, there are but few of the large corporations in which trade unions have succeeded in securing a foothold.

The power of these great corporations is not a natural development, but is plainly artificial, for they are themselves a creation of the state through grants of incorporation. Their powers, therefore, may be defined and regulated by the state. They should be required to recognize the right of the workers to organize. A way must be found, if not by voluntary reform on the part of these enormous corporations, which at present seems unlikely, then through acts of government, through legislation, to strip them of their power to deny to others the very rights of organization which they themselves exercise.

Up to the present, there is nothing in the history of the general business leadership of the nation that warrants the belief that that leadership can be entrusted with the powers it formerly held, nor that it is competent to so manage affairs as to provide adequate safeguards against the recurrence of such periods of depression as that through which we are now passing.

Again we repeat, it is all a matter of human management, for in these difficult times there has been no diminution in natural resources. The sun shines, the rain falls, the soil re-

sponds, and minerals and other raw materials lie waiting. Factories, shops, mines, railroads, steamships and all the paraphernalia of business that man could wish for are here. Millions of families are in need and the wage-earners in these families—mechanics, laborers and other workers of all sorts to the estimated number of approximately 11,000,000—stand in idleness, lacking the opportunity to make use of this wealth of equipment, willing and eager to enter upon the manufacture and transportation of commodities needed on all sides, but prevented from doing so by the fact that the management is not sufficiently competent to properly direct the necessary business processes.

An essential part of any remedy to be applied must involve on the part of the present leadership some surrender of the power which they have misused, especially against the organization of labor, or that power must be taken away from them by legislation. The business life of America needs the stabilizing influence of trade unionism throughout its entire structure. There is no other way to prevent the wild scramble for temporary profits in utter disregard of future consequences, now so frequently witnessed in our commercial life.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the Committee's report.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: I am impressed with the thought that there is one paragraph in the report of the Executive Council now under discussion to which particular attention of the delegates of this Convention should be called. We are aware of the trying times through which the country has passed, and particularly the workers of the country during the past three years. We could recite for hours and days the sad experiences of these times. I believe it is well, however, that we should not lose sight of this significant statement which is found in the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Unemployment." After reviewing the reports of the government upon the number of persons unemployed, I find this paragraph:

"Trade union figures show a smaller percentage of unemployment than that of workers as a whole. The per cent of trade-union members out of work this year has averaged 23.7, while the average for the country as a whole was 31.8 per cent for a period of nine months. This is striking evidence of the protection unions have given their members."

It occurs to me that it is worth while to call attention to the fact that a different story

would have been written of the past three years had the workers of this country been effectively organized to control the hours and conditions of their employment, and I believe that that is a most significant statement. It should have very strong appeal to the workers of this country who have suffered so much, and in it there should be a lesson that only through effective organization of the workers in all of the industries can we fully and adequately meet these conditions which arise, as in the past, with a certainty, the conditions which come from cyclical depression in unemployment. I call this to the attention of the delegates because I believe it is an effective argument for the organization of the workers of this country, so that we may be prepared to meet conditions of this kind should they arise in the future.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Unemployment—Part II

In its discussion of "Our Outgrown Workweek" the Executive Council points out that, "In the period from 1919 to 1929 labor-saving machinery and devices made sweeping reductions in human labor needed in industry, but work-hours were not adjusted. Factories turned out 42 per cent more products with 241,000 fewer workers; railroads carried more freight but dropped 362,000 workers; coal mines laid off 122,000 workers; agriculture, 800,000. With industry operating at peak activity in 1929, 2,400,000 were unemployed. In factories worktime needed for the same work was reduced from 52 to 34 hours a week by technical improvements in this decade, but the actual workweek declined only from 52 to 50 hours."

Here the Council presents a phase of the unemployment problem, the full significance of which is comprehended by relatively few of our people. Technological improvements, especially as expressed in automatic and semi-automatic machinery, have reached a development under which it will be impossible to avoid unemployment in the future even if the shortest work period and the highest wage standard prevalent before the depression are made applicable throughout industry and commerce. The productive power of these improvements has never been fully utilized. It is, however, becoming steadily more apparent.

A decreasing number of machines and mechanical processes, each of which involves a reduction in the human working force, are capable of producing sufficient goods and commodi-

ties to supply the needs of an increasing number of persons. This startling development is of comparatively recent origin. In any substantial revival of business in the future we shall probably witness a much wider use of these labor-saving devices than ever before.

Under any rational arrangement this enormous and steadily growing productive capacity of the nation would surely result in the distribution of a more abundant supply of the necessities, comforts and even luxuries of life, to all classes of citizens. Indeed this must follow, or the warehouses become glutted, and paradoxical though it may seem, the exercise of this great power of production actually brings about a condition in which there is comparatively little production. This occurs because the machine was operated to take the place of, rather than to serve, man. Because of unemployment, man loses his purchasing power and there are not sufficient buyers to consume the product of the machine, and thus business comes to a standstill. The machine that takes the place of one or ten, or a hundred or a thousand, or any number of men or women, does not marry and rear children, it wears no clothes, it consumes none of the food products that come from the farm, it has no children to educate, it does not call for the erection of homes and schools and churches and theaters. It is not a consumer. The machine, whatever its form, is a tool, to be used by man for his benefit and convenience. It is good when it is made to serve man. It becomes a menace, a veritable Frankenstein, when it is used to displace him. The true purpose of the machine is to lighten the burden of labor by enabling greater production for human needs to be accomplished in a shorter time.

The shortening of the workweek and the workday, as indicated by the Executive Council, to a greater extent than ever before contemplated in industry and commerce, is, of course, an essential feature of the remedy for unemployment. The subject of lessening the work period has been acted upon by the Convention through the report of the Committee on Shorter Workday and therefore needs no further comment here. The mere spreading of employment, however, will prove to be but a temporary expedient of little lasting influence unless it is accompanied by wage and salary rates sufficient not only to restore the buying power of the masses of our people, but to substantially increase that power. That is something that can not be accomplished without effective and wide-

spread trade-union activities. The orderly and progressive development of the nation's economic life through a stabilized growth, which all fervently desire, can not be carried on without the energizing and steadying influence of the trade unions. In order to maintain some reasonable balance in price and production in the course of general business, it is necessary, in order to obtain the best results, to maintain some equilibrium in labor costs as between the various competing divisions of the country. Under conditions of freedom, such as exist in the United States, where men can not be forced to work for employers under compulsion of law, it is obvious that labor in the high levels can not be brought down to the low levels. It is plain, therefore, that the lower levels must be raised to the higher if the desired equality of competitive opportunity is to be obtained for the general operation of business. This, of course, can not be accomplished by legislation. There is only one way. That is to encourage the development of trade unions everywhere. In an industry operated on a non-union basis, a single concern may demoralize the labor standards for all by reducing wages and by other unfair labor policies. There is nothing that the other concerns in the industry can do to prevent it. In time they may be forced by the unfair competition of one unscrupulous concern, perhaps among a hundred, to follow the lead of that single business pirate and to take action that they know to be unfair to their employees. The very reverse of these conditions exists in an industry where trade-union organization is thoroughly established. When the vicious employer there seeks to enhance his competitive power by reducing wages of his employees or imposing harder conditions of labor upon them, he immediately meets with opposition from the only source capable of dealing with the question, that is to say, from the trade unions. That is the roads to stabilized growth of American commerce and industry. The union shop is good for business as well as for the workers.

This, indeed, is the lesson that the business leaders of America must learn, that they are confronted with economic developments with which they can not contend alone, but which require the joint co-operative efforts of employers' organizations, trade unions and the Government to establish and maintain conditions under which the people as a whole may receive the full benefits of science and invention on a steadily progressive scale.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the Committee.

Delegate Poll, Printing Pressmen: I beg to differ with the expression in this last paper where it says that legislation can not effect anything, that it is all left for the economic field. This is absolutely not true. The other day I was called an optimist by our venerable Mr. Furuseth, and I hope that I continue to be an optimist. Legislation is the only place where you are going to remedy your conditions. You have heard the other day about the 5 per cent—one brother said back there that that is all organized labor controls. How are we going to do anything with 5 per cent, 10, 15 or even 20 per cent, and all of the travail and bitterness that you must go through when you strike, and the women and children suffering? I say the action of this Convention will not be consistent if you insist on passing this expression in this paper. That won't do, because all of these papers that have been expressed here express pain and everything, all of the terrible stuff we are going through—all of the working people. I don't mean the business people except the small business man who takes his profits out of his service, seventeen hours a day, and he calls that profit. Profit is something for nothing that you get from bonds, where you sit on top and don't do a thing. That is profit bona fide. I just want to differ with this paper.

Delegate Manion, Telegraphers: In an endeavor to agree with both sides I would like to make a suggestion that if we have to go into legislation it might not be amiss to ask Congress, when it undertakes to balance the budget, to put a good tax on these labor saving devices, an amount which will approximate the loss in wages of the men who have been displaced by these mechanisms. That would accomplish one of two things: It would either take much of the tax off the backs of the poor or bring about the abolition of these labor-saving devices and restore many men to industry.

Delegate Allen, Champaign, Illinois Central Labor Union: I want to take just a moment or two on this particular question because I don't believe this Convention has reached a unanimous or very nearly unanimous feeling about the question of legislation. We adopted a resolution yesterday afternoon and I am quite sure a very large number of delegates are not conscious of the fact

that we did adopt a resolution in favor of legislation to regulate the hours of labor. I would like to read the Resolve of that resolution:

"Resolved, That we instruct our Executive Council to take all necessary steps toward having proper legislation, embracing this suggestion, insofar as possible without reductions in the daily, weekly or monthly wage, and to have same presented to the incoming session of Congress for their consideration and approval."

That resolution was adopted after that noble declaration by our Grand President, Brother Green, which every one of us so heartily endorsed. Due to the fact that after this noble address was made there was considerable milling around among the delegates in the hall, I believe many of them did not realize the far-reaching importance of that particular resolve which I have just read. It is couched in rather mild language, but it has a very great significance. I am heartily in favor of that resolution. I don't see any possibility of getting any real, productive results along any other lines.

It has been said that anything of that nature or character is not in accord with American principles. I beg to differ with any one who might take such a stand or view as that. It has been expressed to me that to handle such questions as hours by legislation is taking on such forms of government as might be found in Italy. I think any one who would make such an expression as that does so without due consideration. I am not an authority on Mussolini and his methods, because I have not made any study, but the impressions that I have gathered from general observations and meetings is to the effect that that is substantially a one-man government. Legislation in the United States is far from that.

The purpose of Congress itself is to enact into legislation the expressed will of the people. That Congress has the power to change from time to time as necessity may arise in order that it may conform to the will of the master. Thus it is that to ask Congress to pass legislation to regulate the hours whereby the health and happiness of its people might be prolonged is in itself a proper function for the law making body of this nation. The very foundation and principles of the American form of government is such that the United States Congress is in a position to

meet any conditions or emergencies that might arise. It is supposed to be a government by the people and for the people, and for any one to assume that intelligent people would never change their minds is too ridiculous to imagine. The fact that we have gone through all these years without attempting such a thing is no sign that it is un-American to attempt it now. We have got to meet conditions as they are brought about by years of improvement. Things that were adequate fifty years ago are now in the background, and it might be equally so with government.

Our progressive leaders in the political field of twenty years ago were oftentimes spoken of as anarchists and such, but today many of their ideals are upon the statute books and upon the records of our halls of Congress and accepted as purely American, and I believe the day is not far distant when just such legislation as this will be recognized in the same manner. I wish to God that labor did have the economic power to regulate these questions of its own self and accord, but I am sorry indeed to say that we do not possess that power. And after all, possibly it is well that we haven't that power, because, my friends, if labor had the power we, too, might use that power unwisely as capitalists have done.

Congress is the supreme lawmaking body of this country and should be the supreme body, either economic, political or otherwise, and if we as people are not willing to exercise this God-given political freedom, then of what value is it, why have it? Go to the other side. When they are in great distress or need help, when they have exhausted all of their own means, where do they go? They go to Congress. Do we want to proclaim that we have the economic right to do these things? Well, it is gladly granted you that you have the right, but I seriously question the ability. But the past convinces me of that weakness.

Declaration of policy? That sounds good, it is real music, but you know how music is—after you have played a piece a few times it is no longer charming, you want something different. And I fear that this declaration of principle, good as it may be, will not cover this condition.

Another thing I would like to say to these delegates, it seems to me that the working class, either consciously or unconsciously, have accepted the theory or principle that we

are the workers and that capital is mounted upon a throne and that we must bow at the feet of capital and beg for whatever we can get, and that whatever we do get be taken from capital. I don't take this view of it. I like to look upon our American Government as a government of all the people and I like to think of my divine Creator as being the great Father of us all, and that when He blesses one He blesses all, and if we take from what we now call capital, that whatever it is that will regulate these hours we will not take anything from capital, but capital will be blessed the same as we will be blessed. We should reason this thing out from a mental point of view to the extent that we can honestly and conscientiously look to capital with the desire and the expectation that capital itself, or those who belong to the capitalistic side of this question, should be glad to co-operate with us in bringing about the ends to which we are now striving.

I do not consider that this is unreasonable in the least, because it is a conceded fact that the business men of today are in almost as dangerous a position as the workers. Some of them might be hanging on fairly well, some are hanging on by a thread and some have nothing at all, some have passed out and have floated back into the labor field. So they should be just as much concerned as we are. We believe in reality they are, but they are confronted with many of the same handicaps we are. If one merchant or business man wants to do the thing he thinks would solve this problem he is confronted with the fact that his competitor is just across the street and he is not willing to go with him. He is just like we are—we claim that if the working people of this country would organize effectively we would have the power. That is true, but let me see you organize them to that extent. The business men are in that same predicament. They think if they should get anywhere nearly 100 per cent organized they, too, would have all power, but somehow or another God in His wisdom has not given to any class to have that power.

So I say it is not a question of stirring up antagonism and hate, but it is a question of arousing fundamentals in the human heart for all mankind, that we want to build up this nation of ours whereby every man, woman and child, regardless of his state in life, shall enjoy the benefits that the God of Heaven has rained down upon us. We speak

of prosperity—we are now in the midst of prosperity. That all seeing Eye has supplied every need that man can use to his joy and pleasure and benefit, but we, the human mind, have interfered with the machinery of distribution to such an extent that we have well nigh ruined the whole make-up. Whose fault is it? It can not be the fault of the One Who gives every good and perfect gift. It is your fault and my 'ault. We haven't the excuse that we can blame it on to the other side. It is our side and their side, too. We can all admit that had we done certain things in years past we would now have been able to meet this condition in an effective way, but we know that when so-called prosperity comes along our wages are good and we take it, we spend it, we have a good time. The first thing you know the bubble breaks and where are we?

Now, my friends, I haven't much hope that I might change any one's opinion on this question of government legislation. I served the United States Government for twenty years or more, and I know our conditions are not ideal, and I am not boasting about them. They are not what I would make them, but I have learned to look upon the United States Government as the greatest friend that this nation and the people of this nation have. If we can not trust our Congress then whom can we trust? Congress belongs to you and to me, they are our servants, and when I say our servants I mean the servants of the people. When we get to the point that we can not trust that Congress, let me ask, then, where does our patriotism lie? Who do we trust? That Congress should be looked upon as the very supreme unit of this nation, and when we fail to trust Congress then our patriotism has certainly taken a back seat in the mental ground of this nation.

If Congress is not what we want it, let's go to work and get it to be what we want it. It may take a short while, comparatively speaking, but I will venture to say when you go out to the masses of this country and show to them that labor has a program to offer that will place not only the trade unionists but this nation as a whole in a better position, I believe you will find the people ready to rally around your platform and assist in bringing about and executing such a method that will give us the power to let Congress know what this nation wants. And

I believe when Congress has been convinced that it is the will of the people, that Congress will act, and will act reasonably quickly. I say we should lay aside petty jealousies, petty hates, jurisdictional fights, and speak and act in behalf of the people of the United States. Every one of us is made in the image and likeness of the Creator, one equal to the other, and we must act for the whole of the people and not for the minority. I am heartily in favor of action that will bring about such a regulation of hours as will distribute this thing and equalize it so that the nation as a whole will be in condition to enjoy the things to which we are so justly entitled.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Unemployment—Part III

As a means of promoting "Worker Security" the Executive Council proposes the following:

1. A System of state employment services under Federal co-ordination.
2. The organization of wage earners in trade unions.
3. The division of work.
4. Higher wages.
5. Vocational counsel and retraining.
6. National economic planning.

As integral parts of a central or national plan the Council urges the following:

1. Steeply graduated income and inheritance taxes.
2. Constructive control of credit and finance production.
3. Recognition of the equities of workers in the industries in which they work.
4. Federal agency to collect and collate data on man-hours and wage-earner incomes, and to provide standards for determining economic balance.
5. Federal licenses for corporations operating on an interstate scope, with specific requirements as to accounting.
6. A protective service for investors.
7. Organization of wage earners in trade unions to advance their interests industrially and otherwise.
8. National economic planning should aim at raising standards of living for lagging groups and not at a program of limitation of production with price fixing.

In recommending general approval of the foregoing proposals, we do so in the light of previous declarations by conventions of the American Federation of Labor on the subject dealt with and we recommend that where there is found to be conflict with previous declarations, that the Executive Council be authorized to alter such proposals in accordance with previous declarations, in order that they may con-

form to the well-considered and established policies of the American Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council recognizes the futility of attempting to outline any complete and final program of subjects which should be dealt with in connection with national economic planning, without first bringing about conferences between representatives of the various groups connected with industry and commerce. On this phase of the subject the Council says:

"Though we can not foresee the development or the agencies for national economic planning, we can see the necessary first steps. As essential to that end, we urge the calling of a representative national economic conference to outline the initial steps. In such a conference Labor should be represented as a producing partner in industry and as a major social group."

Your Committee is in hearty accord with the proposal of the Council for the calling of a representative national economic conference. In this connection we quote from the report of the Committee on Resolutions adopted by the Vancouver Convention a year ago, as indicative of our present views:

"That there is urgent need for national and co-ordinated planning can not be successfully disputed. That our present system of unchartered industrial activities must ultimately give way to a charted method of procedure and relationship is as evident as the experience realized that individual expression in industry can only be successfully manifested through associated or concerted action. This being true, it behooves organized labor to be alert and deeply concerned in every activity and movement having co-ordinated national planning for its purpose. While we should strive to inaugurate such co-ordinated planning by the call for a national conference as indicated in the Council's report, we should not be unmindful of other calls having been or being made and conference being arranged for that purpose. Indeed we must press forward the claim of organized labor for full and equal representation and participation in any and all conferences and calls made for the development of methods or means embracing national planning, related to such plans as has been outlined by the Executive Council.

"Particularizing upon that section of the Executive Council's report dealing with public accounting, we express agreement and approval with the end desired. However, we urge care and caution that this proposal may not lead to undue state regulation of private industry. We believe labor is best advised to proceed slowly and with full knowledge of ultimate consequences in a field that is so highly alluring but extremely complex and perplexing.

"Your Committee is no less bold in its urgency against the creation of any governmental agency that may have for its purpose or include in its objectives the shaping of labor policies. In considering the proposal for a Federal Labor Board we are not unmindful that

considerable of the data sought to be had through such a board is already being gathered through different departments — especially through the Department of Labor.

"It is apparent that the Executive Council is fully alert to these potential dangers—and while declaring ourselves in approval of the helpful service sought by these two proposals, nevertheless it is urged that the Executive Council reconsider some of the phases involved in the light of the foregoing comments."

We earnestly urge the most careful study and the exercise of great caution in the development of national economic planning. It is our understanding that the Executive Council has in mind some plan which in the main provides methods of voluntary co-operative action and that the "authority to administer a plan that meets the approval of the group" in such manner as "to hold irresponsible individuals in line," as referred to in the report of the Council, is not to be armed with the power of law enforceable by the courts.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Unemployment—Part IV

Under the sub-titles "Principles of Relief" and "Unemployment Relief Funds" the report of the Executive Council presents a discussion of certain unemployment relief measures and points out that "The only cure for unemployment is employment. Every relief measure gains in soundness as it approximates normal conditions of incomes from the creation of wealth needed by society." The need for advanced planning of public works is stressed and the use of national credit for self-liquidating projects is urged. Attention is directed to the fact that "in the first eight months of this year, public and private relief amounted to \$187,983,000 and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation added \$35,000,000 in loans to states up to September 30." "This year's relief bill," the report continues, "will probably be at least \$400,000,000 to \$500,000,000. The amount given this year was 76 per cent above last year. In both years public agencies have furnished over two-thirds of the relief, the proportion of both years being 69 per cent public, 31 per cent private (first eight months)."

In connection with the pressing need for immediate relief funds, your Committee directs particular attention, with complete approval, to the concluding paragraphs of this section of the report, namely:

"It is obvious that an increasing proportion of relief funds must come from governmental appropriations. In view of the demands for reductions in governmental expenditures, it

will take strong presentation of the social consequences involved and persistent and concerted pressure upon state legislatures and Congress to secure adequate appropriations. We urge union groups everywhere to take the initiative in pressing demands for the necessary relief appropriations. Appropriations should be generous in recognition of the rights of the persons concerned, and administration of the funds should be economical and intelligent, under local unified control in the hands of a trained personnel.

"However generous public appropriations may be, they do not relieve private individuals from contributions in proportion to their resources. Over \$100,000,000 came from private contributions this year—an equal or larger amount is needed this coming winter and next year to relieve need. Those who have large fortunes which could not have been accumulated except under the conditions which this nation provides, should give generously as a debt due to the nation and as an investment for the maintenance of our present institutions."

With this, your Committee concludes its report on the section of the report of the Executive Council which appears under the general title of "Unemployment" and the various subtitles to which we have referred in the four sections of our report, in regard to which the Committee, in the light of the comments and qualifying references it has presented, recommends approval. The subject of unemployment insurance is reserved for presentation in another section of the report of the Committee.

Delegate Kennedy, United Mineworkers: Mr. Chairman, I only propose to very briefly discuss the matter, and especially with reference to the relief provided for the various states by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The law provides that states may borrow from the R. F. C. for the purpose of not only work relief but direct relief, and in accordance with the basic provisions of the law many states have requested loans from that corporation for the purpose of providing for work relief and direct relief. Among the states so applying is the state of Pennsylvania, which under the law is entitled to borrow approximately \$45,000,000 for the purpose of relief in Pennsylvania.

Of course, it is understood, that this is supplemental to the relief raised by the various states and branches of government. Pennsylvania appropriated about \$47,000,000 through the Legislature for work and direct relief; \$25,000,000 was appropriated through a bond issue for public highway work. That work is compensated for in cash at the prevailing rates. In addition to that we appropriated \$22,000,000 for direct relief, or a total of \$47,000,000. So far, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation has loaned

to Pennsylvania about \$11,000,000. I get these figures from the Governor of that state.

Chairman Pomerene, of the Corporation, has notified Pennsylvania that unless they raise more money the Corporation will not loan any additional funds to Pennsylvania for direct relief. I am not saying that Pennsylvania has raised as much for relief as they should under the circumstances, but we challenge the right of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation through the Chairman of that body to say to the state of Pennsylvania, or to any other state, that they are arrogating to themselves the right to set aside the basic provisions of the law that created this fund, and have refused to loan money so provided to any Commonwealth.

Now, my friends, bear in mind that in the last election Pennsylvania was not a doubtful state, and \$11,000,000 was appropriated. Illinois was possibly construed as a doubtful state, and the Governor of that commonwealth informs me that they have loaned to Illinois approximately \$20,000,000 as against the sum of about \$20,000,000 being raised by the Legislature of that state. California was another doubtful state, and you are all aware of the fact that approximately \$100,000,000 has been made available for that state.

I am not finding any fault with that, but in carrying out the proposals enunciated by the Executive Council's Report and concurred in by the Committee now reporting to the Convention, it is my judgment that our efforts will be fruitless if, after having money appropriated for relief to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and to be made available to the states, that if the Corporation denies these loans to the state in an arbitrary manner, then our work in the Federal Congress is absolutely useless. And the thought occurs to me that, having developed these facts, the Executive Council and the labor movement generally should see to it, when Congress convenes in December, that whatever money is appropriated for relief and handed over to this R. F. C., should be allocated on the basis of unemployment figures in the respective states, and no masquerading Democrat, as Chairman of that Corporation or otherwise, should be allowed to nullify the provisions of that law.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I am interested in what Brother Kennedy has to say about some of these states being doubtful. I presume there is no longer any doubt in anybody's mind where Illinois stands.

President Green: May the Chair have unani-

mous consent, while we interrupt the regular proceedings in the Convention for the purpose of carrying out a beautiful custom that this Convention has religiously observed ever since we began to exchange Fraternal Delegates with the British Trade Union Congress. We have always deeply appreciated—and I want to emphasize the word “deeply”—the visit of the Fraternal Delegates from Great Britain and Canada to our Convention.

The delegates, in an effort to express their appreciation, have always presented to these Fraternal Delegates some present that very appropriately and adequately expresses their thanks and deep appreciation of their visit. The delegates and officers of this Convention are following that very beautiful custom. And so at this time the Chair is going to take the liberty of presenting to our Fraternal Delegates and their wives, who accompanied them, your expression of appreciation made in a very concrete way.

You authorized the purchase of these beautiful presents which I shall in a moment present to them. These presents are your gifts, they come from the officers and delegates in attendance at this Convention, and they are expressive of fraternity and brotherhood, good will and deep appreciation of the visit of our Fraternal Delegates and their wives.

And so I am going to take the liberty now of presenting each one of them the presents that have been selected, presented by you through me to these Fraternal Delegates in attendance at this Convention. I shall first present to our good friend and fellow-worker, Fraternal Delegate Holmes, this beautiful watch, a nineteen-jeweled movement, with a beautiful chain and knife attached. It is your present to Brother Holmes. I want him to accept it from you as of really more value than its intrinsic value, because it is expressive of so much sentiment. We ask him to carry it home with him as a very pleasant reminder of what we hope will be his very delightful visit to us.

Fraternal Delegate Holmes: I thank you from the bottom of my heart for this beautiful present. It will be treasured in my family for many generations, I believe, because we have made preparation for that. Every moment of my stay in your lovely country has been enjoyed to the full, and I have tried to see everything I possibly could, but I fear I am somewhat like a couple of Yorkshiremen who a couple of years ago won the Irish Sweep. One of them determined to see the

world. He said to his brother, “I am going around the world. What are you going to do, Jack?”

Jack said, “I have never had enough beer to drink, and I am going to drink all I can.”

They met in about twelve months and one said, “I have been to New York, San Francisco, Yokohama, Melbourne, Cape Town, and back again to England.”

The other said, “Have you ever had the delirium tremens?” “No,” said his brother, “Well,” said the other, “You haven’t seen nothin’ yet.”

I have been trying to see something of America, but I am afraid after my 10,000-mile journey I haven’t seen half of what I ought to see. There is one thing I do appreciate in America, and that is the food. We have been very well fed since we have been in your delightful country. We have in England what we call the living-in system. That is, single men sign on for a six months or twelve months, go away on the farm, live in the out-houses and buildings and feed in the kitchen. One youngster, after being gone three months, came home and his father asked, “What is the matter, Jack? You have only been away three months and you signed for twelve months. Have you been sick?”

“No,” said the youngster, “I haven’t been sick.”

“Then what is the matter?” asked his father.

“Well, the first week I got there an old cow died and they fed us on beef for a month. Then a sow died and they fed us on pork for a month. Then a ewe died and they fed us on mutton for a month. Yesterday the farmers wife died and I quit.”

I ought to have said when I was making my speech that we have had a magnificent welcome here and we should be very glad indeed to have the pleasure at some time or another of welcoming your President, Brother Green. I assure you we should give him a real British welcome and he would enjoy himself in the company of the trade unionists of Great Britain.

But there is going to be a world conference on economics. I know you have all got implicit faith in your own Congress and nothing I can say, in fact, nothing I ought to say, would affect it, but we haven’t such implicit confidence in our national government. We say so at home and we can say so

abroad. We find that the policy of the Masters' Federation, the great federation of employers in England, has been adopted far too much by the present government.

All European governments—and I believe America will be there—will be discussing the world's economic problems, and our representatives will not be discussing those problems from the same standpoint as the workers. We think there ought to be simultaneously held at the same time a world conference of trade unionists who would be able to put before the world the trade union point of view on the world's economic policy. My word to you in this: Is it not possible that you may be able to consider favorably whether or not America, from the trade-union point of view, will be there helping us to present our policy on world economics and the economic situation?

I want to thank you again, and I want to thank your President for the magnificent statement he made yesterday. It will live long in the annals of the trade-union movement and will be an inspiration to the generation of young men who will follow us.

I again thank you for the magnificent welcome we have received since we have been in your midst.

President Green: In like manner, I desire to present to our good friend and brother and Fraternal Delegate, Brother Dukes, a present exactly like the one presented to Brother Holmes. It is a beautiful nineteen-jewel watch movement, with a knife and chain attached. This is your present, Brother Dukes. I want to say to you that it is expressive of the deepest emotion and is a tribute to you and to the movement you have the honor to represent. Accept it as a token of our deep appreciation for your presence with us.

Fraternal Delegate Dukes: Mr. Chairman, I can scarcely express my feelings of the manner in which you have honored my colleagues and myself since we have been in your country, and particularly with regard to this delightful presentation. I am not like my friend Holmes, I can not say that we have made adequate provision for the future, but I hope the little contribution is not lacking in quality.

Since we have been here we have had an opportunity, perhaps not to see the snakes, but we have been in a dry country, and if it had been otherwise I don't think I should

have developed the malady referred to by my comrade. It is said some of us can get intoxicated even without the use of alcohol.

Sitting here during the past days and noting the way you have approached these many problems, I feel that I have been witnessing a movement in a very rapid form of transition. Your resolutions and declarations of policies are certainly in conformity with the progressive minds in the labor movement throughout the world. I also would like to see America send its representatives to the World Economic Conference. It is good that the world should be informed of our opinions.

Now I may be unduly skeptical, but I have never seen the profit of singing psalms to lions. The men who will control that conference will go with the view of dealing with the economic affairs, not from the point of view of labor. We shall be recognized as a world power when we have fought through, and as I see things taking shape in the labor movement of the world, there is a gradual but certain emergence toward that goal in which we shall be no longer beggars at the table. We will demand our rights and by the strength and the power of our organization we will impose our claims in accordance with our rightful place and our contribution toward the social weal.

Every country has looked to government, to conferences, to economists, but fine words butter no parsnips. The powerful secure the concessions and those who are without power must plead, and while they plead they must suffer.

The last two or three years in the labor world have been a trying time, but I think it has enabled us to see more clearly the path that we must tread. I wish to appeal, not to government, but to the people. If we who represent the working classes had a greater fidelity to our own movement there would be little or no need to send representatives appealing to government.

We suffer because we are weak; we suffer, not from any defect of the machine, but from the lack of motive power to make that machine work. What is needed in the world of labor today is driving power, the force of numbers, the consciousness of our objective, and if the appeal of this Convention can reach the ears of the great laboring masses of this state they will put into your hands the power necessary to make your voice count in the affairs of the nation. And when employers realize that men have sufficient self-respect to get up off their knees, to stand erect and proclaim their rights,

on that day labor will enter into its own and we shall cease appealing to our opponents.

I thank you, Mr. President, for all the kind words you have said about us. We have enjoyed every hour since we have been in your wonderful country. We have met with nothing but hospitality and good fellowship; we shall take back home to the old country happy memories of the hours and the days we have spent with our comrades in America, and I hope that ere long we will be able to join with you in saying that the labor movement has entered into its own the world over, the workers are no longer enslaved, that the man is as good as his master, and regards him as his equal, nay, his friend.

President Green: And in like manner, and supplementary to all I have said to the other delegates, I take great pleasure in presenting this beautiful present to Brother Turnbull, our Fraternal Delegate from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

Fraternal Delegate Turnbull: There isn't any doubt, by the expression of my face at the present time, what nationality I am. You can readily see that I'm Scotch, because I am receiving a beautiful gift that doesn't cost me anything.

I am sure I can hardly find words to express my thanks and appreciation for this beautiful gift. There is one great thing in accepting a gift and receiving it, and that is to know and realize conscientiously that the gift brings with it the good will of those who present it. It affords me a great deal of pleasure indeed, knowing that this is coming with that good will and fellowship, to accept this gift at this time.

This is not my first visit here nor to many of the states of the United States. I come across the line quite frequently in this great labor movement. I want to say that this timekeeper will be carried across the imaginary border line, and I shall carry with it fond memories of the courtesy that has been extended to me while in your convention. I will mark time as the days tick by, the weeks, the months and the years, while I have the pleasure of seeing this great country of yours grow in prosperity and happiness.

I want to say in closing that I have learned very much since I have been among you in this great American Federation of Labor. With profound interest I have listened to the discussions on the floor, and I want to say right here that I have never in all my history

of 30 years in the labor movement heard any man expound labor's cause to a convention, or any other body of men, as it was expounded to you by your president, Brother Green, yesterday. I hope and trust that that will penetrate into the hearts of the delegates and that it will not only remain here, but be spread throughout the country and throughout the civilized world.

It has been a great education to me to have the pleasure of being with you. Every hour I have spent here has been profitable, and I can go back to Canada and carry the greetings to my brothers and cousins across the boundary line.

Now, in conclusion, may I say God bless your every action. May He guide and govern this body that through its actions in the cause of humanity it may be an instrument in God's hand in bringing back prosperity and happiness to this nation of yours. I will say again, God bless you, and while it may sound unusual coming from an alien, God bless America.

President Green: And we haven't forgotten the good wives of our Fraternal Delegates. I imagine they never understood that they had so many admirers in America. All the officers and delegates in this convention and their friends admire each one of you and they wish that you may know how they feel towards you. So we have a beautiful wrist watch for each of the wives of our Fraternal Delegates.

I know that Mrs. Holmes, Mrs. Dukes and Mrs. Turnbull are waiting until I get through so that they can make a speech to the delegates, and we are expecting to receive a most eloquent address from each of them. And now, Mrs. Holmes, I want to present to you this beautiful wrist watch, suitably engraved, to carry home with you as a reminder of your trip to America.

Mrs. Holmes: I thank you one and all. I have enjoyed my trip over here and have enjoyed everything I have seen. I am not like my husband—I am not much of a speaker in public, but I can speak very well at home.

President Green: That is a very good speech. And in like manner I want to present this beautiful wrist watch to Mrs. Dukes. These watches are very suitably and appropriately engraved. We want you to accept this, Mrs. Dukes.

Mrs. Dukes: Mr. President and Comrades: I feel very much embarrassed in receiving this beautiful gift. I shall take it back home as

a token of great fellowship. I have noticed one thing in my trip in this country, and that is that everyone asks, "What are the women doing in England?" I have said to the women here, "What are you women doing here in America?" I found out that you haven't the great labor movement yet in America that we have, but the day is not far distant when you will have it. I want to ask every gentleman here, when he returns home, to ask his wife to go as a little missionary. Ask your wives to go out and co-operate with women, and when they are shopping I would like them to pass the good word along. That is the greatest service we can give. I always feel that the service one gives to a movement is the greatest service after all, and that is fellowship and love.

I am delighted to meet so many women connected with your movement. In England we walk hand in hand with our men, and it is a great inspiration to them. There is a certain work in life that women can do, and there is a certain work that men can do, and if we go on hand in hand we can do a great work.

I hope the time will come when we shall meet again, and if you visit England I hope we will be able to return to you the hospitality you have shown us. I thank you and I wish you would accept that in the spirit of fellowship that I have given it.

President Green: A fine speech. And now the last, but not the least. To the wife of our Fraternal Delegate from Canada, Mrs. Turnbull, I present a beautiful wrist watch, the same as the others, that can be kept as a constant reminder of her visit to Cincinnati and to this Convention. I ask you now, Mrs. Turnbull, to accept this watch from the officers and delegates in attendance at this Convention.

Mrs. Turnbull: I am not in the habit of making speeches, but I want to thank all the delegates for the very beautiful gift they have given me.

President Green: And now, having performed this most pleasant duty, we will return to the regular order of business.

Report of Committee on Resolutions (Continued)

Unemployment Insurance

The subject of compulsory unemployment insurance by legal enactment is before the Convention in a section of the report of the Executive Council under the general caption "Unemployment Insurance" and the sub-title

"Principles Recommended for Unemployment Insurance Measures," and in Resolutions Nos. 8, 13, 29, 39 and 59. The resolutions are as follows:

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate M. F. Tighe, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

WHEREAS, Machinery is the cause to a great extent of unemployment, it being used to displace labor, and at the same time to build up large fortunes; and

WHEREAS, The time has come when the organized-labor movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor should do something to help labor that has been deprived of a livelihood by the introduction of the machine age; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-seventh Annual Convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America request the representatives to the Fifty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to petition the United States Congress to pass a law creating unemployment insurance.

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 13—By Delegation from the United Mine Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Due to unemployment, hundreds of thousands of workers find themselves in a position where they are unable to provide for themselves or their families; and

WHEREAS, Our organization has gone on record in favor of not only work relief legislation enacted by the states and the Federal Congress but also in favor of legislative appropriations for direct relief; and

WHEREAS, It is our judgment unemployment will be with us for some time, with its suffering and privation, and even with the return of normal prosperity, we can expect to have greater numbers unemployed than ever before; and

WHEREAS, Work relief and direct relief appropriations can not permanently solve the problem of those who will be forced to remain in the ranks of the unemployed; and

WHEREAS, We believe that a sane, sensible and constructive plan should be worked out to care for the needs of such persons and their families, and we look with favor upon this being done through unemployment insurance, worked out on a basis that would be fair and at the same time adequate in providing necessary relief of a permanent nature; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-second Regular Convention of our union, the United Mine Workers of America, that we instruct our international officers and the International Executive Board to make a thorough study of the matter, legally and otherwise, and seek the co-operation and assistance of the labor movement in general, to the end that the unem-

ployment insurance or some plan equally as good or better be worked out and presented in the legislative halls of the state and nation to permanently and adequately provide unemployment relief to those willing but unable to secure employment.

Intensive Study of Unemployment Insurance is Revealed in Report of International Officers

Unemployment insurance is treated in a comprehensive way in the report printed below. It is the work of the international officers of the United Mine Workers of America, following the instructions of the last Convention. The report was approved by the International Executive Board at its recent meeting and the matters will be followed up at the coming Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Legal questions involved in the report, together with research and study of such legislation, was made by Mr. Henry Warrum, chief counsel of the United Mine Workers of America, and the Committee is indebted to Mr. Warrum for making this comprehensive report possible.

REPORT OF INTERNATIONAL OFFICERS ON THE QUESTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA, HELD JANUARY 26 TO FEBRUARY 5, 1932.

Independent occupation no longer furnishes a livelihood to the great industrial masses. They are dependent upon employment by others, and their ability to live honestly is measured by their ability to secure that employment. This economic structure of society is growing more definite and decisive. No one doubts the advantages of the modern industrial set-up, in its efficient and ample production, its lowered costs, its improved products and its diffused corporate ownership; and no one contemplates a return to an era of individual occupation. But if this economic structure determines the dependency of labor, it must also bear the obligation of providing employment for labor or caring for it while unemployed. This obligation is generally recognized. How it may be discharged—whether by charity or in economic readjustment—is the subject of widening discussion.

Causes of Unemployment

(a) Technological Unemployment: The advent of the machine, reducing cost and enlarging output, has had its immediate and obvious effect on the labor market. This cause has been operating for at least half a century, with the machine displacing human labor; and its effect upon the labor market has grown sharper and more noticeable in the last few years. According to indexes of the Federal Reserve Board the productive power per worker in manufacturing industries as a whole, rose 45 per cent between the year 1919 and 1929; the output per man in mining increased a similar amount, and even the productivity of the agricultural worker

advanced during the same period from 25 to 30 per cent.

Undoubtedly the labor-saving machine should add to the economic power and industrial wealth of the country; yet its displacement of labor results in a growing pool of unemployed, whose loss of purchasing power is felt in the markets of the country and whose bare existence becomes a problem for public charity. There are economists who doubt the permanent effect on unemployment of technological progress, and who point out that such progress as we have had in the last thirty years in the development of machine efficiency has been attended by the opening up of new avenues of employment. But the fact remains that the immediate and obvious effect of the introduction of labor-saving devices has been the divorce of labor from employment. It is this immediate and obvious effect that has created the demand for a shorter workweek and a shorter workday, to the end that industrial mechanization may be reflected not so much in unemployment as in leisure.

(b) Seasonal Unemployment: Seasonal variation in employment is the result of seasonal fluctuation in the markets. Working time is reduced or stopped according to the seasonal requirements of the industry. These irregularities of employment are well known to the bituminous workers, and reliable statistics show substantial variations in practically all the major industries. Taking industry as a whole the available tables indicate that there is an average difference of 4 per cent between employment at its peak in March and at its ebb in July and August. But not all industries have their slack periods at the same time, and this fact increases the number of unemployed workers caused by seasonal employment, over and above the ratio found in considering fluctuations in the general employment. This is so because there can be no complete transfer of workmen from one industry to another during these shifting periods of unemployment. Working men lack both the training and mobility necessary for such shifting from one industry to another. However, two main efforts toward mitigating this problem of seasonal unemployment are being made. The first is the effort by business concerns to stabilize their production activities throughout the year; and the second is the legislative effort to achieve a practical agency for employment of the jobless.

(c) Cyclical Unemployment: The problem attains terrifying proportions during periods of general economic depression. At the present time there are more than ten million persons in the United States able and willing to work but without employment. These with their dependents easily constitute one-fourth of our population. The burden of caring for them rests upon the remainder of our people, a large part of whom enjoy but part-time employment, whose wages and salaries have been reduced, whose property has depreciated and whose surplus savings are being exhausted. Care for the unemployed, whether accomplished by private charity or taxation, has awakened the public generally to the inadequacy of our economic system.

These abnormal depressions seem to occur

from time to time in business cycles. Their causes have been the object of voluminous studies. Waving psychological causes, which rather attend and actuate these depressions, the primary causes are usually considered by economists under three heads: First, the excessive overproduction of goods, and especially agricultural products; second, the speculative urge which grows in good times until it bursts; and, third, ill-adjustment of monetary standards. To a certain extent these depressions are not only correctives of unwarranted industrial energy, but they are punishments as well. If people choose to build apartment houses in a city far beyond the needs of its population, the reckoning of receiverships is inevitable. If an industry, by sale of securities or plowing back its earnings, increases its capacity beyond reasonable needs, it is inviting bankruptcy. If agriculture engages in an orgy of production, or the mining industry floods the country with copper, coal and oil, they must expect insolvency. And yet back of all these errors, encouraging them up to the moment of collapse and then accentuating the downward fall of prices, the loss of credit, the fear of despair, is the monetary standard, the idolatrous god of our devotion that refuses to temper the wind to the shorn lamb.

Problem of Unemployment

Whatever the causes of unemployment no fault can be charged to the unemployed; and whatever difficulties it may present, neither the industrial set-up, nor society as a whole, can ignore the problem it creates.

It affects society by its sequelae of pauperism and crime, and by the burdens thus imposed. The poor and criminal may always be with us, but certainly the industrious and honest ought not to be given the alternative of destitution on the one hand or becoming objects of charity on the other. Society struggles to meet this situation with poor relief from public funds, organized private charity and personal giving. But the unemployed have a right that transcends charity, for the unemployed are those who are able and willing to work and are idle through no fault of their own.

The leaders of American business generally admit that unemployment is an industrial responsibility. The United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Electric Manufacturers' Association have recently approved the principle of providing unemployment reserves. Apart from its social phase modern industry as such has two economic contracts with unemployment. The seasonal fluctuations in employment show that industry requires a certain labor reserve. The unemployed labor reserves upon which industry thus relies, constitutes a just item of industrial cost. If an industry has plants which are idle during the dull season, the cost of their upkeep is a proper charge against the operating expenses of the industry. Professor Slichter of Boston clearly presented this point before the United States Senate Committee on Unemployment Insurance November 6, 1931. He said:

"Practically we are saying to industry today, 'Hire and fire to your heart's content. Lay off men whenever you see fit to. The community will bear that cost for you.'

"To an economist that is not sound cost accounting. If one looks at it, not from a humanitarian standpoint, but from the narrow, cold-blooded, cost account standpoint, we see that we are merely rectifying our cost accounting system when we put this cost directly into the expenses of making goods."

Industry is also directly interested in the reaction that unemployment has on the consumption of goods. Markets are maintained by wages, and the purchasing power of a people depends upon its payroll. And yet the volume of wages alone is not the true measure of prosperity. If one million workers received the entire payroll of the country, however large that may be, it would not quicken the markets as though ten million were receiving the same payroll. Moreover, with the languishing of the markets comes a recession in industrial production, the discharge of workers, the lowering of the wages of those employed, and the fear of free spending that seizes the working population. Industry, therefore, is supremely interested in the diffusion of employment and the economic independence and sense of security of all who are able and willing to labor.

Social Theory of Unemployment Insurance

There are two fundamental ideas of dealing with unemployment. The first may be called the voluntary or preventive method. It has as its objective the complete regularization of industry, and contents itself with the development of employment agencies and the stabilization of production throughout the year. The other idea represents the revolt of both the unemployed and society as a whole. It is tired of waiting for industry to voluntarily act. It concedes the humanitarian impulse of many industrial leaders, but realizes their difficulties in reforms that place them at a competitive disadvantage. The unemployed assert their right to a share in the industrial income and demand a measure of legal security against an enforced idleness and its resulting destitution. Society is not unmindful of the justice of this demand and is becoming weary of bearing its obligations either through taxation or the uncertain and unequal burdens of charity. Both society and the workers subconsciously refer the primary obligation to the industrial set-up. This subconscious challenge finds popular expression in the amazement at a system where destitution is so generally prevalent amid a plethora of production. Instinctively turning from any program of communism, the American mind is considering a method of economic readjustment consonant with American institutions. It is not a question of destroying capitalism, but rather of preserving it. It is not a question of slowing up industry with forms of taxation, but of giving to industry normal activity by maintaining a diffused wage income that guarantees a market for the products of industry.

Unemployment insurance does not exclude measures designed to stabilize employment. It encourages the movement to shorter workdays and workweeks. It does not combat the mechanization of industry with its labor saving devices. It encourages wider vocational training, and all agencies for the placement of labor. Its argument is that it will stimulate the em-

ployer to stabilize employment. Nor does it purport to be a cure-all for our economic disorders. It has in view simply the mitigation of a defect in our industrial system that not only outrages honest workmen and unjustly burdens the State, but has evil reactions in the markets on which industrial activity depend.

Unemployment insurance does not contemplate protection for the sick or disabled; that is left to other forms of insurance. It does not cover either those unwilling to work or those on strike; the first class remain the beneficiaries of pauper relief and the second class are cared for by their own labor organizations. It involves primarily an additional cost of production, usually estimated as a percentage of the payroll which shall be set aside under state protection as a reserve for those who lose their employment through no fault of their own.

The creation of these reserves is in accordance with the best business principles. Well managed corporations now and for some time have set aside reserves, not merely to pay dividend requirements in lean years, but to carry the corporation over periods of cyclic depressions. Undoubtedly this prudence will more and more characterize corporate management. And to the same end reserves should be set up by every industry employing labor, as part of its production costs, to meet the future displacements of its labor. That this may be reflected in higher prices and this assumed by the people generally, is no argument, since the public now is sustaining the class who would become the beneficiaries of this insurance. President Green, of the American Federation of Labor, wrote in the American Federationist of October, 1930:

"The wage-earner has the same right to security of employment that the stockholder has to the security of dividend payments. Both make investments in the industry. Just as reserves are accumulated to secure the stockholder, they should be accumulated to secure the wage-earner's employment."

Gerald Swope, president of the General Electric Company, testified before the Senate Committee on Unemployment Insurance:

"Senator Wagner: That brings me to a question I wanted to ask you, Mr. Swope. The system ought to be universal. Is not that your view?"

"Mr. Swope: Yes, sir."

"Senator Wagner: In other words, unemployment insurance ought to be established for workmen in all industries?"

"Mr. Swope: Yes, sir."

"Senator Wagner: You spoke of it as a palliative. By that, I take it, you meant that the desirable result of an unemployment insurance system is to concentrate greater effort toward stabilization?"

"Mr. Swope: Right."

"Senator Wagner: Which, in the end, is the problem of unemployment?"

"Mr. Swope: Right."

History of Unemployment Insurance

At the beginning of this century certain labor associations in Belgium were paying unemployment benefits. In 1902 the city of Ghent contributed to this relief fund, and the success of its operation led to its gradual expansion

through the state. In 1907 the state itself provided an annual subsidy distributed among the communal associations; and in 1920 the entire system was organized on a national basis. This is known as the Ghent system and with some modifications is found a concurrent development in Denmark and Switzerland.

Compulsory unemployment insurance began with the British Act in 1911, which was first limited to certain industries. The post-war period witnessed a general extension of this compulsory insurance; and similar legislation was enacted in Austria, Bulgaria, Germany, Poland and other states. Upon the establishment of the Irish Free State the compulsory unemployment insurance was continued as part of its social economy. Other countries, as Norway, Spain, Holland, France, Finland, Czechoslovakia, and, as we have noted, Belgium, Denmark and Switzerland, created voluntary systems of insurance. Thus eighteen countries have unemployment insurance systems in operation with approximately 34,000,000 workers covered by compulsory insurance and 3,000,000 covered by voluntary insurance.

In only one country of those adopting unemployment insurance has there been a surrender of it. This was Russia. But the operation of the system in some of the countries has been the subject of certain criticism. Take the British system: Its insurance reserves were created to carry a load of 6 per cent of unemployment. While this calculation was based on studies of previous experience, the Parliamentary Act of 1921 immediately began operating in a period of unwonted depression. Growing distress among the unemployed led to the relaxation of the standard benefits contemplated by the original law. In the belief that the extraordinary depression was only temporary, there was an "extension of benefits" to those who had exhausted their standard relief, and a relaxation of conditions for receiving relief. This has resulted in a deficit in the unemployment fund that reached \$500,000,000 September 1, 1931. This deficit has developed under a system directed not merely to unemployment insurance, but also to emergency relief. Senator Wagner, in his report of April 29, 1932, to the Senate Committee on Unemployment Insurance has this to say:

"Certain factors, however, must be taken into consideration in measuring that debt. First, almost half of the amount of the debt, namely, \$225,000,000, represents the cost of administering for over twenty years an elaborate system of labor exchanges, an interest charge of over \$50,000,000 for funds borrowed from the government, and all other overhead of the insurance system. Second, it is a fair inference that a very large proportion of the debt represents not the cost of the insurance system, but of the pure relief which was dispensed through the mechanism of the insurance system."

"It should be evident from the foregoing analysis that the British unemployment insurance system can not truthfully be called a 'dole.' Evidence in the hearings reveals that 82.5 per cent of all the benefit payments during the life of the insurance system were supplied from premium receipts and that only 17.5 per cent comprised extraordinary appropriations and loans."

"The so-called dole originally consisted of a free gift paid, not out of insurance funds, but entirely out of the state funds, to ex-service men and civilians for a period of twelve months during 1919 and 1920 to meet the special emergency of the transfer from war to peace conditions. It was entirely unrelated to the unemployment insurance system."

The operation of the German system has also been the subject of criticism. The first unemployment insurance law was enacted in Germany in 1927. It had three objectives: (1) ordinary unemployment insurance; (2) extended unemployment benefits; (3) welfare support. The law has operated during a period of unprecedented depression, and it has been found necessary to increase the premiums from the total of 3 per cent of standard wages to 6½ per cent, and to increase the government subsidies. In considering the records of unemployment relief in both Germany and Great Britain the last few years, it must be kept in mind that their unemployment systems have had to carry the burden which has been met in the United States by organized charity and other forms of emergency relief.

The Irish Free State furnishes a better example of the operation of strict unemployment insurance. On its establishment in 1922 the Irish Free State took over the British system then in effect, and has kept the system free from demands for general relief. As a result the contribution to the fund, or premiums, have been reduced, and a respectable surplus has been built up.

None of the countries with unemployment insurance in operation would surrender the principle involved therein. An exhaustive review of public opinion abroad upon this economic adventure is set out in the admirable report of Senator Wagner above referred to.

The Movement in the United States

An unemployment fund is no new idea in our country, although it is only lately that it has become the subject of serious legislative consideration. The German-American Typographical Union has had an unemployment benefit since 1884. In April, 1931, forty-eight labor unions had in operation various systems of unemployment relief covering about 35,000 workmen. There are also about fifteen industrial corporations setting aside reserve funds for the benefit of their unemployed. Among these are the Columbia Conserve Company of Indianapolis, the Crocker McElwain Company, Holyoke, Mass.; the General Electric Company, the Denison Manufacturing Company, and Procter & Gamble. These fifteen companies have about 50,000 workmen eligible to benefits.

In addition there are some sixteen plants operating under joint agreements between trade unions and employers, insuring about 65,000 workmen. The largest joint fund is operated by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and their employers in the cities of Chicago, Rochester and New York City. The Amalgamated fund in Chicago has disbursed more than \$6,000,000 in eight years.

Substantially all of these plans are satisfactory to the parties interested; but they cover only about 160,000 workers, or one-half of one per cent of our wage earners.

In 1916 a bill was introduced in the Massachusetts legislature to provide state unemployment insurance, and since that time numerous bills have been offered in the legislatures of the various states. In the special session of 1931 the Wisconsin Legislature enacted an unemployment insurance law with the provision that it should become conditionally compulsory July 1, 1933:

"Section 1. LEGISLATIVE INTENT. (1) The legislature intends through this act to make it certain that by July 1, 1933, at least a majority of the employees of this state will enjoy the protection of fair and adequate systems of unemployment compensation. The largest organization of employers of the state having declared it to be the intention of its members voluntarily to establish unemployment fund systems, it is the intent of the legislature to give employers a fair opportunity to bring about the purposes of this act without legal compulsion. If, by June 1, 1933, the employers of not less than one hundred and seventy-five thousand employees have voluntarily established plans which comply with the standards prescribed in Section 108.15 of this act, then the compulsory system provided for in Section 3 shall not take effect; otherwise, it shall take effect July 1, 1933. Should this provision for any reason be held invalid it is the intent of the legislature that the compulsory plan shall take effect July 1, 1933."

On February 14, 1932, a commission appointed by the governors of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania made a report favoring the establishment of compulsory unemployment reserves. In the Seventy-Second Congress Senator Wagner introduced certain bills looking to encouragement of compulsory legislation by the states. This was to take the form of permitting employers to deduct a portion of the payments into such reserves, in their income and corporation tax returns.

Summary of Various Plans

Voluntary and Compulsory Plans: There are two principal groups among the advocates of unemployment reserves: Those who insist that action in this direction should be voluntary, and those who demand that the state should make such insurance compulsory. The Wisconsin act is, in a way, a compromise between these groups. And yet the Wisconsin act provides the schedule of premiums and benefits, or in other words, standards, which shall govern such voluntary insurance.

One of the arguments against voluntary insurance is that the adoption of a variety of premiums and benefits, or standards, would not only result in a social injustice to workers, but would create competitive disadvantages among the employers. It is also to be noted that those who advocate the voluntary plan are urging that the State and Federal government relieve such reserves, and the payments thereto, from taxation.

The advocates of compulsory legislation further point out that the state itself is interested in shunting at least a portion of the burden of caring for the unemployed, back to the industry where it belongs; that the inertia

of voluntary action creates a situation similar to that which led to our workmen's compensation laws; and that in justice to the employers and employed, uniform standards, both as to payments and benefits, should be established and maintained by law.

Further, if the fund is created by pure voluntary act on the part of employers, each employer will determine the amount and manner of payments into the funds, the conditions under which the benefits are paid, and the custody in which the fund shall be kept. The fund itself may thus be subject to diversion in company emergencies, like some of the voluntary pension funds. That the plans of the General Electric Company, or of Procter & Gamble, do not contain these vices, is no answer to the charge that a voluntary relief program means such looseness in the general set-up. And so the advocates of voluntary action can hardly escape the necessity of law imposed standards of payments and benefits and legal protection for the funds.

Manner of Creating the Fund: Another line of divergence between groups interested in this relief is the manner and extent to which such insurance would apply; that is, shall each employer create his own reserve, shall each industry pool their risks and maintain a joint fund, or shall the insurance be a statewide fund of common risks and premiums?

The divergence of views with respect to these plans arises out of two considerations; first, that such insurance properly administered ought to encourage stabilization of employment; and, second, that any pooling of premiums and risks operates as a penalty on employers seeking stabilized employment, requiring them to unjustly carry the burden of loosely operated plants of competitors. The statewide insurance pool, sometimes called the English plan, has few supporters in America.

American thought generally is fixed on two systems—one, insurance by each specified industry and, second, insurance by each employer. These systems were admirably presented by Dr. Lubin, of the Brookings Institute, to the Senate Committee on Unemployment Insurance:

"You have heard something about the plans of the American Labor Legislation Association for compulsory pooling of the unemployment risks of each industry. Each industry is to pool its own risks so that no industry will have to bear the burdens of other industries. The scheme is a simple one. All plants in a given industry must insure their workers against unemployment in a common industry fund. The assumption is that in each way each industry will be made responsible for its own employees—not each plant for its own employees, but each industry for its own employees—and that you would have a pool by industries rather than a general pool for all industry.

"The advocates of the company fund idea, as contrasted to the industrial fund idea, contend that insurance by industry has the same weaknesses as the general unemployment insurance which pools all risks. They agree that, even though each industry is relieved of the need of supporting the unemployed of other industries, the individual employer is nevertheless compelled to bear the burden of his competitors in

the same industry. They contend, too, that any stimulus to regularization can be effected only as applied to the management of a given company and of a given industry. That is to say, it is the possibility of profit for the individual company which determines how active it will be in regularizing its own employment. Savings from regularization which inure to the entire industry, and are shared in part by the individual firms comprising the industry, are too removed and too uncertain to be of any great value in stimulating the expenditure of funds and effort necessary to stabilization. . . .

"In other words, you automatically put the progressive employer who regularizes his plant and has little unemployment in a position where his labor costs are less than those of his competitor who has to continue to pay premiums because his workers are continuously drawing on the unemployment insurance fund.

"It will be noted that the company fund idea operates in just the reverse fashion from the all-inclusive insurance scheme. Whereas under the all-inclusive insurance scheme the employer who gives the most employment pays the most premiums, under the company fund scheme the employer who gives sufficient employment so as not to impair his benefit fund pays no premiums at all. There can be little doubt but that the company fund idea bears more directly upon those sources from which the will and desire to stabilize must emanate than any other scheme proposed for providing for the unemployed. The gains from regularization will go to those who are responsible for its realization; and the relationship between the success attained and the savings which will result is rather an exact one. It eliminates the possibility of the neutralization of possible gains because of the lack of progressiveness on the part of others either in the same industry or in other fields, as might be the case under a scheme of insurance by industry or under an all-inclusive insurance scheme."

The American Association of Labor Legislation favors funds maintained by industries with credit allowances to each employer on the basis of his regularized employment. The Wisconsin plan permits that each establishment shall maintain its separate fund.

Sources of Contributions: Finally, there are three further group ideas: (1) That the employer shall provide the fund by a premium or charge of a certain per cent of his pay roll, at least until the fund is sufficient under the standards of the law. (2) That the employer and employee should each contribute to the fund. (3) That the employer, employee and the state should each contribute to the fund.

There is little insistence that the state should contribute to this fund. The theory that reserves for unemployment is, in sound economy, an industrial cost item, presupposes that industry will bear the burden. On the same theory, however, the contributions, as items of cost, ought to be recognized in the payment of profit taxes; and, on the further theory that the fund itself has an eleemosynary service, it should be relieved from taxation. To this extent the state may contribute, if this be a true contribution; and further, the cost of operation may be in part borne by the state by adminis-

tration of the law through existing industrial boards.

With respect to the conflict of the ideas that the employer alone should contribute to the fund and that both employer and employees should contribute, the pioneer legislation of Wisconsin offers a compromise. It is best explained by Prof. John R. Commons in an address delivered April 1, 1932, and issued by the University of Chicago Press:

"The Wisconsin law requires only that employers shall set up establishment funds and provides for no common fund administered either by the state or by an employers' mutual insurance company. The law does not provide for contributions by the workers or by the state, because it is reasoned that neither the state nor the employees can do anything whatever to prevent unemployment. The employers alone, under this theory, are in a position to prevent unemployment, because they are alone responsible for management. And the only effective method by which they can be induced to prevent unemployment is by making the system operate on profits.

"Even so it is recognized at several points in the Wisconsin law that the responsibility to which employers can reasonably be held is very limited. The law applies only to employers with ten or more employees, partly because it has been found that the largest instability of employment is in the larger establishments, and partly because it is felt that small employers can not be expected to devise means of prevention more than they are now doing.

"The law also excludes all establishments which operate less than four months a year, which practically excludes those markedly seasonal industries, like pea canning which operate usually less than four months in the year. It further excludes employees receiving more than \$1,500 per year, and there are several other exclusions. The state government and subordinate cities and counties, however, come under the same rules as the private employers.

"The Wisconsin law, furthermore, places the premiums to be paid by employers at what may seem the ridiculously low figure of 2 per cent on the payroll, and places the limit of benefits at one-half the lost wages for a period limited to ten weeks. Evidently, 2 per cent is not enough to build up reserve funds or pay benefits anywhere near approaching these maximum benefits of the law.

"Thus the law can not possibly be called a relief measure and can not possibly take care of all the unemployed, as would have been the case if it had been an insurance law like the British and German laws. The German law has high total premiums of 6 per cent of the payroll, paid jointly by employers, employees and the state. Both in Great Britain and Germany, moreover, there are extra benefits paid by the state in periods of business depressions. The Groves law is only a moderate prevention law, not calculated to provide adequate relief in periods of abnormal unemployment. . . .

"The important thing is that employers should begin to set their minds to work on the prevention of unemployment by all the well-known devices, such as efficient employment exchanges, diversification of product, staggering employment, not hiring more employees than

they can expect to retain, and so on. The psychological effect to the Wisconsin law will be more important than the puny contribution figure of 2 per cent of the pay roll, because it operates on the margin for profit. Such, at least, has been the effect of the workmen's accident-compensation laws—which, although the premiums are low, have done more than ever was done before in creating the 'safety spirit' which reduces premiums by preventing accidents. We need now an 'employment spirit,' and to enact legislation, like the Groves Bill, which will help to create an employment spirit, like the safety spirit.

"The Wisconsin act goes far toward creating an employment spirit, by favoring voluntary systems if they provide benefits to employees and costs to employers not less than those of the compulsory system. One company has already announced a voluntary system whereby the employer pays 5 per cent and the employees 5 per cent. This is a higher contribution rate, permitting higher and longer benefits, than is found under any known system of unemployment insurance.

"If employees contribute they should not be compelled to do so by law, and are not so compelled by the Wisconsin law, though they may agree voluntarily with their employers to contribute, in order to increase the relief features of the system. And if employers set up voluntary systems it is reasonable to expect that they will go beyond the compulsory 2 per cent of the law."

Other Considerations

Labor Covered: There will be the inevitable exclusion of certain employees, such as farm labor, domestic service, employees engaged in interstate transportation and the like. Concerns employing less than, say, ten persons, may likewise be excluded. Further limitation may be based upon the wages or salary received, excluding those who have for the year preceding the layoff, earned \$2,000 or more.

Benefits: Two standards are available for estimating benefits: one fixed at subsistence cost, and the other, by a percentage of normal earnings. The latter is more in accordance with the American idea. A waiting period is usually designated after the layoff before the benefits become operative; and a maximum period of a certain number of weeks in each year is fixed for the payment of benefits. This period, or the benefits payable, or both, may be made dependent upon the condition of the fund. It follows that the law must provide that the right to benefits shall not accrue until after a period fixed for the establishment of the fund.

Malingering and the Settlement of Disputes: The objection that such a system will lead to malingering on the one hand and unjust deprivation of benefits on the other, is easily met by provisions of the law. Disputed claims may be adjusted in the same manner that claims for workmen's compensation are now adjusted. The law may operate in conjunction with an employment exchange and provide that no claimant shall be eligible to benefits for unemployment if he refuses to accept a similar or suit-

able job. The law should provide that such a job should not involve taking the place of one engaged in a strike, and the law may further well provide that no worker shall be entitled to claim benefits if he had lost his employment by his own misconduct. If the employment secured for him pays less than he received for the lost employment, partial benefits may be allowed.

Mobility of Labor: No system should result in chaining the worker to one job. Voluntary insurance by industrial concerns has a tendency in this direction. In a state established system, whether it require the establishment of reserves by industries or by employers, there should be reasonable provisions protecting the freedom of the employee. To that end the tribunal charged with settling disputes should be given authority to approve changes in employment that shall not forfeit benefits. Thus the Wisconsin Act has provisions regulating the liability of successive employers. Upon this point Senator Wagner has wisely said:

"Every system of employment reserves or insurance should protect the mobility of the worker and his freedom of action. Voluntary individual company systems where benefits depend upon the length of employment in a particular establishment and where benefits are lost if the employee should terminate his employment have a tendency to fasten the employee to his job and to destroy his willingness to change his employment even where it would be conducive to his self-improvement. Such systems, a few of which are at present in force, are, of course, better than nothing. The advantage of having insurance compulsory, state-wide and nation-wide, is that the benefits follow the worker from job to job."

Constitutionality

Federal Legislation: Our dual form of government, with their separate jurisdictions and with constitutional limitations on both federal and state legislatures, creates both real and imaginary barriers to many social and economic readjustments. The real barriers are disclosed in the decisions of courts of last resort, and the imaginary barriers exist in the minds of legislators who are restrained by threats of litigation and fears of adverse decisions upon such experimentation. On the whole the courts have been as liberal and courageous as the legislatures.

Control of domestic trade lies within the jurisdiction of the state, and yet practically all our industrial problems are national in scope. The regulation of industry, with respect to hours of labor, employment of children, working conditions, and the like, are referred to the various states although their reactions are nation-wide; and the competitive inequalities created by the variety of state regulations, or the failure of certain states to act, has furnished the principal argument against such economic reforms. This is illustrated in the competitive inequalities of mining laws. Another illustration is found in the history of Workmen's Compensation legislation. It was long argued, and is still pointed out, that lib-

eral legislation on this subject in some of the states, has given an advantage to industry in other states with less concern for economic welfare of workingmen. And this argument is being made today with respect to legislation creating unemployment insurance. However, it is to be noted that the first Workmen's Compensation Act was passed in 1911, and it now operates in all but five of the states.

The enactment of such legislation lies with the state just as was the case of workmen's compensation; and the answer must be the same in both cases: that economic justice, like virtue, has its own reward, and that ultimately an industry will prosper best in a state whose laws best promote a satisfied and intelligent working population.

Unlike the scheme of Workmen's Compensation, however, state systems of compulsory unemployment reserves can be fostered and encouraged by Federal legislation. This is pointed out by Senator Wagner in the report above referred to:

"The principal responsibility for unemployment insurance rests with the states. The federal government can make two important contributions toward the establishment of insurance systems.

(1) Congress should enact legislation now pending (S. 2687) for the creation of a federally integrated system of state-operated employment offices. An efficient nation-wide employment service is prerequisite to the success of any system of unemployment insurance.

(2) Congress should pass legislation permitting employers who provide unemployment insurance to deduct a portion of their payments into unemployment reserves or toward unemployment insurance from income tax. That will reduce the cost of insurance to the employer and therefore reduce the apprehension of the employer that he is burdening himself with a competitive handicap by providing unemployment insurance."

State Legislation: State legislation must proceed on the general theory underlying Workmen's Compensation laws, namely, that it lies within the police power of the state.

The police power of the state is not exhausted by caring for order, peace, health, morals and safety of the community. It extends to legislation looking to the general well-being of society. In *Noble State Bank vs. Haskell*, 219 U. S. 104, in upholding the Oklahoma Bank Guarantee Act, the Supreme Court said:

"It may be said in a general way that the police power extends to all the great public needs. It may be put forth in aid of what is sanctioned by usage, or held by the prevailing morality or strong and preponderant opinion to be greatly and immediately necessary to the public welfare."

The following quotations disclose the theory upon which Workmen's Compensation laws were accepted by the courts, and at the same time show the compelling analogy between such laws and laws creating unemployment reserve. In *Re Duncan*, 73 Ind. App. 270, the court said:

"Prior to the enactment of the Workmen's Compensation Act the consequential and financial losses to workmen engaged in industrial activities were borne by the workmen themselves, by their dependents, or by the state at large. The legislature by the passage of this act indicated its belief that this loss should be borne by the industries causing them, or more accurately by the consumers of the products of the industry causing the loss."

In *State vs. Industrial Com.*, 92 Ohio State, 434, the court said:

"The theory upon which the compensation law is based (which is now generally accepted) is that each time an employee is killed or injured there is an economic loss which must be made up or compensated in some way, that most accidents are attributable to the inherent risk of employment—that is, no one is directly at fault—that the burden of this economic loss should be borne by the industry rather than by society as a whole, that a fund should be provided by the industry from which a fixed sum should be set apart as every accident occurs to compensate the persons injured, or his dependents, for his or their loss."

It is obvious that the consideration of public welfare, which have called into play Workmen's Compensation insurance, will justify legislative regulations providing for unemployment reserves.

It may be noted that while compulsory compensation acts have been sustained in some of the states, in other states they are operating only as optional or voluntary acts; and that in some of these states compulsory unemployment insurance may be held unconstitutional. This may be true, for it is not possible to foretell the judgments of courts. But two considerations should relieve anxiety in this respect. First, in most of the states with so-called optional compensation statutes, both employers and employees remaining outside the law are rudely divested of rights of action and defense to the point that the statutes are actually coercive if not compulsory in terms. As such they have been sustained, and in these states the so-called constitutional limitations are maintained only by a transparent fiction.

Second, since the early decisions of certain state courts holding compulsory compensation acts to be unconstitutional, a decided change has taken place in the legal conception. In construing such acts as valid under the constitutions of the various states adopting them, the decisions of the state supreme court is conclusive. The limitation in the state constitutions generally relied on provides that no one shall be deprived of his property without due process of law. But it is also true that these statutes can be attacked under the Fourteenth Amendment to the federal constitution, which also prohibits the state from depriving any person of his property without due process of law.

The compulsory law of New York came before the United States Court in *New York Central R. R. vs. White*, 243 U. S. 188, and was sustained as against the due process clause of the federal constitution. The court said:

"And we recognize that the legislation under

review does measurably limit the freedom of employer and employee to agree respecting the terms of employment, and that it can not be supported except on the ground that it is a reasonable exercise of the police power of the state. In our opinion it is fairly supportable upon that ground. And for this reason: 'The subject-matter in respect of which freedom of contract is restricted is the matter of compensation for human life or limb lost or disability incurred in the course of hazardous employment, and the public has a direct interest in this as affecting the common welfare. The whole is no greater than the sum of all the parts, and when the individual health, safety and welfare are sacrificed or neglected, the state must suffer.' *Holden vs. Hardy*, 169 U. S. 366. It can not be doubted that the state may prohibit and punish self-maiming and attempts at suicide; it may prohibit a man from bartering away his life or his personal security; indeed, the right to these is often declared, in bills of rights, to be 'natural and inalienable'; and the authority to prohibit contracts made in derogation of a lawfully established policy of the state respecting compensation for accidental death or disabling personal injury is equally clear. . . .

"This statute does not concern itself with measures of prevention, which presumably are embraced in other laws. But the interest of the public is not confined to these. One of the grounds of its concern with the continued life and earning power of the individual is its interest in the prevention of pauperism, with its concomitants of vice and crime. And, in our opinion, laws regulating the responsibility of employers for the injury or death of employees arising out of the employment, bear so close a relation to the protection of the lives and safety of those concerned that they properly may be regarded as coming within the category of police regulation."

The compulsory law of the state of Washington was brought before the court in *Mountain Timber Co. vs. Washington*, 243 U. S. 219, and was sustained; the court saying:

"Certainly the operation of industrial establishments that, in the ordinary course of things, frequently and inevitably produce disabling or mortal injuries to the human beings employed, is not a matter of wholly private concern. It hardly would be questioned that the state might expend public moneys to provide hospital treatment, artificial limbs, or other like aid to persons injured in industry, and homes or support for the widows and orphans of those killed. Does direct compensation stand on a less secure ground? A familiar exercise of state power is the grant of pensions to disabled soldiers and to the widows and dependents of those killed in war. Such legislation usually is justified as fulfilling a moral obligation, or as tending to encourage the performance of the public duty of defense. But is the state powerless to compensate, with pensions or otherwise, those who are disabled, or the dependents of those whose lives are lost, in the industrial occupations that are so necessary to develop the resources and add to the wealth and prosperity of the state? A machine as well as a bullet may produce a wound, and the disabling effect may be the same. . . .

"We are clearly of the opinion that a state, in the exercise of its power to pass such legislation as reasonably is deemed to be necessary to promote the health, safety and general welfare of its people, may regulate the carrying on of industrial occupations that frequently and inevitably produce personal injuries and disability, with consequent loss of earning power, among the men and women employed, and, occasionally, loss of life of those who have wives and children or other relations dependent upon them for support, and may require that these human losses shall be charged against the industry, either directly, as is done in the case of the act sustained in *New York C. R. R. Co. vs. White*, 243 U. S. 188, or by publicly administering the compensation and distributing the cost among the industries affected by means of a reasonable system of occupational taxes."

The situation is, therefore, this: The constitutional provisions upon which the opponents of compulsory compensation acts have relied in certain states, and upon which they will rely in attacking unemployment insurance acts, are similar to the federal constitutional provisions passed upon by the United States Supreme Court with respect to his character of legislation. The Supreme Court of each state continues free to make its own application of the provisions of its state constitution. But that decisions of the state's courts will in the future conform to the holdings of the United States Supreme Court can be asserted with a confidence borne in respect for the courts.

With the general acceptance of Workmen's Compensation laws and their judicial approval; with the correspondence between such legislation and unemployment reserve laws; with the states now taxing and borrowing to provide unemployment relief; with the subject so patently involved in the public welfare and so admittedly an obligation of industry itself; it is difficult to believe that the objective of such legislation and reasonable provisions to promote that objective, would be denounced by the courts.

The Attitude of Organized Labor

It seems foolish to say that unemployment insurance will operate against the organized labor movement. The great purpose of union labor is to bring to all our workers the American standard of wages and working conditions. Attainment of this objective through the organization of labor is frustrated by the preponderating pool of the unemployment. The pressure of these for jobs, coupled with the fear of many of those employed that they may lose their jobs, constitute the real barrier to the organization of all industrial workers. The lack of self-protective organizations of workmen in a country and time so highly characterized by organization, is the strangest phenomenon of our society. The virtue, service and necessity of such labor organizations are universally recognized, and their development will be promoted by whatever lessons the fear of hunger and destitution among the working classes. This thought led to the restricted immigration policy of the American Federation of Labor. It underlies the demand for the shorter workday and workweek. It furnishes one rea-

son for legislation against child labor, "in order that the slack of unemployment may be taken up."

The American Federation of Labor demands a national conference of employers and labor to stabilize the processes of production. What would contribute more to such a movement than laws compelling the establishment of unemployment reserves. Neither the arguments nor the power of organized labor have led to a stabilization of industry. Let the power of the state be directed to this end. Out of this legislation should come, not merely direct benefits to the employed, but a demand for its extension in the joint assumption of this responsibility by employers and employees. This joint adventure would require that labor should speak with a collective voice.

(Signed) JOHN L. LEWIS,
President,
PHILIP MURRAY,
Vice-President,
THOMAS KENNEDY,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 29—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, John P. O'Connell and Emil Rieve, of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Millions of workers are without any means of livelihood, in the midst of plenty in the richest country in the world; and virtually no provision is made for workers when laid off or fired, except degrading charity, which is inadequate and thoroughly unsatisfactory from every standpoint; and

WHEREAS, The report of the Committee of the United States Senate which investigated this subject, although controlled by men hostile to the principle of social insurance, is forced to recognize the inescapable need for such legislation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor demands Compulsory Unemployment Insurance at the expense of the State and the Employers, to be administered in part by committees on which Labor is represented; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this Resolution be sent to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and that the delegates to this convention be instructed to work for Unemployment Insurance; and, it is further

RESOLVED, That the recent action of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in announcing support of compulsory unemployment insurance measure to be supported, in part, out of Federal funds, is approved.

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, We are in the midst of a serious and prolonged economic depression which

is causing untold suffering to American workers; and

WHEREAS, Millions of workers are walking the streets in vain search for the opportunity to work and millions of others who may not be altogether jobless are working a very limited part of the time and therefore at greatly reduced wage aggregate; and

WHEREAS, All economists of any standing now recognize that even in the best of times, no matter what measures for the stabilization of employment may be taken, there will be for years to come many hundreds of thousands of workers unemployed; and

WHEREAS, The maintenance of these workers, many of them displaced by new machinery designed to benefit society, is rightfully a charge upon industry and society, and such workers if protected from unnecessary suffering can be expected to co-operate in social and industrial progress; and

WHEREAS, The conditions creating unemployment can be dealt with only if society as a whole through governmental action concerns itself with the problem; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring a system of unemployment insurance inaugurated and controlled by the states and supported and supervised by the Federal Government, said system of unemployment insurance to embody the following features:

1. The insurance to be a charge on industry in the same way as workmen's compensation for accidents. If it is legitimate that a business should accumulate reserves in good times so as to be able to pay dividends in periods of depression, it is equally legitimate that industry should accumulate reserves to tide over unemployed workers during slack times.

2. Contributions to be graduated, industries and establishments having more unemployment to pay a larger percentage of their pay rolls into the fund.

3. Unemployed workers to receive no less than 40 per cent of their prevailing weekly wage, with 10 per cent additional for a wife and 5 per cent for each child up to two. Insurance to be paid for not more than 26 weeks in each year.

4. Anyone who has worked and for whom contribution has been paid in the state for a period of 35 weeks during a period of two years prior to claim shall be entitled to insurance.

5. Workers receiving insurance to be free to refuse to take jobs where a strike is in progress, or jobs involving a lowering of union standards.

6. Administration of the funds to be in the hands of a Bureau of the State Department of Labor, assisted by an advisory board consisting of two employers, two representatives of organized labor, to be in each instance appointed by the Governor, and one of the public, chosen by the aforementioned representatives of employers and labor.

Unemployment Insurance

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate Philip Ickler, Pensacola (Fla.) Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, We still have more than

11,000,000 unemployed, as well as several million part-time employes; and

WHEREAS, The time is now here where the unemployment situation will be permanent to a greater extent; and

WHEREAS, The scientific brain and machine progress is advancing day and night; and

WHEREAS, The machine system causing increased production automatically leads to still greater unemployment, bringing starvation to millions of our working people, lowering wages and demoralizing our standards of living; and

WHEREAS, Our Central Labor Council and its affiliated locals of Pensacola, Fla., have endorsed unemployment insurance; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its Fifty-second Annual Convention, at Cincinnati, Ohio, be earnestly requested to use every possible means and the full power of our organization to have such insurance enacted into the Federal and State Laws.

Resolution No. 8 proposes that Congress be petitioned to pass a law creating unemployment insurance.

Resolution No. 13 presents a resolution adopted by the thirty-second regular convention of the United Mine Workers of America calling for a study of the subject to the end that "unemployment insurance or some plan equally as good or better be worked out and presented in the legislative halls of the state and nation" and is accompanied by a comprehensive report which is submitted as the work of the international officers of the United Mine Workers of America, favoring the enactment of laws to establish unemployment insurance or unemployment reserves.

Resolution No. 29 urges the enactment of "compulsory unemployment insurance at the expense of the state and the employers."

Resolution No. 39 proposes "a system of unemployment insurance inaugurated and controlled by the states and supervised by the Federal government" and "to be a charge on industry in the same way as workmen's compensation for accidents."

Resolution No. 59 declares for unemployment insurance by state and Federal enactment.

The report of the Executive Council recommends the enactment of unemployment insurance, the contributions to which "should be paid by management as a part of the cost of production."

Your Committee recommends approval of the

report of the Executive Council in lieu of the resolutions referred to.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the Committee's report.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen: Mr. Chairman, I have but ten minutes left, and I don't think I can use those ten minutes better than to say a few words on this question. In what I have to say I want it to be distinctly understood that I do not speak against proper methods to secure men employment. I do not speak against the duty of others to assist those that have not employment. But unemployment insurance—and I have had opportunity to study it where it first appeared, in Germany, in the Scandinavian countries and elsewhere—I am unalterably opposed to it. I want to make the plain, clean statement that I am unalterably opposed, and my reason for the opposition is this: That so far at least no such law has been enacted nor has any suggestion been made of such enactment as will retain to the working man his independence and courage. It seems to me that practically every law is based upon certain things that put into the hands of the employer a power which ought not go into human hands at all, and yet I see no way in which it can be avoided.

Those who administer that insurance necessarily have to have some rules by which to pay it out. They must have some testimony as to the honesty of the applicant, some assurance that he is really entitled to all the work he can get. By the expression "work" I don't mean that he should have any special, particular work as a man, except he is hungry and he needs it. We go to the employer under all these systems and find out why the man was discharged, why he quit the service, what was the cause for it, what was he doing, what can he do—all of these things have to be found out and you put the power to answer those questions into the hands of the employer and you put it into his hands to say whether a man shall receive it or not.

There are higher reasons for assisting than that. Society has got other means to help the unemployed than that. Society can so reconstruct itself that there is work for those who want to work and opportunity of employment for those who want employment. There is no real difficulty about so reconstructing society that that can be done, and it will not be reconstructed upon that principle until the fundamental principle involved is understood.

Throughout all the years since I have developed my study on this question—and I have spent quite a little time with it, mainly by candle light, I have found that no nation, no matter where it is or in what part of the world it is, or in what climate men live nor what race they belong to, there is no place in which you can play recklessly with your human freedom. I have found no country, no matter how God inspired the thing to be, in which the power given into man's hands did not destroy that nation, nay, that very race.

Your responsibility here is frightful. I will not share that responsibility with you in the recommendation to pass your resolution. I shall divorce myself from it as far as I can by making these remarks. God Himself made men equal. God Himself put us on the road to work out that equality on the religious, political and industrial fields. God Himself will require from us, who are to represent the hungry and the helpless, an accounting for our actions and our decisions. I think you are making a mistake, men. If you can see no other way, all right, you will have to try it out. I can't stop you, but the road you are traveling is the road that leads to the destruction of humanity and the destruction of this nation and of all other nations that can find no other way than to make out of a man a pleading beggar and a man who must go for his goods to others.

Delegate Kennedy, United Mine Workers: Mr. Chairman, the opposition so far developed to the report of the Committee is based principally upon fear—fear of what might happen to the American labor movement if we took a position in favor of the creation by law of compulsory unemployment reserves. As I listened to the remarks of that veteran in the American labor movement, the President of the Seamen's organization, my mind traveled back to many years ago when we endeavored to secure the enactment of workmen's compensation laws within the various states of our nation, and I remember at that time that the hesitant and the cowardly in our midst took the same position with respect to these questions as we now find developing in these reports—and when I say fear I refer to their fear with respect to the standing of the American labor movement.

Since these laws have been enacted I am sure that the average member of the trade-

union movement in our organization and in our country will admit that instead of it being weakened by the enactment of this legislation, the American labor movement has been strengthened. In many parts of this country the most important work of labor organizations is to protect the rights of its members under workmen's compensation and other pieces of legislation enacted in the best interests of and for the protection of labor. Our people have accepted this form of legislation in the same way that we have accepted the carrying out of our wage agreements between employers and employees. We do not lay down and die just because some person has been discharged or blacklisted under our working agreements. We stand up and fight for the protection of our members.

My friends, in the enactment of workmen's compensation and other laws that have done the very same thing and in the enactment of unemployment relief laws or pension schemes or reserves, no matter what you may call it, we will take the same position to protect our members and see that their rights are secured for them under this legislation, just as we are doing under every other piece of legislation enacted as a result of our efforts.

I am glad that we have not yet this afternoon heard the word "dole," and I hope and trust that a discussion of this all important question can be carried on without taking in that goblin and ghost commonly referred to in the conventions as the dole and that we may discuss the matter on its merits. In the report of the Executive Council it is set forth that this legislation should be compulsory and upon a state basis, with the possibility of supplemental Federal legislation being enacted, much on the order of that carried in the Wagner Bill as an inducement for employers and for various states to enact this legislation, on the same principle that we encouraged states to enact rehabilitation legislation for the rehabilitation of men and women injured in industry. The state government helped financially in that. They can do the same thing in encouraging and supporting the enactment of unemployment insurance, my friends, in the various states, and the need and necessity for the enactment of state legislation is developed in the report of the Council.

In this connection I would refer you to the report of the International officials of the United Mine Workers of America incorporated in the first day's proceedings, wherein the

attorney of our organization, whom I consider one of the most brilliant legal minds in America, has likewise subscribed to the same principle as the attorneys who were consulted by the Executive Council of the Federation.

So with that matter cleared up, it seems to us that the way is open to start out in our fight to secure unemployment insurance legislation in the same manner and in the same way as we secured the enactment of workmen's compensation, liability, and various other measures that the Federation and the labor movement were committed to. I have no hesitancy in saying at this time that it is very fitting and very proper that the American labor movement finally joined itself with those who were championing this particular legislation, and I am glad for one particular reason: That it seems to me the need and the necessity of this legislation has become so pronounced that whether the labor movement was with it or not, it is making headway in various states. Right at this moment many states have official commissions handling the subject of unemployment insurance for presentation and report to the various legislatures that will convene in January. The State of Ohio has a Commission, the State of Pennsylvania has a Commission, and only recently the governors of five states, including the governor of the state in which this Convention is now meeting, met in the governor's office at Albany, New York, and they drafted a report in favor of the enactment of compulsory unemployment insurance reserve in the five states in question.

My friends, it seems to me that all things being considered, we are taking the sane, sensible step, and with the power and influence of the American labor movement back of this proposed legislation, it is my opinion that we will be as successful in our efforts here as we have been in our efforts along other lines in social insurance activities. I don't know that I need dwell much upon the tenor of the opposition that has developed and that seems to be based upon fear—fear that the enactment of this legislation will destroy the labor movement. Organized capital, organized business in this country for the past twelve years has been endeavoring to destroy the American labor movement, and they have failed miserably in the attempt, and now for us to say that if organized capital cannot destroy the labor movement or organized business cannot do it, that it is going to be destroyed by the enactment of unemployment insurance, then I say

to them we have little faith in the ability and the courage and the strength of the American labor movement.

I don't know of any more appropriate way to offer the position of the United Mine-Workers of America than to read the concluding paragraph of our report to this Convention on this subject. The statement reads as follows:

"It seems foolish to say that unemployment insurance will operate against the organized labor movement. The great purpose of union labor is to bring to all our workers the American standard of wages and working conditions. Attainment of this objective through the organization of labor is frustrated by the preponderating pool of the unemployment. The pressure of these for jobs, coupled with the fear of many of those employed that they may lose their jobs, constitute the real barrier to the organization of all industrial workers. The lack of self-protective organizations of workmen in a country and time so highly characterized by organization, is the strangest phenomenon of our society. The virtue, service and necessity of such labor organizations are universally recognized, and their development will be promoted by whatever lessens the fear of hunger and destitution among the working classes. This thought led to the restricted immigration policy of the American Federation of Labor. It underlies the demand for the shorter workday and workweek. It furnishes one reason for legislation against child labor, 'in order that the slack of unemployment may be taken up.'

"The American Federation of Labor demands a national conference of employers and labor to stabilize the processes of production. What would contribute more to such a movement than laws compelling the establishment of unemployment reserves. Neither the arguments nor the power of organized labor have led to a stabilization of industry. Let the power of the state be directed to this end. Out of this legislation should come, not merely direct benefits to the employed, but a demand for its extension in the joint assumption of this responsibility by employers and employees. This joint adventure would require that labor should speak with a collective voice."

In closing, it is the position of our organization that the time has arrived in America when the American labor movement should not only demand, but fight for the enactment of compulsory unemployment legislation in the various states.

Delegate Ickler, Pensacola, Fla., Central Labor Union: Mr. Chairman and brother delegates, I represent the Central Labor Union of Pensacola, Fla., and I want to heartily endorse the unemployment insurance plan. I consider myself as one of the younger elements of the trade-union movement. I am close to 50, and I have a record of 31 years as a trade-unionist. I have studied the unem-

ployment situation since I became a member of my organization. The trade to which I belong, the painters and decorators, is a seasonal occupation. We have an unemployment situation every winter and it has been increasing all the time in the past few years.

I refer you back to the Bible, where it says you should not be judged by your words, but by your deeds, and I hope the American Federation of Labor has reached the time that we will be judged by our deeds. When we talk about independence and the militant fighting spirit, I want to say that I have gone through the country and I have seen the wonderful militancy of the working people in Chicago, Detroit and St. Louis, in the bread line. Do you call this militancy, the independence of the American working man? I think this is a disgrace, where we come down to a begging proposition to feed our wives, families and children. I don't think this is the policy of the American Federation of Labor. We are militant, we want to fight and we can only fight when we have a full stomach.

I believe in the Red Cross, the Community Chest and all that sort of thing as far as they go, but they cannot cope with the situation we are confronted with in the last three years. We are absolutely confronted with a proposition where this has to come. From my consideration of it, it has been nothing but a common-sense problem for the last 25 years.

We are living in the machine age. Sometimes you hear it said that you have to be 50 or 65 years a member of the trade-union movement before you can change anything. I don't agree with this. We are living in a machine age, and our brains are working fast and we have to follow suit. I refer you back to England. They have had the same experience as Germany, just like the delegate from the Seamen's Union has said. I don't agree with him, I say we have to confront this situation and give our workers a square meal. I don't believe in this independence when our work is down and out. I guess our International officers will bear me out to a certain extent when I say that our union has been failing in the last two years because we cannot pay our dues. Where is the militant, fighting spirit if we lose 10 to 15 thousand members in one international union alone? If we had the unemployment insurance those members could at least pay up their union dues.

We met the experience in Pensacola, Fla. Florida had wanted money from this Reconstruction Finance Corporation. What is it? Twenty cents an hour established by the Chamber of Commerce and the Business Men's and Merchant's Association of Pensacola. They agreed on a wage of 20 cents an hour, 30 hours a week. Mind you, 30 hours a week at 20 cents an hour means \$6.00 a week. Then they are talking about independence. We met the experience with the Red Cross, with the Community Chest and now we meet the experience with the R. F. C. They gave us 20 cents an hour and the Central Labor Union of Pensacola fought to the limit, we tried to increase it to 30 cents an hour. No, we were defeated, they kept it at 20 cents an hour. We do not want a charity proposition, we do not want to be put down into the beggar's line.

I don't believe that when we get unemployment insurance we are making beggars out of those who need it. We have come to the point where we must have the shorter workweek and the shorter workday, unemployment insurance and old age pension. It is a common-sense proposition that is acknowledged by professors and philosophers. We don't need much philosophy from the professors to get to the point. When one has been a member of a trade union 31 years and looks into the situation and realizes what unemployment means, he does not need any philosopher to help him decide the point.

For the past 20 years I have been con-

vinced that unemployment insurance must come; also the old age pension, as far as the distribution of wealth is concerned. We know from the history of thousands of years that there have always been class struggles between workers and capitalists, only not with such tremendous force as we have had them in the last 50 years. So bear in mind that unemployment insurance is an absolutely worth-while thing and it furnishes at least a little help to keep our fellow workers in the militant fighting spirit.

Delegate Frey: I notice that we are almost at the hour of adjournment, and as I desire to discuss this question and might take more time than remains in the afternoon session, I would prefer to wait until tomorrow morning unless I could complete my statement this evening.

President Green: It is for the convention to determine whether or not it desires to vote upon the question tonight or extend the time and postpone until tomorrow.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: I move that further discussion of this report of the Committee be deferred until tomorrow morning.

The motion was seconded.

After announcements were made by Secretary Morrison, the motion offered by Delegate Howard was adopted and the Convention adjourned at 5:30 o'clock p. m. to reconvene at 9:30 o'clock Wednesday morning, November 30.

Eighth Day—Wednesday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio,
November 30, 1932.

The Convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees: McCallum, Horn, Bowen, Horan, Nelson, Wills, McPetridge, McTigue, Zantsky, Rose Tighe, Baigault, Royer, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Collins (W. M.), Burris, Furuseith, Soderberg, Hatch, Fay, Jewell, Scharenberg, Taylor (T. N.), Raftery, Reed, Turnblazer, Reilly, Cherry, Davis (F.), Fox (H. W.), Kutz, Lang, Watkins, Williams, Parks, Koenig, Starkweather, Brooks, Mitchell (H.), Becker, Kramer, Friedrich, Souza, Gates, Myers, Rivin, Pierson, Hammer, Newhill, Draper, Uppleger, Switalski, Greenway, Curran, Carlson, Welsh, Woodmansee, Kromelbein, Saylor, Wells, McGeary, Bohm, Barnes, McElligott, Richardson, Scannell, Meyer, Thoman, Zander.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read a communication from A. F. Niemoeller, Manager of the Associated Retailers of St. Louis, in which they joined in the invitation extended by various persons in St. Louis to hold the 1933 convention in that city. A telegram of similar import was received from E. H. McReynolds, President of the St. Louis Publicity Men.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Unemployment Insurance

President Green: We will now proceed to the regular order of business, the report of the Committee on Resolutions. The report of the Committee on "Unemployment Insurance" is before the Convention, and the motion is to adopt the report. At the close of yesterday's session Brother John P. Frey, delegate from the Molders' International Union, asked for the floor. The Chair is pleased to recognize Delegate Frey this morning.

Delegate Frey, Molders: Mr. Chairman and Delegates, it seems to me that in the question now before the Convention, some of the principles involve some matters of policy making it advisable that there should be some discussion of the Committee's report by those who may not be in complete harmony with that report. I want to congratulate the Committee on Resolutions on the brevity and clarity of their report in bringing it into this Convention and in formu-

ing their conclusions in very few and unmistakable words. It is a somewhat different report from that which the Committee has brought in in the past on this question, and yet I could not help but notice, this year, that there was no discussion in the Committee's report of the principles involved in the subject as well as questions of policy. I felt as one delegate, that in view of the importance of this question and the principles which have been adopted in convention after convention upon this subject, that in approving of what the committee had previously disapproved of and what the Convention had endorsed, the Committee at least would have given us the reasons why the principles which many of us felt were sound in the past no longer seemed to meet the situation.

I recognize the fact that with the problems continually facing our movement it is necessary that we should continually change our policy to meet changing conditions, but, probably because of my years, I now cling quite strenuously to the principles that I learned in my early trade-union experience, and when I am asked to set those principles aside I then would like to have presented to me the reasons why I should lay those principles on the table.

The Committee has brought in a report which deals with a result and not with a cause. It deals with the result of an economic system in this country that has thrown millions of men out of employment and has given this Convention probably its most serious problem, but it is merely dealing with a result and does not touch the cause. Now I am aware that this Convention, in the report of another committee, has dealt with causes, and yet I find it impossible to discuss the Committee's report and to ask for information which I want without referring to causes as well as results.

Before doing that, I recall several statements that were made on this floor as to what we can expect from Congress and what Congress and Legislatures should do. We have been told that they are our creatures, that they will carry out our will, and seemingly, in the minds of some, there is no limit to what Congress can do, because if Congress fails to carry out our will because of constitutional inefficiency, we have it in our power to amend the Constitution.

Well, perhaps that is so; still there may be some things which it would be very difficult for us to deal with even through a constitutional amendment. Some years ago I attended a hearing before a committee of a State Legislature, and one of the members of that committee was a most witty, keen-minded man who thought that perhaps there was no limit to what Congress could do, and after he had completed his address to the committee and informed that committee what its duty was in certain legislation, the chairman said: "But don't you realize that the law of supply and demand stands in the way?" And the speaker was not certain about it, and the chairman emphasized the fact that the Legislature could not do what it was being asked to do because of the law of supply and demand. This enthusiast said then: "Do I understand that the only thing in the way of this legislation is the law of supply and demand?" And when the chairman assured him that was so, he said: "Well, the citizens of this state will repeal any such fool law as that."

Now, we have had a volume of Federal statistical data to indicate some of the reasons why millions of men are out of work and we have reached the conclusion already in this Convention that until we shorten the hours of labor there will be unemployment, that so long as technological processes are introduced unemployment will increase, and if all of the statistics had been given we would have found that during the last two years the per capita output in our manufacturing industries has been greatly increased, so that while we were establishing a permanent army of unemployed because the hours of labor were too long and the wages too low during the so-called years of prosperity, since then with millions receiving charity in some form or other, that process has continued and we have still further increased the individual's capacity to produce. So that if we could now return to the so-called prosperous years of 1928 and 1929, we probably would not be able to put more than 50 or 60 per cent, or perhaps 70 per cent, of the present army of unemployed at work.

I submit to you in all sincerity that something much more than unemployment insurance is required to deal with this gravest problem that has ever faced the American working men outside of the question of their right to organize. I am quite convinced as to what the action of this Convention will be, but before that action is taken I want to ask a few questions of the Committee and of the delegates.

I read the report of the Executive Council. I have read the reports which have been made by various groups in our country who believe that there must be unemployment insurance, and I find that there is this difference of opinion: Some say that the contribution to this insurance fund should be paid out of the state treasury, others that it should be paid entirely by industry, others that it should be a composite fund into which we would contribute a part of our wages, the employer would contribute a percentage of the payroll and the state would pay the remainder.

Now if we are going out, as we will, advocating unemployment insurance, let us at least be certain that we do not fool ourselves and that we do not mislead the unemployed and the public. To me all of the distinction between our contributing, the state contributing and industry contributing is no distinction at all. It simply involves who, in the end, will pay the fund. You will all agree with me that the ultimate consumer pays all of the taxes—all of the taxes. The landlord, when you pay him rent, the store keeper, when you go in to purchase, is merely an assistant tax collector to the county, the state or the Federal tax gatherer. There is no escape from that. The taxes which these men pay are overhead charges and it is all reflected in the price that the ultimate consumer pays. So let us be certain of one thing at least, that we and those we represent, who, with their dependents, constitute 80 per cent of the population, are going to pay all of the tax, no matter who seemingly collects it. That is something which we will pay. There is no way of escape from it unless the tax that went to create this fund was taken exclusively from the income and inheritance taxes, and even some of those, or a portion of them, are reflected in what the consumer pays for what he buys. So let us not be deceived that we can have anything saved out of the purchasing power of our wages by having the industry in which we are employed turn so much money into a fund. Let us at least understand that very clearly.

I presume that everybody is interested in this question because of this army of unemployed and because we have faced, to a larger degree than ever before in our history, the problem of millions unemployed, with their competition to secure jobs and the effect that it had upon our wage rates and the conditions of labor we had secured after so many

long years of sacrifice and of effort. That is what is in our minds. I presume in the beginning it is always wise to base our legislative programs upon a minimum, so that we can have a principle established legislatively and from that time on improve the measure. Well, an unemployment insurance which pays an idle workman unemployment benefits for twelve weeks or for sixteen weeks or for twenty weeks in the year would be a great deal better than for that man to receive nothing at all, but it seems to me that our purpose in approving of unemployment insurance is to guarantee that the wage earner, involuntarily idle, shall be paid a benefit so that he will not become a subject of charity, and if that is the case then we should provide that unemployment insurance shall be paid 52 weeks in the year if the man can't get work.

I am inclined to the belief that we have reached the fork in the road, a road that we have traveled along now for some 52 years, and just before I take that step and go along with you, because I think I am as good a soldier as a trade unionist can be, I want to feel pretty certain that as I go with you I am going in the right direction, that we are all moving in that right direction. One thing about our movement, and I say this before I come to a certain point I desire to make, if possible—something about our movement should be not only a source of pride to ourselves, but should be an epoch in the history of our country is this: We trade-union men, without any opportunity of studying theory or going to universities, have been the pioneers in sound economics. From the time that we began our movement the orthodox economists attacked us. They said that our program limiting the hours of labor, limiting the ratio of apprentices, demanding higher wages, was unsound because it was injurious to business. It is as a result of our trade-union study of economics, the understanding that we have that within recent years the economists themselves have rewritten economics and fallen in line with our economics, which pointed out what the sound basis for wages should be, and the economic reasons as well as the social reasons why we have to have a shorter workday.

All right—I believe that we can legislatively secure certain things without having to pay the whole bill. Not so many years before the war an organization in this country, moved by a desire to benefit its members and

having insurance in mind, decided that a certain insurance feature should be established, and like good trade unionists, when the advocates of this measure had completed it they submitted the question to the referendum vote of the membership, and in that referendum vote they provided the amount of the benefit to be paid and they also provided the increase in dues which was necessary to meet this new expense. Now by some peculiar twist of human nature the membership of that organization, by an overwhelming vote, decided to establish the benefits, and by an equally overwhelming vote decided not to increase the dues.

And when we think of industry going into this problem and bearing the burden, bearing the charge of insurance, let us not deceive ourselves for one moment. That comes out of the wage earner's pocket, we pay for it, and that is as inescapable as death itself. Now perhaps I have lived too long, perhaps my recollections run into my own early experiences and it is difficult for me now to adjust my mind to new conditions. I know what the appeal was when I was a boy in the trade-union movement. We did not go to the unorganized who were suffering from industrial injustice and tell them, "If you join our union we will secure certain legislation for you." We believe that we have to do something which would impress the non-unionists with the necessity for a vigorous, virile, militant organization in the economic field.

I know what one of the old-timers, whose memory we all revere, once said at a meeting: "You are complaining about the lack of interest among the membership and you are complaining about the unwillingness of the non-unionists to listen to you and come to your meetings. I want to tell you this, men, that if you feed lions cooked meat they are not going to roar. If you want the lions to roar you have to hold raw meat under their noses and then they will roar. The way to get these wage-earners interested in the trade-union movement and make it a driving force is to convince them that, in addition to the self protection that they should have through trade-union organization in the shop, it is only through the strength, the fighting strength of that economic organization that you are going to get higher wages and shorter hours."

And we taught them that they must learn

to depend upon their collective action in the shop, in the factory and in the mine. And if my memory serves me right, it was because of that militant attitude on our part that the membership of this great American trade-union movement was built up. It was by preaching every day, in season and out of season, that the wage-earner's hope of ending industrial injustice lay entirely in the militant character of his organization. In the fighting purpose that we taught to those who were trade unionists we advocated conciliation, we advocated negotiation, we favored trade agreements from the beginning, but back of all that the only thing that made those methods possible was a fighting, militant trade-union organization, concerned more with the militant strength and the militant spirit of its membership than anything else in order to make progress. I happen to still retain my full faith in that kind of trade unionism, and it is my opinion that if we are to go out and organize the unorganized—and that is our next gravest problem, because no matter how right we are in our conclusions, no matter how sound our policies may be, unless we can convince a large proportion of the unorganized wage earners in this country that we are right, being right will be no good, because in this world being right unless we have the might does not mean so very much in practical results.

Now we are going out to the membership, we are going to send our organizers out, they are going to talk to the non-union man, they are going to try to enthrone him, to convince him that the time has now come when he must learn the lessons which we learned as militant trade unionists, as men who declared if we could not get what we believed we were entitled to we would not work, and we would stop anybody else from working if we could persuade them to join with us.

I heard a remark in the lobby last night, rather flippant in a way, but the man said: "Now I wonder whether I am going out as a trade-union organizer and insurance peddler at the same time." And I am wondering whether he will be able to attract a non-union man to this movement by telling him that we are apt to get some legislation which is going to save him when he is unemployed. I know the message that the trade-union organizers carried to the American wage earner thirty or forty years ago. It was that militant message that we used to hear, it was that militant message and militant purpose

which compelled employers to listen to Committees, which forced them when they were unwilling to sit down and talk the situation over. I am disturbed, as every one of you are, about the progress of the American trade-union movement. We have been marvelously successful in a legislative way. In the last year, as the Executive Council reports, we gained the greatest legislative victory in the history of the American trade-union movement. But in addition to these legislative victories which we have won there are trade-union victories which, if we fail to win them, will make the legislation of very little value to us.

And so I am interested in having some things made clear to my own mind. I want to know to what extent we will carry the economic message to the American wage earner in an endeavor to convince him that the hours of labor must be shortened and to what extent we will balance that with our legislative efforts. I think that much of our future welfare is going to depend upon that. Now, for myself, I want to agree absolutely with Delegate Kennedy of the Miners. There is no action which this Convention could possibly take which can kill the trade-union movement. There is no legislation which we can endorse and go out to get that can kill the trade-union movement. There is no mistake this Convention can make and there is no mistake the officers of an international union can make that can kill the trade-union movement, because if we fail in our qualities of leadership, other men will rise in our places. There will always be those sufficiently interested in human liberty and justice to prevent even our gravest mistakes interfering with the progress we are going to make.

My own opinion is this: I am in favor of unemployment insurance. I have always been in favor of unemployment insurance, but perhaps, because of these early years of mine and my contact with the early leaders of our movement, I have become convinced that the surest insurance against unemployment is the necessary shortening of the workday. I have become convinced that whenever there are a large number of men unemployed that is proof in itself that those who are working are working too many hours. And so I am in favor of having our movement concentrate all of the strength it is capable of exerting upon that one thing. So every day, throughout our meetings, and in all of our literature in dealing with this question of unemploy-

ment, never forget the fact that we must attack the cause, that something which is of assistance, something which is a palliative, may be necessary, but it is of no assistance in solving our main problem, and that whenever you see a number of men unemployed that is proof to you that you are working too many hours.

Which are we going to emphasize most from now on? The necessary economic action? The necessity of reducing the hours of labor much more than we ever dreamed of a few years ago, and increasing wages to figures which are beyond anything ever dreamed of, so that our consuming power will restore industries—and that is all that can do it—and to what extent are we going to place our faith in legislation?

My faith is in the industrial economic movement which, when it has become convinced that the hours of labor are too long, will center all its strength, all its power, all its courage and determination in bringing about the basic change, the reduction of the hours of labor and higher wages.

Before the Committee completes its work I hope we will have explained to us by those who have given the question much more thought than I have, how it is possible for anyone except the ultimate consumer to pay all of the benefits which will be paid by the government in any form. I also would like to know, if there be unemployment insurance which will pay unemployment benefits for sixteen weeks in the year, why not pay unemployment benefits as long as they are unemployed?

Delegate Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman, I would just like to take a few minutes of your time to discuss this from the point of view of the State Federations of Labor, because in the last analysis of this report, if it is accepted by this Convention, it becomes the baby of the State Federations of Labor, and if I don't miss my guess, within a very short time it is going to be some baby!

I had hoped that the Executive Council would advocate a uniform measure of unemployment insurance. Of course I am disappointed and so are a good many others here that it did not do so. We are quite disappointed because one of the able men who addressed the delegates from this platform yesterday, Brother Kennedy, mentioned the fact that the report of the Executive Council suggested that we secure this legislation in a similar manner to that in which

we secured workmen's compensation. That is rather confusing. Some twenty-five years ago the first compensation laws were written, and yet we have four states without any compensation laws at all; in other words, we have forty states with forty laws, some worse than others.

That is not the whole history of this sort of legislation. Let us take old-age pensions. "Old-age pension" is a misnomer; there isn't one of the seventeen states that have secured some form of assistance for old people that have secured a real old-age pension bill; they are merely a sort of glorified pauperization. I hang my head in shame when you mention what some people call an old-age pension act in Massachusetts. How long is it going to take other states to secure some sort of protective legislation for those people who have grown old in industry? That has been the history of this sort of state legislation.

I think you will note in the report of your Committee on Education that in certain states we still have the great number of children between the ages of 10 and 15, gainfully employed. Some of you may think this has little relation to the question, but since this Convention went into session there has been, in the section of the country I come from, a meeting of what was called in New England, Councils. Those are the big men in New England, the men our Fraternal Delegate from Great Britain was pleased to call our masters. They met there and a strange situation developed. In one room they had what they called "Share the Work Week Campaign." Their leader addressed a group of people in Cincinnati yesterday afternoon. They were meeting in one room. Their scheme was merely a Communistic scheme to distribute the earning capacity of the workers without giving any consideration to the distribution of the property of the employers. Any one who conceived this ingenious scheme of sharing the work must have had a rather twisted sense of humor to take any credit for it.

In the other room where the New England Councils were discussing this "Share the Work Week," the Governor of our State, Joseph B. Ely, who gained some publicity because of his support of Al Smith for President, was making some rather sensational statements. He was saying for the benefit—and I quote from the Boston Post of November 18—he was saying to that group of men representing all the New

England States, after he had discussed conditions:

"I am forced by circumstances to say to those states with which we are in competition that 'If you don't bring your labor laws into conformity with ours, then we shall bring ours into conformity with yours.' If Southern textile states and others don't raise their workers' to the level of ours, we must place our industry on a basis of competition with them."

Governor Ely did not have to go so far as the Southern states, he could have said it to some of the gentlemen representing some of the other New England States. The Southern states were not represented there. I am going to give you, briefly, why he makes this statement. This is a brief analysis of what has happened in the cotton industry of Massachusetts in a thirty-year period, a period beginning with the enactment of the 48-hour law in Massachusetts and the law to prohibit night work of women and children, beginning in 1920 and ending in 1930. In that period Massachusetts has lost 57 establishments. She has lost in this one industry, 118,754 employees. In wages—for there is less wages paid today than at the beginning of that period—she has lost \$62,538,546; in volume of production she has lost \$446,047,062 and she has lost 38,000,000 spindles; that is, she has that many less spindles today than there were in 1920.

I don't claim all of them have gone to the other states, but the facts quite strongly indicate that the great majority of them have gone to other places, and I am sure, quite sure, that I have been able to at least express the point of view that will be taken by the people of the state from which I come.

I want to avail myself of this opportunity to answer the Governor of Massachusetts and the people of that state. I want to say to him and to say to the people of Massachusetts that I am not afraid that the workers of that state will turn the wheels of progress back, even to compete with Southern states. Regardless of what they may do, if it is necessary the workers of that state will answer Governor Ely and the great court of Massachusetts in no uncertain terms with regard to whether or not we will lose our 48-hour law.

Now, in conclusion, I would just like to express this thought. It is a thought I have had since I listened to so many able speakers in this Convention. It seems to me that we are continually—we have been in the past and we are doing it now—trying to warp the lives of human beings to suit economic needs. I want us to

reverse ourselves, to take a different position and stop warping economic conditions to suit the needs of human beings. I would like to have the delegates read that fine report on Page 101 of the Executive Council's report, where that great jurist from our state says, in a case entitled the "New State Ice Company":

"Some people assert that our present plight is due in part to the limitations set by courts upon experimentation in the fields of social and economic science; and to the discouragement to which proposals for betterment there have been subjected otherwise. There must be power in the state and the nation to remould, through experimentation, our economic practices to meet changing social and economic needs."

What I want to see done here is to develop a program which will meet the needs of changing times. I disagree with the proposal to throw into the laps of the State Federations of Labor the unemployment insurance program, because if you do—I make this prediction once more—if you do there are many, even of the union men, who are sitting here, who will never see it brought about; that is, if we go about it at the same rate we have gone with other pieces of special legislation.

President Green: The Chair would like just now to submit to you what I have been given to understand, are some of the reasons which inspired and influenced the Executive Council in submitting to this Convention the recommendations which are now before you. In addition, I will endeavor as best I can, to answer some of the questions raised.

I entertain the most profound respect for the judgment of men who have long been associated with this great organized labor movement, and I constantly endeavor to bring myself and my point of view into accord with these trained men who, during all their lives, have given consideration to the fundamentals, the principles and the philosophies of the trade-union movement.

I think we can all agree that during the last twenty or thirty years, profound economic and social changes have taken place in the life of this nation. We have been passing from one order to another; step by step we have been irresistibly forced to take new positions to pursue a flexible policy and to adjust ourselves to the changed order. I have frequently said, while our great organized labor movement rests securely upon certain sound fundamentals, it has never been committed to a rigid, inflexible, administrative policy. We have endeavored, as best we can, to analyze each situation as it

developed, and we have tried as best we can, to shape our policies so that during these profound changes the highest and best interests of the masses of the people could be faithfully served, and I think I recognize this principle and this situation in the proposal now submitted to this Convention.

A year ago at the Vancouver Convention the Executive Council stated: "There are just two approaches to this problem: Prevention and relief. Either we must make employment secure or provide an income for the unemployed."

In another section of the report of the Executive Council to the Vancouver Convention the Council stated:

"Working men have arrived at the point where they are firmly of the belief that they are as much entitled to work security, to enjoy the opportunity to work, as the owners of capital are to returns from their investments. Labor demands that these principles be recognized and accepted by the employers of labor. Obviously, the owners and management of industry must decide as to whether working men and women shall enjoy the opportunity to work, or, whether as a result of the denial of this opportunity to work, industry shall have fastened upon it compulsory unemployment insurance legislation. It must be work or unemployment insurance. Working people must be privileged to earn a living or be accorded relief. If compulsory unemployment insurance is forced upon our industrial, political and economic life, it will be because industrial ownership and management has failed to provide and preserve these opportunities for working men and women."

There is the case. There is no man or woman who works for wages that would not prefer to enjoy the opportunity to work and earn a decent living rather than to be the beneficiary of any scheme of unemployment relief. All the elements of human nature serve to support that position. Man wishes to maintain his self-respect, his independence, his manhood through the exercise of the right to work and earn a decent living.

But if he is denied that opportunity, if begging at the door, and knocking repeatedly, pleading, if you please, for the opportunity to work, he is denied that opportunity, then from the social point of view, what are we going to do with him? There is the question that must be answered. And it is for the purpose of trying to take care of such a situation that we have proposed a plan of unemployment insurance.

Now, my friends, the one great question involved in this scheme of legislation that disturbed the minds of the working people of the country, and my own mind particularly,

was the effect that unemployment legislation would have upon our great economic movement. I have always been extremely jealous of our movement; I want to preserve it intact, because, like Delegate Frey, I believe in the efficacy, in the effect of the economic strength of the workers united into compact, strong organizations of labor.

And so the Executive Council, in drafting the recommendations made, gave particular attention to that question and to that problem, for in these recommendations you will find this—I wish to quote it, and I might say that all the experts that met with the officers of the American Federation of Labor, giving this particular phase of the situation especial consideration, agreed that the preservation of the right to belong to a trade union and to obey its laws was the important principle that should be embodied in unemployment insurance legislation. And so in setting forth the principles which have been embodied in such legislation, the Executive Council concluded, and the experts agreed with that position assumed by the Executive Council:

"1. Protection of Union Standards—Every unemployment insurance act should contain specific provision to protect union members from being obliged to accept work contrary to the rules and regulations of their organizations or employment under conditions such as tend to depress wages or working conditions."

In another section, under the caption "Eligibility for Benefits," it stated:

"8. Insurance in general should cover temporary and involuntary unemployment. Unemployment means the condition caused by the inability of an employee who is capable of and available for employment to obtain work in his usual employment or in another for which he is reasonably fitted. Nothing in the unemployment compensation act should require an employee to accept employment, nor should any employee forfeit his right to benefits under the act by refusing to accept employment under any and all of the following conditions:

"(a) In a situation vacant directly in consequence of a stoppage of work due to a trade dispute;

"(b) If the wages, hours and conditions offered are less favorable to the employee than those prevailing for similar work in the locality, or are such as tend to depress wages and working conditions;

"(c) If acceptance of such employment would abridge or limit the right of the employee either (1) to refrain from joining a labor organization or association of workmen, or (2) to retain membership in and observe the rules of any such organization or association.

"(d) Workers who quit work without good cause or who are discharged for misconduct shall not thereby forfeit benefits beyond a reasonable period."

So that in the plan we have endeavored to protect our union, to make it possible for a man to retain his membership in the union and to refuse to accept employment where he would be compelled to work under non-union conditions or contrary to the constitution, laws and rules of his union. In that way we have endeavored to protect to the limit the economic life of the worker.

Now, in answer to what Brother Watt has said: What other plan can be pursued? We explored the situation carefully. It was impossible to secure a Federal act applicable to employes in private industry. We can not help in this day and age that we in America have a state and Federal government. You know what the Constitution of our United States is. It provides that the Federal Government can exercise only such authority as may be delegated to it by the states. That means that in our country and under our form of government the state is supreme, the state rules, the state delegates only that which it will to the Federal Government, and the Federal Government can not transgress upon the rights of the state.

And under the police powers of the state, recognized by the Supreme Court of the United States in numerous decisions, it has been held that the Federal Government can not intervene in dealing with the relationship of employer and employe engaged in private industry within the state. That means, therefore, that we are compelled to follow the same course in securing the adoption of this legislation as we followed in securing the adoption of the workmen's compensation laws.

We must go to the sovereign state. It would be much easier if we could go to Congress, and even after the exercise of tremendous power and influence and effort secure the enactment of a workmen's compensation law, uniform in form; but when we are face to face with the impossible, what must wise men do? The forefathers in their wisdom set up a dual form of government here, and in the development of that dual form of government we have forty-nine employers, forty-eight states, and the Federal Government, together with the territories, under the jurisdiction of Congress.

We can, however, secure supplementary Federal legislation, such as is included in the Executive Council's report. We can go to Congress and appeal to Congress, or demand from Congress, if you please, that they supplement the action of the states by returning to employers of labor who are subject to the provisions of the

state unemployment insurance act the amount of income tax they pay to the Federal Government. We could call upon the Congress to supplement the efforts of the state to do many things that can be helpful; but we can not, under our Constitution, secure the enactment of a Federal statute applicable to private industry throughout the entire country. That being the case, then what other course can we pursue? We must go to the state Legislatures and we must call upon the State Federations of Labor for action, and we must give to the State Federations of Labor the full support of the American Federation of Labor.

No man regrets more than I do that we haven't yet during all these years secured the enactment of uniform workmen's compensation legislation. I have endeavored, and the Executive Council has endeavored, to prevail upon Legislatures in various states to accept our standard act, the act which the American Federation of Labor approved as its model act, and that is the act now in operation in the state of Ohio.

But in going out in our efforts to try to secure the enactment of uniform workmen's compensation legislation we have met in some instances with the opposition of labor itself, because they thought we were attempting to impose the autonomous rights of State Federations of Labor. It has been a campaign of education, of appeal, of constant effort, and even though we have not yet reached perfection along this line we can not stop in our efforts to press on and secure, so far as possible, the adoption of uniform workmen's compensation legislation.

Now, in reply to the question as to who will pay the tax? Well, my friends, there are certain economic laws which operate inexorably in determining this question. We know that in the operation of these economic laws, if industry is called upon to bear the cost, that industry will pass on the cost to the consuming public. They do that now; they pass on the cost of workmen's compensation legislation to the public, for the employer of labor in estimating the cost of his manufactured product includes the cost of insurance on his plant, the cost of insurance on his building, and the cost of workmen's compensation insurance is inevitably included. That comes from the operation of this inexorable economic law that you nor I can not change.

But we have been, in a way, recognizing the principle of compulsory unemployment insurance, particularly on the part of a number of our heavily burdened National and International

Unions. That is reflected in the figures here included in the report of the Executive Council. Please observe the steady increase as I read them:

In 1929 organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor paid \$276,717.50 in unemployment benefits to their members. In 1930 these organizations paid \$3,311,279.50. Now what happened in 1931? These same organizations, the members of them, dug down deep into their pockets and into their wage envelopes, paying to their unemployed members the huge sum of \$9,146,794.35. From a few thousand dollars in 1929 it jumped to \$9,000,000 in 1931. That was unemployment benefits. And who paid it? Industry did not. The workers paid it out of their wages and out of their pockets. We have men in this Convention, members of splendid unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, who are now paying as much as \$97.00 per month dues in order to help pay these unemployment insurance benefits.

Organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have provided in their laws that their fellow workers must be paid so much per week if they are out of employment, and thus the test of the validity of that law and its soundness has been met and these organizations, particularly the printing trades, the electrical workers and others have paid their weekly benefits to these unemployed out of their own earnings. It is a wonderful tribute to their devotion and loyalty to the trade-union movement. But I ask you, is it fair, is it just?

Now in our proposal we suggest that the burden of paying these workers these unemployment benefits shall be shifted from the backs of these noble workers to industry itself. That is one reason why the Executive Council proposes that we try to meet this terrible unemployment situation through the enactment of a law that will distribute the burden more equitably upon industry.

Now, my friends, in closing I want to revert to that high note sounded by Delegate Frey, the importance of the economic movement and the necessity of organization. I agree with all that and I think every officer and delegate in this Convention agrees with it. We can never succeed until we develop an economic movement strong enough and powerful enough to protect the membership of our great organizations and labor gen-

erally. Our real salvation lies in our economic strength, for we may help our fellow men when we help ourselves. We are not handicapped because of the courage and the strength and the faith of the organized labor movement. It is the man that is not with us who handicaps us very greatly, and for that reason I sincerely hope that we will launch an aggressive organizing campaign, carrying the message of organization to the workers of this nation and bringing them into our great organized labor movement. That to me is as essential, as necessary as any legislative program that we could devise.

But I am reminded when I discuss this subject that we must pursue this double sword policy, if you please, we must deal with matters that can only be dealt with in a legislative way through the enactment of legislation. Then we must deal with questions that affect us economically by pursuing an economic line.

As an illustration of what we can do by pursuing this double policy, may I refer to an incident in this great state of Ohio, one that I explained to the Committee on Resolutions the other night. The miners and their friends here know about it and understand it. In the beginning the mine worker received pay for such coal as he mined as passed over a large screen. The operator, the coal owner, received free all the coal that dropped through the screen, and abuses crept in, the screens wore out and the bars widened and more coal fell through and the miner many times found that at the end of a day's work he was credited with but very little wages, because all of the coal, or a very large percentage of it, passed through the screen free to the coal operator. The miners endeavored to redress that wrong, and every time they met with the coal operators they demanded the substitution of the mine run system for what they called the robber screen coal system. They developed their economic strength until the miners in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, West Virginia and Pennsylvania, and in all the bituminous coal regions of the country were practically completely organized. Then when the miners of Illinois secured this reform for that one state the coal operators of Ohio and Pennsylvania still clung to the old screen coal method. We threatened to strike. The miners of the nation threatened to use their economic strength, but when they examined the situa-

tion and the facts it seemed quite evident that the circumstances were against them. So that through years and years of effort they failed to secure, through the exercise of their economic strength, the redress of this great wrong.

And then what happened? A statute was drawn and introduced in the Ohio Legislature which made it a criminal offense for any coal operator to pay a miner for only the coal that passed over the screen. The man who engaged in the practice that we were trying to correct was guilty of a criminal offense, and the Legislature passed a law, in spite of the opposition of the coal operators of the state of Ohio, and as a result of the enactment of that law the screens were removed from every coal tippie in Ohio and the mine run system was established. Following that action in Ohio, the mine operators of Pennsylvania were compelled to yield by force of circumstance.

I refer to this concrete example to show that here is an instance where the miners secured a great economic and legislative reform that they could not secure through the exercise of their economic strength—they secured it through statutory enactment. That means that there are instances where we can use our legislative and political power to great advantage.

On the other hand, I recall when we were assembled in the Vancouver Convention that the newspapers carried the story of what was happening in Great Britain. It was about the time when a serious crisis was reached. Legislation was enacted that depressed the wages of the government employees of Great Britain. Those employed in the postal service and in the railway mail service were of course compelled, in spite of their protest, to accept the modifications imposed by Parliament. But it seems that when the news reached the sailors on His Majesty's fleet they rebelled, and the newspapers carried the story that the sailors on His Majesty's fleet had struck against the imposition of these wages, and along with that story was carried another one that the representatives of His Majesty's government hastened to the fleet and met with the sailors and conceded their demands. Of course I am not saying anything about the merits or the wisdom of this action, but I am endeavoring to bring to your attention two instances—the one in which we secured the realization of a great economic reform

through legislative enactment, and in the other where His Majesty's sailors took the short cut and secured what they would ordinarily have secured through legislative enactment through the exercise of a spirit of rebellion.

The Executive Council drafted this report with great care. We fear that the employers of labor have believed that because we have been patient, waiting for them to develop an economic program that would give men work, they have misunderstood us. We warned them a year ago that we could wait no longer. But what has been accomplished during the past year? Things have been occurring which have resulted in more men being idle. We must do something that will inspire hope and revive the spirit in the hearts and minds of the masses of the people.

I can not believe that we are departing from any fixed fundamental economic policy of the American Federation of Labor. We are meeting the new order, if you please, in a constructive way. The workers of the country expect us to do this. They can no longer wait and we can no longer wait. Industry must realize that we have been patient and that we have awakened.

Delegate Alifas, Machinists: Mr. Chairman, this Convention has devoted a great deal of time to the discussion of fundamental economic principles, and there are two or three that have been referred to, to which I would like to call your attention and comment thereon. I am heartily in favor of the proposal of the Committee and the Executive Council with regard to unemployment insurance. It seems to me that unemployment insurance is a legitimate charge upon industry, and even though the task of securing it is going to be difficult, it should be attempted, nevertheless. As to the matter of procedure it seems to me we will have to follow much the same course as we did in securing compensation for injury legislation, because they run somewhat parallel and I think we should also profit from the experiences that we have had in connection with compensation legislation.

Delegate Watt, of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, yesterday contributed what I thought was a valuable thought to this Convention by pointing out that the insurance companies have control over the financing of these compensation laws, that they have made them operative to the disadvantage of labor in such

a way that they have thrown people out of employment at the age of forty-five years or thereabouts, and in that way helped to undermine themselves by cutting down the purchasing power of these people thrown out of employment. In that way they have also created a permanent unemployment problem.

The prospects are that at the present time, out of the eleven or twelve million men out of work, several million are among those who are above the age of forty-five years, and if industry should again be revived, as we hope it will, they will not be re-employed unless something is done to correct that situation.

It would be most unfortunate in securing unemployment relief legislation if we permitted that same scheme to be adopted, whereby the insurance companies gain control of the financing of it and could so administer it that the law would work to the disadvantage of the workers. For that reason I believe that regardless of who contributes to the fund, whether it is all paid by the employer, or partly paid by the employees and the state, it should be administered either by the state or the Federal Government. Now the Federal Government could extend itself into unemployment relief legislation to the extent that it has now extended itself into legislation for compensation for injury. It has legislation which provides compensation for all Federal employes in case of injury. This covers all Government employes and the unemployment legislation should cover the field insofar as the Federal Government is in business. We have a compensation law for the District of Columbia, and the unemployment relief legislation should be extended to that sphere. We also have a longshoremen's compensation for injury law.

We have heard much about the so-called law of supply and demand, and, like the law of cause and effect, it is ever with us, but I maintain that the law of supply and demand can be shifted to other shoulders. It may not be escapable ultimately, but it can be extended to other spheres of operation, like the tariff law, which has eliminated from this country the competition from other countries. That has limited the law of supply and demand to exclude everything but the United States. The Sherman Anti-Trust Laws, as amended, have prevented monopolies. That, too, has suspended the law of supply and demand as far as it concerns those corporations which have been declared a monopoly, and I don't think we should hesitate to secure remedial legislation or remedial economic

conditions merely because of that law of supply and demand.

It has also been held that employers will pass the charge on to the consumer, every time we try to secure an increase in pay or any other condition which means an increased charge upon the employer, including increases in wages. They tell us we will only pass it on to the consumer and you will have to pay it ultimately.

However, there is also another economic law that enters in there that counterbalances that particular law, and that is the policy and the law of charging all that the traffic will bear. My contention is that the employer cannot always pass on to the public all of those charges, because the factor of charging all the traffic will bear will invoke the law of diminishing returns, and they can pass it on only to the extent that the law of diminishing returns will permit, and it will force them to bring down prices even though they may attempt to pass the charge on to the public.

I think we get befuddled on these economic laws, one of which counterbalances the other, and I would not hesitate for a moment to try to put a charge on industry merely because they say they will be able to pass the charge on to the public. Industry has contrived to keep the upper hand by invoking the legislative process, which we here appear to be shunting to one side, thus leaving them the field. They are in harmony with the thought that labor should not enter into the political field because it will play itself into their hands and give them sole charge. If they are given sole control of the legislation they will be enabled to escape the law of supply and demand insofar as it affects them, and it will leave us subject to the law of supply and demand.

If I may be permitted for another few minutes, I would like to invite attention to another circumstance that, it seems to me, we must take into consideration in viewing our program for relief. We have had a number of depressions in this country ranging from three to ten years apart, and it appears that at the time every depression takes place it followed the completion of some large national undertaking, as, for instance, when the railroads were built across the country. When they were finished there appeared to be nothing else to do and we had a depression. Just before the war we had a period of medium prosperity during which our factory system was being built up to capacity. That is, industry was able to pay the charge

of operating industry, and in addition to that accumulate sufficient profits to expand the factory system to its maximum. When that was done we had another depression in 1921. Then another sphere of expanding took place in which we began to send money to Europe, and we sent about fifteen billion dollars to Europe during the following nine or ten years. That fifteen billion dollars comprised about 20 per cent of the surplus wealth created during that time, and that, of course, furnished the motive for the operation of industry during the time this so-called period of prosperity took place. Now it appears whenever that extra motive is withdrawn from industry, so they are not able to expand into some other sphere of activity, we have a depression. It appears to me that industry normally is not provided with sufficient incentive to generate the purchasing power necessary to perpetuate itself unless there is augmented from the great reservoir of purchasing power wealth from some other source outside of our immediate industrial system. Therefore, if we hope by merely reducing hours and increasing wages to the point where industry will be generating sufficient power to enable the public to purchase the product of the factory, because the augmented incentive has been withdrawn, we may find that industry will not operate, it will come to a standstill and it will be necessary for us to find some other sphere into which they can expand, so as to provide an outlet for their surplus profits and at the same time develop sufficient purchasing power to buy the products of our factory system.

This is a wide subject, but I wanted to mention it, because I think if we are going to solve our economic ills all of these basic factors must be taken into consideration.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: Mr. President, I am sure the delegates in this Convention appreciate the task with which any delegate is confronted when he attempts to discuss a question following such a masterly address as that just delivered by the President of the American Federation of Labor. It is equally true that no delegate in this Convention enjoys being placed in a position where his remarks might be interpreted as in opposition to a finding and recommendation of the Executive Council of this American Federation of Labor. However, there are decisions to be made that are of such importance to the American labor movement, and there are some of us who feel so deeply upon this question, that even in the face of those circumstances we do not hesitate to

apply the purifying influence of discussion to this question.

I am fearful that a great fundamental question is being discussed before this Convention and a decision will be based upon sympathy rather than upon judgment arrived at as a result of fullest consideration. That is my purpose in arising at this time to discuss the favorable report of the Committee on Resolutions, the adoption of which will reverse, if you please, the past policy of the American Federation of Labor upon the question of unemployment insurance. I do not desire to be technical in reading the previous actions of this Convention, but I believe I state a fact that is known to every delegate in this hall when I say it has been universally accepted, if you please, that the American Federation of Labor has gone on record as refusing to endorse unemployment insurance because we believed the fundamentals were unsound. And I also suggest to you that the adoption of the report of the Committee will be just as universally accepted throughout this country and throughout the world as an endorsement by the American Federation of Labor of the fundamentals involved in unemployment insurance, and I am unable to find in the records any report that indicates the success of the application of that principle in any country in which it has been tried.

Now if I desired to appeal to the sympathies of the delegates in this Convention upon this question I could recite to you the suffering that has come to American working men and working women in a time of plenty, in a land of wealth, because of their inability to secure employment. I am not offering that to you. If that was the guiding thought I would be 100 per cent for an unemployment insurance and anything else that would relieve that condition, and I believe every delegate who sits on the floor of this Convention would join me in a unanimous vote if this unemployment insurance offered relief from this condition.

But I suggest to you that no plan of unemployment insurance that has been advanced offers immediate relief for those who are now unemployed, and I suggest to you that no plan of unemployment insurance that has been suggested even intends to pay unemployment insurance, limited as it is, to those who are now unemployed. All of these plans of unemployment insurance anticipate the collecting of money and the providing of funds to pay unemployment insurance to those who have been

employed and to collect those funds during the time that they are employed. I also suggest to you that no plan of unemployment insurance would have been adequate to meet the situation with which we have been confronted during the past three years, because of the limit placed upon the term for which benefits are to be paid. I say that had we had an adequate system of unemployment insurance during a condition such as this our experience undoubtedly would have been the same as the experience of workers in other countries where these principles have been applied. It would not have ameliorated conditions to any great extent. So we must, if we are going to discuss this question in an intelligent way, consider that we are acting under the pressure of a condition that can not be met with unemployment insurance.

If I desired to appeal to your prejudices upon this question I would call attention to the fact that before the delegates in this Convention there is a program outlined by the Socialist Party advocating unemployment insurance. Again, if I were to appeal to your prejudices I would call your attention to the warning and threats that have been printed in the Communist press of the country announcing that if the American Federation of Labor does not adopt unemployment insurance, what is going to happen to this organization. My, friends, even in the face of that, I am one of those who is not so cowardly as to be afraid of being called a coward. In the face of the threats and the program of those who have always opposed the economic philosophy of the trade-union movement of America, I am willing to support the adoption of unemployment insurance at any time I am convinced it is the best thing to do for the workers of this country.

But there are some other proposals, and it is the source from which those proposals come that make me doubt the wisdom of the decision of even the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor upon this question. I find there have been circulated throughout the country speeches and documents prepared by those whom we have been refusing to follow in the past, and I find it is their judgment that we are coming to the time of unemployment insurance. And when we find the directors of the industries of this country suggesting to the workers unemployment insurance, it raises a very serious doubt in my mind that I believe they have reached the conclusion that it is cheaper to take care of unemployed

men and unemployed women through unemployment insurance than it is to furnish them with jobs through which they can earn their living.

I am sure the delegates in this Convention will agree with the statement that I have made that this plan does not anticipate any immediate relief for the present situation. But it is the danger of the future with which I am concerned when we set about to reverse ourselves, as it were, upon a fundamental principle of such importance. I am not unmindful of the fact that when the American Federation of Labor adopts the report of this Committee, with its endorsement for unemployment insurance, in spite of everything we can do and in spite of everything that the State Federations of Labor can do, it means the endorsement of any kind of unemployment insurance that we are able to secure through the various State Legislatures. And after having had some experience, more than twenty years ago, with the question of adopting workmen's compensation laws, I decline to subscribe to the record that was given to you this morning by the brother from Massachusetts. It is not a question of securing perfect laws; it is a question in many of our states of accepting laws that are worse than the laws that have been adopted in other states.

Some one has suggested that in the matter of unemployment insurance it is only necessary to secure the enactment of laws in those states in which the industries of the nation have been centralized, and he has given to you a picture of what happens when laws are adopted that industries do not like. They simply move into those states where labor is unable to secure any kind of regulation as a result of the adoption of laws.

Now, unemployment insurance anticipates two things: First, it anticipates the collection of funds, and the collection of those funds must be made, if any plan for unemployment insurance is to be sound, at a time when there is a normal condition of employment. I submit to you that the loss in wages has been so great to the American working man during these three years that it would have been impossible for the industries of the country to have sustained that loss and avoided bankruptcy—at least those industries that are not beyond the power of state legislation.

The second phase of unemployment insurance anticipates the payment of benefits. In the collection of funds there are three main sources

of revenue, and they can be named in any order. Funds can be collected by attacks upon the payroll, as is suggested in the proposal of the Executive Council. Another source of revenue is contribution by the worker by an assessment upon his wages. Another possible source of revenue is contribution by the Government through taxation. One of my fears is that there are few, if any, of our organizations, regardless of what has been said upon the subject of taxation, which have sufficient economic strength to prevent the taking of unemployment insurance funds in the last analysis from the pay envelope. That is one of the fears. The gravest fear, however, lies when we begin to distribute the funds that have been collected, and there is some experience to guide us upon this phase of the question.

I have before me an address by the President of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in which he attempts to answer the question, "Is Unemployment Insurable?" and to make unemployment insurable he makes some statements that should be of interest to the delegates to this Convention. He discusses such questions as the limitation of occurrence of unemployment, stability of employment, seasonal employment, and he points out that it is necessary to come to the point where you are willing to assess those industries that operate continuously and have little unemployment in order to benefit the industries that operate seasonally and have a much larger percentage of unemployment. He says:

"The verification of unemployment is fraught with difficulty,"

Language that any of us can understand—that means for an unemployed worker to qualify for benefits is a great difficulty. Quoting again:

"There should be no trouble in determining whether or not a man is employed, but whether his employment is such as to come within the scope of an 'insurance' scheme is quite a different matter. Workmen can be graded with a fair degree of accuracy from those who are temporarily unemployed down to those who are nearly always unemployed, but whether the unemployment in any individual instance comes within the requirements for insurance benefit is often difficult to determine. An acceptable definition of unemployment for insurance purposes, the determining of the right to the payment of benefits within this definition and the setting up of proper machinery to eliminate illegitimate claims, without imposing an undue handicap upon legitimate claimants, are necessary."

That is simply pointing out one of the problems with which those agencies have been

confronted where unemployment insurance has been attempted, and in the discussion of these questions I find, based upon the experience of unemployment insurance in other countries, a system has been proposed which would not be accepted and could not be accepted by American workers, and qualify for unemployment insurance without the sacrifice of their rights. It must be apparent to every one in the working out of a law of this kind there must be some system of registration and that system must show the cause for unemployment. It has been found in other countries, if my information is correct, that this system as it is practiced shows the cause for that unemployment either voluntarily or involuntarily. We have had some experiences with the Committees of our employers, and we know that in practically every plan that has been adopted to make it acceptable the liability of the employer of industry has been based upon the amount of employment in that industry. It does not require a very great stretch of imagination, as we who have had experience know, to realize that under that condition when an employer is confronted with a situation whereby it is necessary to reduce the forces he is going to discharge for cause and not only disqualify those who have been discharged from unemployment benefits and protect himself from contributions to the fund, but he is also going to establish a record which makes it increasingly difficult for that worker to secure employment in other establishments.

Until I am convinced that it is possible to work out in detail some system of unemployment insurance that can be applied to the industries of this country, I prefer to proceed very carefully in a matter of this kind, and I believe the delegates in this Convention and the executives of the American Federation of Labor should proceed very carefully in adopting or in taking an action which reverses what has been accepted as the policy of this organization.

One of the delegates in discussing this question—and this matter was most thoroughly discussed before the Committee, of which I have the honor to be a member—has referred to the fact that the Committee in its report gave no reasons for recommending to this Convention the endorsement of the recommendation of the Executive Council. It is significant of a division of opinion upon this subject, honest differences of opinion

upon a question of the utmost importance. It is also significant that the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor have not given to the delegates of this Convention their reasons for offering a recommendation upon such an important subject as this. I am one of those who believe that simply out of the necessity of the times we should not be placed in a position of adopting a policy upon an important fundamental question which is going to bind us in the future upon a matter so important as that of unemployment insurance.

There is another question that has been discussed by our President upon which there is disagreement, and that is the question of the protection of union membership. I am aware that the Executive Council has secured the opinions of eminent legal authorities upon the legality of providing in these proposed laws protection for union membership. I am also impressed by my own experience in that respect, and it has been my experience that you can get opinions from eminent legal authorities upon any question that you present to them in accord with your desire. The only difficulty is that after you get into court we are not able to find a judge that agrees with the opinions that the attorneys gave to us. I submit to you that it is only logical to go very carefully in a matter of this kind, to depend upon the states of this Union to adopt unemployment insurance laws which will exempt members of trade unions from accepting employment under conditions other than those fixed by their union. And in making this statement I am not unmindful of the fact that there is not a state in the Union in which it has been possible for us to sign a contract, even one which concerns public improvement, containing a clause requiring only the employment of union members. It seems to me that when we are unable to secure protection in contracts for members of the union there may reasonably be some doubt as regards securing this protection under laws for unemployment insurance.

I ask the delegates in this Convention to give consideration to this question. Let us not base our policies for the future upon the immediate necessities of the present. Let us remember that no system of unemployment insurance that has been offered or can be offered is going to meet this situation. Let us take into account that it may be cheaper for the industries of the country to care for

unemployed men and unemployed women through unemployment insurance than it is to furnish them jobs.

In answer to one of the illustrations that has been given here as regards the sacrifices of the members of trade unions in caring for their unemployed members, I suggest to you that it is a very great difference upon the attitude of the unorganized worker of this country, it is a very great difference in seeing members of trade unions during times of unemployment going to the offices of their unions and drawing unemployment benefits, contributed by their brother members, when the unorganized must stand aside and appeal to public charity. It is a very great difference, I will say to the delegates in this Convention, from seeing the unorganized of the country line up with the organized, and the organized member of the union line up with the unorganized to go to an unemployment insurance office, presided over by a political agent, if you please, in order to receive that to which he is entitled. In the school of trade unionism where I have learned my lessons I had rather proceed upon the policy of using the economic power of the American labor movement to make the industrial kings of this country furnish jobs rather than pay benefits.

Delegate Frey, Molders: I desire to offer an amendment to the Committee's report.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Frey for an amendment.

Delegate Frey: My amendment is this: That until adequate unemployment insurance has been enacted into law, and afterwards, the American Federation of Labor pledges itself to expend its utmost energies to secure insurance for the job through materially reducing the length of the workday and work-week and materially increasing wage rates through militant trade-union activity which does not have to wait upon state and Federal legislatures to enact laws.

President Green: The question occurs now upon the amendment offered by Delegate Frey.

Delegate Weber, Musicians: May we ask that the amendment please be read so that we can understand it?

Secretary Morrison read the amendment.

Delegate Kennedy, Mine Workers: Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of order on the amendment.

President Green: Delegate Kennedy, do you want to talk on the amendment? The Chair has recognized Delegate Swartz.

Delegate Kennedy: A point of order on the amendment as to its validity. I raise this point, that the subject matter referred to in the amendment offered by Delegate Frey has already been passed upon by this Convention. It is therefore now not in order with respect to this report.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: It was not supported, either, Mr. Chairman.

Delegate Allen, Champaign Central Labor Union: Another point of order on the same matter. I contend that the article as offered is not an amendment, but simply a maneuver to kill the proposition before the Convention.

President Green: That point of order is not well taken.

Delegate Martel: I raise the point that there was no support to the amendment, and until such support is given it is not properly before the house. No one supported Brother Frey's amendment.

President Green: Delegate Kennedy, do you want to give reasons in support of your point of order?

Delegate Kennedy: I just want a ruling on that point. I only want to say that the Committee on Shorter Workday has already covered the subject provided for in the amendment to this Committee's report offered by Delegate Frey, and the amendment is therefore out of order, in my judgment. I would ask for a ruling on that point.

President Green: The Chair recognizes that you have presented a rather difficult point of order, Delegate Kennedy, because it is a matter of judgment, perhaps not of parliamentary procedure, and the Chair has always been desirous of giving the widest latitude for discussion and expression. But it does really seem to me that the point you make, that the subject matter dealing with the shorter workday and wages, has been covered by action of this Convention is a valid point. To amend the Committee's report in the way proposed, if adopted, would mean nothing more than a reaffirmation of the position which we have already taken. It therefore seems to me that the point of order is well taken.

Delegate Swartz, Letter Carriers: Mr. Chairman and Brothers: With your kind assistance I shall surely bring my remarks to a close well within the hour set for adjournment by the rules of order. I rise to support the report of

the Committee, which in its turn supports the recommendation of the Executive Council. In doing so I have not failed to be impressed with the wonderful arguments presented by some of the speakers in opposition to the report of the Committee. Like them, I feel myself fairly well grounded in the philosophy of the American Federation of Labor, and I am fully familiar with all its former pronouncements on the matter of unemployment insurance. You will pardon my saying that this is my sixteenth consecutive convention of the American Federation of Labor as a delegate from the National Association of Letter Carriers.

One point of support to this action of the Executive Council struck me with exceeding force. That was the statement of President Green that legislation of this character cannot be secured by Federal enactment. While it is true that legislation placing upon industry in the various states a charge for unemployment insurance could not be so enacted, yet it is also true that there could be a law of this nature nation-wide in its beneficence, nation-wide in its taking care of the unemployed in which the charge would fall upon the same people, borne by all of us, and yet not through the medium of the collection of the industries. Of course it would have to be by some form of United States taxation. Some speaker yesterday or the day before, gave us a most excellent suggestion that upon all of these modern forms of labor saving, or as I prefer to say, labor discharging machines, there be levied a national tax to be used for unemployment purposes. That would be one method of approach.

However, I am none the less in accord with the recommendation of the Executive Council and of the Committee on Resolutions that it be approached by state legislation. Well we know that the contention of the speaker immediately preceding me that we would not provide immediate funds is true. Legislation is nearly always a matter of compromise. Oh, I won't say it would be a year before a dollar would be provided by the enactment through state legislatures of the proposed law, but in many, many cases it would be many, many years before that would provide funds. True enough, we must go along with our existing means of piecemeal, haphazard, unplanned, unco-ordinated relief. That, of course, is but a stop gap. We are here today legislating for the future. The mere fact that it won't produce immediate funds is no argument against its adoption. The further

argument that there is what you might call a coercion being applied upon this body by certain other irresponsible groups to compel us to do this or that, falls flat, because every one of us knows that whatever decision we arrive at after free deliberation will be as a result of our own decisions, absolutely uninfluenced by any of these other noisy people who try to tell us what to do.

The argument is strong indeed that we are at the parting of the ways, that we are departing from the traditional policies of this great organization. If it be a departure, which I do not concede, that departure was clearly forecast at the Vancouver Convention of a year ago by the reading of an excerpt from the proceedings by President Green, saying that if industry does not re-employ those now discharged the only alternative is unemployment insurance. Well, in many cases, it is absolutely impossible for industry to re-employ its discharged workers.

We speak of the obligation resting upon industry, we broaden it a trifle and say that the public owes employment to every willing worker, and yet here is a man walking the streets, able, anxious for work, and he cannot find it. You cannot point to anybody anywhere that is under obligation to employ that particular man. So again it comes down to the question of legislation. The nation owes a duty to these people. How is the nation to pay it? Some such answer as that of the Executive Council must be accepted.

I am thinking of the report of Spencer Miller and of that mill in New Jersey making rayon without one employee. How will a reduction of hours of labor re-employ those discharged workers? Of course that is an extreme case, and yet similar cases, but not quite to that extent, can be cited where industries could not re-employ half of their discharged workers, even on the basis of the six-hour day and the five-day week. Indeed, we are told by this scientific engineering body that even within industry at a high peak, today four hours a day and four days a week would supply every human being, and I do not doubt the accuracy of that.

So while I have heartily concurred in the action of the Shorter Workday Committee, and while in my own Committee of Local and Federated Bodies I touched upon the same subject, also with approval, yet we all know that reduction of hours of labor, while tremendously helpful, will still leave millions of unemployed throughout the nation, and for them unemploy-

ment insurance is the only answer unless it be the continuance of the present haphazard methods.

Just another word or two and I shall finish. In speaking of the possibility of ultimate, but not immediate action by Congress, a national law applicable alike in every state of the nation which would be devoutly to be desired, I know it would be bitterly opposed by the National Chamber of Commerce, by the National Economy League, and by all of those forces which are working to cut down government expenditures. Such a broad subject I cannot enter upon in the few minutes left to me, but I was wonderfully impressed by an editorial by our President, William Green, in the American Federationist of a few months ago, in which he stated that the real test of the wisdom or unwisdom of government expenditures is not either in the total amount nor its percentage to the income of the various people, but rather in the test of what the government is doing in return for the money which it collects. We are told that the average American citizen must work one-third of the time to pay taxes to these various local, state and national governments, and yet while he must give one-third of his time to them they are working all the time for him.

Now I am not going to agitate any undue extension of the powers of the Federal government. I believe it is over-expanded now and because of this hysterical outcry throughout the nation, we, of the government service, have suffered a severe decrease not only in the wages paid to us, but also in the withdrawal from us of such things as the annual vacation and all those other advantages we enjoyed. But far be it from me, representing as I do the largest affiliated body of government workers, to advocate any expansion of government costs that in its turn would react upon us.

But I do believe that the United States Government in time can well take over the administering of this fund, collecting it by some form of general taxation, and that does not mean any additional cost to the people of the United States, whether it be collected in its present haphazard form, whether it be collected in the form of placing it upon industry, and then industry putting it down upon the people, or whether it be placed in the form of a Federal tax. It all comes out of the same pocket, it comes from the public, so that phase of it can be dismissed. We know who pays the freight

in all cases, but for the present and for the purpose of getting immediate legislation throughout the nation and for the purpose of taking care of our unfortunate unemployed just as soon as we can get legislation working to that end, in the meantime we must continue our contribution to all these haphazard methods.

I favor the adoption of the Committee's report.

Delegate Wharton, Machinists: I rise to support the report of the Committee. I happen to come from an organization that has been for more than twenty years, by referendum and convention action, in favor of unemployment insurance. I have heard nothing in this Convention today that leads me to believe that this body has hastily arrived at the conclusion that is represented in the report of the Executive Council for your consideration and action. If I have been any judge of the trend of the sentiment of the leaders of the American Federation of Labor during the past several years which I have had the pleasure to sit with you, it has been extremely noticeable that there has been a general trend in the direction of the recognition of the necessity for dealing with a problem which is recurring so frequently in this country, namely, that of these periodical unemployment conditions. I have heard no one who is apparently opposing the report of the Executive Council and the recommendation of the Committee offer any substitute for that report, or in any other manner presenting, to my mind, a remedy for meeting this situation.

If I am any judge of the action of the officers of these organizations as represented through the efforts of the Executive Council and the conferences which have been called by the President of this body, we have taken every reasonable step to follow out every direction of these conventions in an effort to approach the subject of immediate relief.

So far as I am able to judge, the character of immediate relief we have got has been by the direction of some charitable institutions, aided in some measure by state contributions, by Federal contributions, by employment programs fathered and carried out to some extent by the Federal Government. But I am not aware of anything that has been done that has looked forward to the establishment of conditions or the regulation of our industrial conditions that would take care of these recurring industrial depressions and consequent unemployment. I don't think there is anyone in this Convention that is really in earnest when they

make a statement with reference to immediate results from legislation of this character. If I have gained anything by my some forty-two years of experience as a trade-union member, I have learned that we must first crawl before we walk. I never knew of any trade union that came into existence overnight that was prepared to meet all of the problems of the particular craft from which it sprung. We have started out and step by step we first organized a union or two. Then we sought to get agreements with the employers, and we have been going through that course all the years of our organization.

We have now come to a situation that is unparalleled in the history of our country, with millions of workers willing to work walking the streets and compelled to face starvation, compelled to appeal to all the agencies of charity, of philanthropy, of those who have amassed great fortunes. What have we to offer in lieu of that condition? We have the report of this Council, your Council, the recommendation of your Committee, something of constructive character starting from today to meet what we know will recur in the future, to attempt to meet in a reasonable manner that which we have before us today—a condition where men are walking the streets looking for employment and for relief, and God knows where they are going to get it from.

In my judgment there is not a single thing contained in this report before the Convention that prevents any of the actions suggested by previous speakers with reference to securing immediate relief. But we are attempting to meet the situation in a manner that will make relief positive and permanent to the greatest possible extent. I have never felt that we should take into consideration the cost of introducing what we believe to be proper legislation to meet an important issue, when I am confronted with the fact that at the present time the amount of loss represented in the form of wages due to the unemployment condition is in excess of twenty billion dollars per year. Then you talk about what the cost of unemployment insurance is. Imagine that if you can: If the workers today who are out of employment were working under what we might term approaching normal conditions their wage bill would be approximately twenty billion dollars per year. That is the price we are paying for the present stupidity.

There isn't anything in this country that prevents the people of the country living in decency and in self-respect except ignorance and selfish-

ness. There has been no deterioration of the material wealth of this country during the past three years. All of the agencies of production, plus the willingness of people to work, are still at our command, but the crime of the whole thing is that there has not been a sufficient amount of interest displayed by those who have been placed in positions of authority to start some years ago to plan to meet these recurring terrible conditions resulting from our ability, through inventive genius and the advance of chemistry, to enable us to produce so much faster than we consume, and we continue to work long hours and have an unequal distribution of the wealth thus created.

I am for the Committee's report. I am for the Executive Council's recommendations. I participated in it and I am proud of the fact.

President Green: Are you ready to vote?

Delegate Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman, it is now the hour of adjournment, and I would not like to inflict myself upon this Convention at meal time. I rose to my feet a number of times to speak, but unfortunately the other delegates arose at the same time and were recognized by the Chair. I should like to say something upon this subject, perhaps from the standpoint of the investigations of the Ohio Commission On Unemployment Insurance.

President Green: Proceed.

Delegate Donnelly: Mr. President and delegates to the convention, I think perhaps we in Ohio, representing the organizations of the American Federation of Labor, have been doing what many of the international organizations and many of the State Federations of Labor have been doing. We have been endeavoring for several years to arrive at a conclusion as to the advisability of advocating unemployment insurance. But we, like many others, have been waiting for pronouncements upon this subject from the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and for some action by this Convention. We felt in Ohio that after the Executive Council had declared for some form of unemployment insurance the time had come to act as a State Federation of Labor. Therefore, in our last convention, held in October, we went on record as in favor of unemployment insurance.

At the 1931 session of the General Assembly of Ohio there was introduced a bill upon the subject of unemployment insurance, very vigorously advocated by many organizations of employers. On that occasion labor took no part

in the discussion for the very simple reason that the American Federation of Labor had taken no action, nor had the State Federation of Labor taken action upon this question. Following the inability to secure that legislation, the Governor of Ohio, George White, who addressed this Convention on the opening day, sent a special message to the General Assembly of Ohio and said that failure to act upon the subject of unemployment insurance did not remove the question of unemployment and that the General Assembly of Ohio should take some action which would make a study of that subject and bring in some recommendations for that legislation. As a result of that message of the Governor to the General Assembly a resolution was introduced providing for an appropriation of \$15,000 and calling for the appointment of a commission to study the question of unemployment and the feasibility and practicability of unemployment insurance as a method of relieving distress.

That commission was appointed and it was composed of many able men, and the majority, perhaps, advocates of unemployment insurance. The Governor, for the purpose of giving labor representation upon that commission, selected myself as one member. I approached the subject with an open mind, willing, if the information was given, to be for or against it. When the commission submitted its report to the Governor recently I signed that report as in favor of some form of legislation which would relieve public distress and prevent extreme suffering upon the part of the workers of our state. That report, I flatter myself and I flatter perhaps the other members of the commission, will be one of the outstanding reports that will be studied by the people of this country while they are considering the subject of unemployment insurance.

I want to read just a few excerpts from that report to show you some of the things that have been said and at the same time to reply to something that has been said upon this floor with reference to the attitude of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company toward unemployment insurance. The Commission, in the course of its report to the Governor, has had this to say:

"Finally the Commission recommends unemployment insurance because it is the only available substitute for charity and the dole. We find that the objections to insurance can not be compared in seriousness to the evils and dangers that have befallen the state during this depression, when no provision had been made in advance for preventing distress from unem-

ployment. We have sought from those who oppose unemployment insurance to get some substitute, some practical remedy for these evils and dangers. Nothing is offered, however, except the present method of putting the unemployed on the dole.

"Those who object to insurance are in effect pleading for the continuance of the support of able-bodied unemployed from public treasuries and community chest funds, a method which the march of industrial progress, the development of mass production and the concentration of population in urban districts has outmoded. Community chests in the leading cities of Ohio are this year asking for smaller funds than last year, although the need is acknowledged to be greater. The difference, we are told, must be made up by larger appropriations of public funds and by loans from the Federal Government. This, at a time when local, state and Federal treasuries are struggling with deficits, and when tax delinquencies are increasing at an alarming rate because taxpayers' burdens have become unbearable. If there were a remedy for this condition other than a self-supporting insurance fund for the capable unemployed, it is to be presumed that those who oppose insurance would come forward with some constructive proposal. But no plan other than charity has been forthcoming."

Now again I would like to quote in relation to what a state insurance fund for unemployment would have done in Ohio if we had had the forethought to enact it into legislation at a time when we had a fair degree of prosperity. And I want to say just at this point, before I proceed, Mr. President, like many of the speakers upon this Convention floor, I have been a member of organized labor for so many years that I sometimes am afraid to say how long it has been. I have been quite active in my life. I have gone through periods of depression and I have never been able to understand why in this great country of ours it could happen that periodically decent, honest working men and women should be brought to the doors of the poor house, that their whole life's savings should be swept away, that they have been compelled to surrender their life insurance policies, that they have had to stand in soup lines and they have had to have their self-respect lowered, their standards of living decreased tremendously, and when it is all over, perhaps at middle age, be compelled to start life all over, with all their struggles during all their years of industrial toil to procure a home and competence in their old age gone for naught. And I quote from this report in which it says:

"What would have happened if, after the major depression of 1921-1922, Ohio had set up in January, 1923, an unemployment insurance system such as is now recommended by the Commission? How would the state have been pre-

pared to prevent present suffering and pauperization? The actuarial studies made by the Commission, for the purpose of computing the cost, offer a very significant answer to this question. The system would have begun to operate in the prosperous year 1923. It would have established a fund out of which in normal years, as well as in years of minor industrial recession, the losses sustained by workmen from involuntary unemployment would have been fairly compensated, and in addition a surplus would have been accumulating to provide for the catastrophic unemployment of the last two years.

"The fund would have finished the year 1929 with an accumulated reserve of over \$104,000,000. This, together with current premiums received, would have enabled the fund during the first year of the depression to prevent and relieve distress by distributing benefits to unemployed workers amounting to more than \$69,000,000. The insurance fund would have been prepared for the second year of the depression with a surplus on hand, January 1, 1931, of \$84,000,000. With the addition of the premiums paid in 1931, the fund would have been able to distribute to the unemployed during the second year of the depression nearly \$110,000,000, and at the beginning of 1932, the third year of the depression, there would still have been available a surplus of \$11,000,000.

"What would the accumulation and distribution of such financial reserves have meant in terms of human welfare? The answer is clear. The thrift and foresight, enforced by the state upon industry and commerce and their employees, would have enabled them not only to meet constructively the problems of usual unemployment during the last period of prosperity, but it would have also enabled them to accumulate a reserve and make possible the distribution of nearly \$180,000,000 during the first two years of the present depression. This amount would have been available to those who had invested human labor in the industries of the state just as millions were available in reserves for the payment of interest and dividends to the investors of capital in our industries at the time when a large proportion of this capital was earning little or no income. It would also have meant that community chest funds could probably have met the remaining relief needs, and that bond issues, special levies and special sessions of the Legislature to provide relief funds and to ask for Federal relief would not have been necessary.

"And what would this sum of nearly \$180,000,000 have meant in terms of purchasing power to the farmers of the state, to the merchants who can not sell their goods because large numbers of their former customers are unemployed and have no income with which to buy? What, to the manufacturers who normally supply these merchants with products of their industries? It unquestionably would have had some effect in stimulating business or at least in keeping the decline within normal bounds. It would have provided employment and prevented the continual reduction of working forces, wages and income, which has taken place month after month since the summer of 1929."

Now I would like to read you something about the Metropolitan Life Insurance Com-

pany. There has been a great deal said, and something has been said upon the floor by those who are supposed to be experts in the insurance line, but before I read this I want to say that unless this American Federation of Labor, unless the labor movement in America is ready to tackle the problem of unemployment insurance through state legislation we will find that we are going to have unemployment insurance notwithstanding, and we will have it in all the great industrial plants of this country in which there is not a union card; and we are going to have unemployment insurance underwritten by the great insurance companies of this country, the same as they got into the field ahead of some of the state federations of labor and underwrote workmen's compensation insurance. I quote the following:

"Unemployment Is Insurable"

"Much light is thrown upon the problem of insurability of unemployment by the fact that for many years the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of New York endeavored to obtain from the Legislature of that State an authorization to write unemployment insurance. In 1925, the late Mr. Haley Fiske, the President of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, stated that that company—

"Is willing to experiment with unemployment insurance . . . and it already has formulated rough plans on which to work, once the Legislature has given us the requisite laws".

"Mr. R. A. Hohaus, assistant secretary of the company, concluded the paper just quoted, 'A Practical Phase of Unemployment Insurance,' published by the company:

"At least one insurance company feels that the problems of writing unemployment insurance are not insurmountable, and it is optimistic about the practicability of this type of insurance. As soon as the insurance laws are amended so that it may offer this type of coverage, it will do so."

"A bill granting such authorization passed both houses of the New York Legislature in 1930, but was vetoed by Governor Roosevelt on the ground that the entrance of private insurance organizations into this new field might be a disturbing influence in the movement for compulsory unemployment insurance. It is significant that since then this influential insurance company has published several pamphlets questioning the insurability of unemployment and arguing against it.

"The argument that unemployment is not insurable is based primarily on the following considerations: that the incidence of the risk is very unequal, that fluctuations of unemployment are extremely irregular, that a very serious catastrophe hazard exists in the recurrent deep depressions and, moreover, that sufficient data are not available to permit of any scientific calculation of rates. The Commission, therefore, studied very carefully these considerations, and it feels convinced that the doubts as to the insurability of unemployment

result largely from failure to study available material and from insufficient understanding of the problems involved, except, of course, where they are raised by those who have a direct private interest in so doing.

"Every form of insurance necessarily presents its own specific problems. It is quite true that the incidence of the unemployment hazard is subject to great variations, but these are probably not greater than the variations in the hazard of industrial accidents in which the insurance rates fluctuate from \$0.10 per \$100 of payroll up to \$25 or more. It is also true that the fluctuations of unemployment from year to year are much greater than in life, accident or health insurance. But this simply means that insurance rates can not be computed upon the basis of a short period of one year. The risk must be spread not only over many industries and large numbers of people, but also over a considerable period of time so as to include many years of prosperity as well as the years of depression."

I want to say, as a delegate from the Ohio State Federation of Labor, that I am in general accord with the report of the Executive Council and the report of this Committee. I think it is a question that concerns not only organized labor, but it concerns all of America. I think that if we can evolve some social legislation, such as unemployment insurance, we will promote the happiness and prosperity of this country and relieve a tremendous amount of suffering that many of the members of unions who have been ruined by the depression could have gone through fairly well.

I do not contend, nor does this Commission contend, that unemployment insurance is a remedy for unemployment. Nor do I say, nor does the Commission say, that if we had gone through a period of three or five years we would have been absolutely sure of having a reserve fund to meet that period of unemployment. So I say, and this Commission says, that even during periods of prosperity we have unemployment that affects great groups of people and we could relieve the situation. Even if we had to face such a situation as we have had in the past three years we would have had at least \$184,000,000 in Ohio to reimburse the workers of the state, and we would not have been losing the homes of the state.

A vote was called for upon the report of the Committee. A show of hands was asked for, and the Chairman declared that the report of the Committee had been adopted by an overwhelming vote.

At 12:45 o'clock the Convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m.

Eighth Day—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order at 2:45 o'clock, President Green in the chair.

Absentees: McCallum, Bowen, Horan, Nelson Wills, McFetridge, Tighe, Bacigalupi, Dulacker, Roger, Hannah, Sullivan (H. W.), Collins (W. M.), Burris, Furuseth, Soderberg, Starr, Fay, Scharrenberg, Gross, Taylor (T. N.), Raftery, Reed, Kane, Turnblazer, Reilly, Cherry, Taylor (J. A.), Davis (F.), Fox (H. W.), Kutz, Lang, Watkins, Williams, Parks, Koenig, Starkweather, Brooks, Mitchell (H.), Becker, Kramer, Friedrich, Souza, Gates, Myers, Rivin, Pierson, Hammer, Newbill, Draper, Uppleger, Switalski, Greenway, Curran, Carlson, Welsh, Gainer, Doyle (F. E.), Woodmansee, Kromelbein, Saylor, Wells, McGeary, Bohm, Barnes, McElligott, Richardson, Scannell, Meyer, Thom-an, Zander.

President Green: The Chair recognizes the Secretary of the Committee on Resolutions to continue their report.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Secretary Olander continued the report, as follows:

National Legislation.

In the introductory section of the subject "National Legislation," page 57 of the report of the Executive Council records the passage in the recent session of Congress of the following legislation:

Anti-Injunction Law.

Vocational Rehabilitation Act Extended.

Five-day workweek with ten-elevenths of the wages and salaries that had been received for five and a half days for all per diem and many salaried employees of the government.

Providing for incorporation of credit unions.

Forbidding immigration of musicians other than those of outstanding talent.

Name of Porto Rico changed to Puerto Rico.

Prohibiting counterfeiting of union label in District of Columbia.

Reference is also made to the passage of the so-called Economy Law regarding which the report says, in part:

"It is the purpose of the American Federation of Labor to insist and demand at the next session of Congress that the injustice done to government employees and government workers generally through the enactment of an unscientific and ill-considered Economy Bill shall be repaired. We propose to fight strenuously for restoration of the wages and the rights and privileges which were taken away from nearly a million government workers through the enactment of legislation which we believe was unjust and unfair. In order to accomplish this purpose, we respectfully urge labor representatives throughout the nation to communicate with their representatives in Congress asking them to deal justly and fairly with government employees, to

refuse to extend the Economy Law which will expire on June 30th, and to repair as far as possible through legislative enactment, the damage already done to government employees."

In relation to the recent non-partisan political campaign, the Council reports as follows:

"In conformity with the traditional policy of the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council assumed a determined and aggressive stand in opposition to legislation inimical to the interests of labor. Supplementing this opposition, manifested while Congress was in session, we transmitted to labor and its friends during the recent political campaign the records of all members of Congress. We urged labor to oppose those members of Congress whose records showed they were unfriendly to labor, and to support those who had championed labor's cause."

Your Committee recommends approval of the division of the Executive Council's report herein referred to.

Delegate Alifas: Since this Convention has been in session I have received word from Washington to the effect that the Sub-Committee of the Appropriation Committee of the House that is in charge of the Post Office and Treasury Department Appropriations Bill is expected to recommend economy to the extent of \$700,000,000 per year.

My correspondents made the suggestion that, if possible, we might arrange before the Convention is over to have a delegation, headed by the leaders of the national labor movement, President Green and his associates, appear before that Committee as soon as practicable before they report out the bill. The bill is likely to be reported out early next week. They expect, not only to curtail the appropriations in the bill, but set a pace for the appropriations that follow it, and it is said they intend to repeal the Saturday half holiday law.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Legislation—Relief For Unemployed.

In the section of its report dealing with legislation enacted or proposed at the recent session of Congress, the Executive Council, pages 58, 59, under the subtitle "Relief for Unemployed," presents a review of several relief measures. The La Follette-Costigan Bill, proposing a relief fund of \$375,000,000, met with defeat. The La Follette proposal to make available a fund of \$5,500,000,000 made little progress. Senator Wagner then introduced a bill providing a

\$375,000,000 relief fund and another bill relating to the construction of public works. The final result was the passage of legislation appropriating \$2,122,000,000 for relief purposes. The capitalization of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was increased to \$3,800,000,000. The use of \$1,500,000,000 as loans for self-liquidating projects was authorized and \$300,000,000 made available for loans to states for immediate relief purposes. The developments beginning with the introduction and defeat of the La Follette-Costigan Bill and culminating in the passage of the final Reconstruction Finance Corporation measure were indicative of a steadily growing realization on the part of Congress that there was desperate need throughout the land for national relief measures. The Executive Council reports that it is its purpose "to bring to the attention of the members of Congress when they convene on December 5th, the increasing needs of the existing situation and to appeal again for an urgent appropriation of an adequate amount to meet the requirements of the situation which now exists in all states, cities and communities throughout the land." Your Committee recommends approval of the subsection of the report of the Executive Council as herein referred to.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Economy Law

Under the sub-caption "Economy Law," pages 59, 60 of the report of the Executive Council presents an account of the vigorous efforts put forth by the American Federation of Labor to prevent the passage of legislation designed to reduce the pay of employes of the Federal government. We join with the Council in expressing regret concerning the reductions enforced under the Economy Law and recommend that hearty approval be given the announced purpose of the Executive Council to give every aid to the government employes to defeat this objectionable legislation.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Immigration

Under the sub-caption "Immigration," on pages 61, 62 of the report of the Executive Council presents information relative to pending legislative proposals effecting immigration. It is most gratifying to note that, as stated by the Council, "after years of effort the American Federation of Musicians secured an amendment to the immigration law which placed in-

strumental musicians under the contract labor provisions." The King Bill, S. 7, which is referred to in this section of the Council's report, has been acted upon by the Convention through Resolution No. 44, as favorably reported by the Committee on Legislation, and therefore requires no comment by this Committee. As a statement of general policy the Executive Council reports that it has "directed its efforts towards eliminating as far as possible all immigration." Your Committee recommends that the well defined policy on immigration as enunciated by previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor, be reaffirmed and that the report of the Executive Council on this subject be approved.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Reorganization of Government Departments

Your Committee recommends approval of the sub-section in the Report of the Executive Council, on pages 63, 64, entitled "Reorganization of Government Departments," wherein the Council states, in part, that the American Federation of Labor has "constantly endeavored to bring about the establishment of all the divisions and bureaus touching labor, labor matters and labor activities, into the Department of Labor."

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Old-Age Security

Under the subcaption "Old-Age Security," on page 64 of the Executive Council's report, contains references to certain bills pending before Congress relating to old-age pension proposals. We express the hope that legislation on this subject will be forthcoming in the near future. Steady progress is being made in the promotion of state legislation providing for old-age pension systems. Your Committee recommends approval of this part of the report of the Executive Council and, further, that the efforts of the American Federation of Labor and its various state branches to secure appropriate legislation providing for old-age pensions be continued.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

The Anti-Injunction Law

Under the caption "The Anti-Injunction Law" on page 65 of the report of the Executive Council records the enactment of the Norris-La Guardia Anti-Injunction Law as representing "the outstanding legislative achievement of the

American Federation of Labor during the last session of Congress." Indeed, the Council reports, "there are many who have expressed the opinion that it really represents the outstanding legal accomplishment of the American Federation of Labor." We agree with the Council that the passage of the law "marks a great step forward, reflecting, as it does, the culmination of years of effort to secure the enactment of injunction relief legislation."

The vote on the measure in the Senate was 75 in favor to 5 opposed and in the House 363 in favor to 13 opposed.

The Council points out that we are greatly indebted to Senator Norris and Congressman La Guardia, who sponsored the Anti-Injunction Bill and pressed the measure for passage, as well as the other members who gave this legislation their active support.

The report of the Executive Council contains the full text of the new law. We urge that it be read and studied by all trade unionists, and especially by all officers of trade unions. Two cases are reported in which the Anti-Injunction Law has been before the courts for interpretation. We quote the paragraphs in which the Council refers to these cases as follows:

"However, in Washington, D. C., a fur manufacturer attempted to secure an injunction against the Fur Workers' local union to restrain picketing and alleged acts of violence. On a motion to show cause, the attorneys for the union successfully raised the defense that the provisions of the Norris-La Guardia law did not permit the issuance of an injunction. The attorneys for the employers raised the point that the facts in the case did not constitute a labor dispute within the meaning of the law. However, on a hearing to show cause the judge held that the fact brought the claim within the law and refused to issue an injunction. Thereafter the attorney for the union presented a motion to dismiss and after argument the court granted the motion.

"The other case arose in the United States District Court of Mississippi. Shrimp factory operators had requested an injunction against their striking employes, charging violence and alleging that the police had failed to restrain demonstrations by the strikers which included the seizure of shrimp shipments from other points. However, the Federal District Judge upheld the strikers' contentions that the packers had failed to show that efforts had been

made toward an amicable settlement of the differences as called for by the present law.

"Both of these decisions are recent and were made by United States District Courts. No knowledge is had at the present time if an appeal is contemplated in either of these cases, but it is reassuring to know that in the first skirmishes under the provisions of the present anti-injunction law, labor has been the victor.

"It seems quite proper and appropriate for the Executive Council to state that this injunction relief measure must meet the test of the higher courts. We assume that its constitutionality will be tested by its enemies when occasion demands. We are especially pleased with the decision of the courts in the several cases to which reference is herein made. We most earnestly hope that in the final test which will no doubt ultimately be made in the highest judicial tribunal of the land, the constitutionality of the law will be sustained."

The Executive Council urges that an injunction relief measure similar to the Norris-La Guardia Bill be enacted into law by State Legislatures and recommends that special attention be given to this matter by state Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies.

Your Committee recommends approval of the section of the Council's Report entitled "The Anti-Injunction Law" and urges that the recommendations of the Council in relation to the subject matter be endorsed.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Volstead Act

In its report under caption of Volstead Act, on Page 71 of the Executive Council, sets forth repeated declarations of the American Federation of Labor in opposition to this law. In this connection your Committee has considered Resolutions numbered 15, 16, 21, 41 and 64. These resolutions are as follows:

Proposing Resolutions of the Eighteenth Amendment

Resolution No. 15.—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh and Emanuel Koveliski, Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

RESOLVED, That we shall work first and foremost for the entire repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, to the end of casting out this sumptuary statute, the intrusion of which into constitutional realms has so severely hurt our country. The question of whether prohibition or regula-

tion is the more effective relation of government to the liquor traffic is utterly subordinate to the distortion of our Federal Constitution by compelling it to carry the burden of a task which is an affair for the police powers of each of our forty-eight separate and sovereign states, and never should be the business of the Federal Government.

The ultimate goal of the American Federation of Labor lies beyond the mere modification of any enforcement statute in any jurisdiction, State or Federal. The cancer of the present and the threat of the future remain with us until this invasion of our Federal Constitution is repealed and removed. We will not stop in our efforts until the operation is complete.

In passing we favor any and all modifications of enforcement acts corollary to the Eighteenth Amendment which will temper the fanatical excesses and absurdities of these acts. Sensible and creditable modification of this kind will soon become facts. But they will be aided by us solely as measures of temporary and partial relief, antecedent to the ultimate and entire repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

That, in place of the Federal prohibition, we favor the installment by the states of a method of controlled and restricted distribution which will prevent the exploitation of the liquor traffic for unconscionable profits and not only do away with prevailing speakeasies and secret drinking but prevent the reappearance of any unregulated system and the political iniquities which accompany it.

Glass Act For Modification of the Volstead Act

Resolution No 16—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh and Emanuel Koveski, Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance.

WHEREAS, The Democratic party, in convention assembled, adopted a program that called for the Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment and the immediate modification of the Volstead Act, a law which has caused the hotel and restaurant industry untold hardship and loss of work to thousands of our people; and

WHEREAS, Immediately after adjournment of the Democratic Convention the Hon. Carter Glass introduced an act that would modify the Eighteenth Amendment, but in this proposal the consumption of wine and beer is NOT PERMITTED on the premises where sold; and

WHEREAS, Such an act will be of no benefit to our people in the hotels, restaurants, etc.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we are opposed to this feature of the Glass amendment, and we endorse a bill which will provide that where beer and light wines are permitted by law it will be permissible to consume same on the premises where sold, if said premises are bona fide hotels and restaurants.

Modification of the Volstead Act

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate M. J. McDonough, Building Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The year of 1932, now drawing to its close, is recording a nation-wide general

depression unparalleled in the history of our country; and

WHEREAS, Building reports indicate that the total volume of construction in the United States this year will aggregate less than one-quarter of the average active building year, with present indications that the year 1933 will show little or no improvement; and

WHEREAS, Active building must await general economic improvement and building statisticians can not venture an opinion as to just how long it may take in the present period of low activity to lead to shortages which will bring new health to building industry; and

WHEREAS, The one thing, and the only thing that stands out in bold relief as calculated to give impetus to the resumption of building activity is the immediate modification of the Volstead Act, permitting the manufacture and sale of light wines and beer; and

WHEREAS, The legalizing of the manufacture of light wines and beer would automatically create a demand for stone, brick, cement, wood, metal and other materials, made necessary by new and repaired building construction, also the machinery, engines, boilers, tanks, vats, piping, etc., used in the process of manufacture; and

WHEREAS, The labor incidental to the fabricating, handling, hauling, transporting, housing and installing these materials would take countless thousands from the army of the unemployed; and

WHEREAS, The immediate modification of the Volstead Act would provide further additional employment to the incalculable thousands engaged in the raising, handling and distributing of brewing ingredients, barrel and bottle makers, and the vehicles, both horse-drawn and motor, necessary to the industry; and

WHEREAS, Were the Volstead Act amended so as to permit the manufacture and sale of light wines and beer, there would automatically be created a purchasing power through the medium of paid wages that would immediately make its presence felt in the store, the factory, the mine and the mill; be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the Building Trades Department assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, this 18th day of November, 1932, both petition and demand of the so-called "Short Session" of Congress, convening in December, that it take the proper legislative action necessary to immediately modify the Volstead Act and thereby legalize the manufacture and sale of light wines and beer; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officials of this Department place copies of this resolution in the hands of the President of the United States; also the Speaker of the Senate and the House of Representatives; and be it further.

RESOLVED, That the Building Trades Department delegate to the American Federation of Labor Convention introduce this resolution, or subscribe to one that embodies both its principle and purport.

Modification of the Volstead Act

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate J. H. La Force, San Francisco Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United

States at the coming session will have under consideration modification of the prohibition law to permit light wines and beer; and

WHEREAS, Such change is of great importance to producers of grapes, barley and hops and particularly to the grape industry which in California alone is the second largest agricultural industry, engaging 25,000 growers, embracing 500,000 acres of land, and representing an investment of \$350,000,000 in vineyards and wineries; and

WHEREAS, Of the two million tons of grapes produced annually in that state there is a surplus of as high as 455,000 tons, which surplus ruins the market for raisin, table and wine-juice grapes and is resulting in abandoned vineyards, foreclosures and bankruptcies; and

WHEREAS, Through modification of the prohibition laws to legalize light wines and beer, a large additional market will be opened to grape growers everywhere for the sale of their products; and

WHEREAS, Legalization of light wines, which are non-intoxicating, in fact, will promote true temperance and will not bring back the saloon; and

WHEREAS, Legalization of light wines will immediately put to work thousands of men now out of employment, not only in production of wine, but also in related industries; and

WHEREAS, Legalization of light wines will add millions of dollars to farm land values, will add millions of dollars to the annual income of grape growers, and will provide still more millions in income to related industries for bottles, barrels, lumber, printing, transportation, hotel, restaurant and public utility services; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we hereby go on record in favor of the immediate modification of the Volstead Act to allow the manufacture and sale of light wines and beer, and that we urge upon the Senators and Representatives in Congress to work and vote for such modification.

Draught Beer

Resolution No. 64—By Delegate James J. Doyle, representing the Coopers' International Union.

WHEREAS, That modification of the Volstead Act will be accomplished in a short period of time; and

WHEREAS, Eighty per cent of beer before prohibition was draught beer, and gave a vast amount of work to members of the Coopers' International Union; and

WHEREAS, Draught beer is primarily a workman's beverage and is less expensive and more palatable, and if this class of beer is permitted it will be the means of reopening of 1,000 former cooper shops, and thereby greatly aid the coopering industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record as favoring the permission of draught beer.

Resolution No. 15 calls for the entire repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment leaving the subject of regulation of the liquor traffic to the several states.

Resolution No. 16 expresses opposition to the Glass Amendment which contemplates amending the Eighteenth Amendment, but denying the consumption of wine and beer on the premises where sold.

Resolution No. 21 contains the demand upon the "Short Session" of Congress to modify the Volstead Act to permit the manufacture, transport and sale of light wines and beer.

Resolution No. 41 favors the immediate modification of the Volstead Act to permit the manufacture, transport and sale of light wines and beer.

Resolution No. 64 calls for the modification of the Volstead Act to permit the manufacture, transport and sale of draught beer.

Based upon the report of the Executive Council and resolutions herein referred to, your Committee submits the following:

The American Federation of Labor is, and has been, in favor of temperance. When the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted by Congress and submitted to the states the American Federation of Labor predicted the consequences of its ratification. When the Volstead Act was enacted the American Federation of Labor predicted the consequences.

We have reaped the fruits of prohibition and the nation has followed the lead of organized labor in repudiating those fruits.

There is no need at this late day to repeat the truths we have so often stated. Our position is and has been clear.

What America needs now is the speediest possible return to sanity. We urge the immediate modification of the Volstead Act to permit the manufacture, transport and sale of wholesome, palatable beverages, non-intoxicating in fact, and we recommend repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment as rapidly as that can be brought about.

We likewise urge modification of the Webb-Kenyon Act so as to afford ample protection to all such states as may elect to prohibit a beverage of a lesser alcoholic content than is urged by this report upon our national government, or as each may elect, pending final repeal.

Delegate Flore, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I rise for the purpose of supporting the Committee's report. I note with considerable pleasure that the Committee has taken one step forward in this great social problem of our country. The Hotel and

Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance brought the repeal question before the Vancouver Convention. However, the Convention at that time was not prepared to go on record for repeal. They, like all the other organizations that opposed repeal, are now happy to accept, I suppose, the report of the Committee.

I do want to read into the record, however part of Resolution 16, which reads as follows:

"WHEREAS, Immediately after adjournment of the Democratic Convention the Hon. Carter Glass introduced an act that would modify the Eighteenth Amendment, but in this proposal the consumption of wine and beer is NOT PERMITTED on the premises where sold."

Following is the "Resolved" of the resolution:

"RESOLVED, That we are opposed to this feature of the Glass amendment, and we endorse a bill which will provide that where beer and light wines are permitted by law it will be permissible to consume same on the premises where sold, if said premises are bona fide hotels and restaurants."

Now, Mr. Chairman, I don't desire to take up the time of the Convention with discussing this particular question, but I do want to place our delegation on record as being opposed to any effort to amend the present law unless provisions are made for the consumption of the beverages on the premises where sold. Unless we are successful in requiring that particular section of the law, so far as the sale of the beverages is concerned, it will not be helpful in relieving the unemployment situation any more than the conditions that exist today.

It is my desire to place the delegation of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers' International Alliance on record in favor of the consumption of beverages on the premises where sold.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: I have persistently opposed, since I have been a delegate to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, the injection of this question into an economic organization. I oppose at this time. I have refused to consume the time of the Convention, the time of the Committee, and the time of conferences at which labor men foregathered in discussing moral and religious questions upon which men can not agree, and questions on which the individual will permit no labor organization to express his attitude or to direct his movements.

At this time I will not impose upon the time of the Convention on this question, other than to say that it has never had, at any time, a place in this Convention. However, it seems to me that there is a lack of appreciation of free speech, when I know the personal attitude of a number of delegates in this Convention who sit quietly by and see the policy of the American Federation of Labor changed by even this question without calling it to the attention of the delegates, and, for the benefit of the representatives of the press who are present, permit me to say that this is the first time this Convention of the American Federation of Labor has gone on record for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

In the past we have confined our actions to the endorsement of the policy of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in asking for light wines and beer, and out of the genius of the Resolutions Committee, of which I have the honor to be a member, there is only one thing they have omitted in their report, and that is that they have failed to tell the 25,000,000 people of this country, when they are now on charity, when they have no money to buy bread, how they can buy beer when the Eighteenth Amendment is repealed.

Delegate Kugler, Brewery Workers: I regret exceedingly that at this time we have to have a discussion, after a struggle of fifteen years, and to hear from a delegate that this question has no place in the American Federation of Labor. The Brewery Workers is a pioneer organization in this movement—and it has no place among you! As long as we have been associated with the American Federation of Labor we have at all times given an excellent account of ourselves. We have gone through life in a decent fashion, and propose to do so until we come to the end of our journey.

After being in the trade for all our lifetime, surely no one could say that this is not an economic question. We came to you with clean hands back in 1919, and in passing you recognized our predicament. The passing of the Eighteenth Amendment I do not propose to discuss at all.

The Volstead Act is an insidious document which no one would accept without a chance to discuss it intelligently. If it is true that it has no place in the American labor movement, we have no place there as an organization. Section 29 of the Volstead Act practically destroyed our organization, yet you recognized upon every occasion in the report of the Execu-

tive Council of the American Federation of Labor the justice of our position in our fight to eliminate the lie in the Volstead Act which attempts to define one-half of one per cent of alcohol in beer as intoxicating.

We have not advocated repeal. That automatically follows. Surely I haven't the distinction that my ancestors came over here with the Mayflower; surely I haven't the distinction of having been born on American soil, but I am raising an American family. The place of my birth, Switzerland, has never attempted to destroy the liberties of her people. Our Constitution prohibits the barter, sale and importation of intoxicating beverages. Then we follow up, and this is the crux of it: The Volstead Act attempts to tell us that one-half of one per cent is intoxicating. How can the previous speaker take the position that this is not the place to discuss it?

I have been a good sport all these years. I have sat back here silent, but I never lost courage, because I knew this was bound to come. Now we have it. We are so close to realization that we are jubilant. In another year we will be known as public benefactors, because we are really working for temperance.

I don't intend to go into the details of this matter, but we don't want to see our men on the streets continually, we don't want to see other men on the street. Where is the railroad transportation worker today? Where is the mine worker, where is the agricultural worker, where are the rest of the workers? They are unemployed while the brewery industry, if restored, would give employment to thousands of workers of all trades and callings.

From the day we started, in 1919, our proposition has been clear and it is clear today. Consequently, without going into the reasons thereof, in conclusion I want to tell you, Mr. President, the Executive Council and the delegates to this Convention who have sustained our contention, that this is an economic question. In the past fifteen years, since the 17th of December, 1917, when Congress submitted the Eighteenth Amendment to the State Legislatures for ratification, we have carried on the fight to bring a change in the Volstead Law to permit the manufacture and sale of beer of 2.75 alcoholic content by weight. The Brewery Workers are a fine body of men who are ready to do what is right at all times, and when they find something is wrong they will fight and fight until it is righted.

Now, Mr. President, we thank you for the

support you have given us, and when the day comes that we can be of assistance to the American Federation of Labor, you will find us there.

Chairman Woll: Mr. Chairman and Delegates: In submitting this report it is not presented so much as a moral question as it is an economic and governmental question. If the question be raised, as it has been pronounced on this Convention floor, that this be a moral issue, then we refer the delegate, and all of them, to all the declarations made by American labor, through state and local unions as well as the American Federation of Labor, on the temperance question. We have always preached temperance, yes, long before the Eighteenth Amendment, and we have considered it as a moral question, and nevertheless have permitted it to come into our councils and to urge it. So much for the question of morality.

The Committee's report is not based on the question of morality. To my mind, and so far as I am concerned, it is based more upon a governmental and civic and constitutional question. This report of the Committee seems just this: That we desire sanity in the matter of sumptuary legislation; that we believe that legislation having to do with the liquor traffic should be confined to states and not to the national Government. The various states, even though the Eighteenth Amendment were applied, would hold that it is a state question, not a national question.

The Committee refers to the fact that when the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted the American Federation of Labor predicted the consequences to follow. It likewise predicted the consequences that would follow the adoption of the Volstead Act. Is there anyone to deny that the prediction of the American Federation of Labor has come to be true? But whether true or not, it is a principle of government. Are we to stand in a position to encourage our national Government to legislate all our habits, our customs and relationships through centralized government, through the building of a great national police power, or are we to maintain the principles of home government and of state and community control?

The report goes further and it seeks as a means of protecting states in what may be their decisions in the matter of liquor traffic, and they, having adopted whatever standards they wish, should be protected in their laws and their decisions and should not be interfered with

by the wishes of another state. That is a truly democratic arrangement such as was contemplated by the founders of this nation.

It is not a question of drinking, it is not a question of beer, for even if the Volstead Act were modified to permit 3 per cent by weight, which is considered non-intoxicating, there are many states that are still prohibition. They would be secure, and by the recommendation of the Committee would be secure in their decision against the use of 1 per cent, yes, in some states, against the slightest degree of alcoholic content. The Committee deals with it in what we consider a sane and constructive manner.

Delegate Allen, Champaign-Urbana Twin City Federation: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, I am not unmindful of the seeming attitude of this Convention, but for me to remain quiet on this question would condemn me in my own conscience for all time to come, even though the words I speak might fall upon deaf ears and be in vain. To begin with, I want to express my hearty admiration for Brother Howard, President of the Typographical Union, for being courageous enough to rise in such opposition and express the sentiments of his convictions. I will not attempt to speak long enough to change the sentiment of this Convention. Had I the slightest idea that I could do it I would attempt it, but I have observed the sentiment that prevails here. However, in my feeble way I want to go on record, and if every delegate in this Convention stands against me I will stand in the face of that opposition, and I will stand because the years of observation have convinced me beyond one iota of doubt of which side of this question is right.

I have been a member of the American Federation of Labor since I was seventeen years of age, and I am proud of it. Unless something beyond my fondest imagination happens to change my mind I will carry with me to the end that honor. Thus far in this convention I have been in hearty accord with every act. I might differ in some degree with the methods, but this is one point that, with all due respect to the individual delegates and also to the Convention as a whole, I will take issue. During these years of experience in the labor movement it has been a continual fight in every labor struggle that I have indulged in to combat this one question. It has been ruled repeatedly that it was not to be admitted into our proceedings and deliberations. The constitution forbids,

and last year at the Vancouver Convention, which was my first American Federation of Labor convention, out of respect to our honorable President, Brother Green, I went to him personally and asked him if such a question would be in order. I was informed by him that Samuel Gompers, our late lamented President, had ruled repeatedly that it was not, but that somehow it had come in some few years past.

Be that as it may, I have always refrained from bringing this question before any organization of labor, be it local, state or national, simply because I was firmly convinced that it was not a proper question to discuss in the labor movement. Recently, however, it has been enforced upon me. A few short months ago in our Central Labor Union in our town we received a communication sent out by Brother Woll on this question. It was read by the Secretary. I got up and raised the point of order and was sustained by the Chair. There was no discussion in support of it. I served notice on our organization at that time that I had always refrained from discussing this question or bringing it up, but that I had reached the conclusion that if I was challenged again I would accept it in my feeble way and meet it as best I could. I have never been challenged since.

At the meeting of the Illinois State Federation of Labor last year this question was brought up, and I wish to show you how feebly it was brought up. Our delegate from our Federation of Labor came back and in making his report said that after arriving at the Convention he learned that no resolution on this subject had been introduced. He said, "I hastily got one up and introduced it." That is illustrative of how much real sentiment among the labor movement is back of this.

At the Vancouver Convention I would not indulge myself upon the Convention in speaking upon this question, because I had formed an idea, judging from the public press, that when the question came up there would be such a tumult in favor of it that I would be completely lost. But to my pleasant surprise there was not a word spoken, either for or against, and when the vote was taken, as near as I could judge, it was something like twenty-five or thirty for, and five or six against.

Now, my friends, what does this question mean to this Convention? It means that it is a controversial question of the very greatest importance, regardless of whether you are for or against. If this goes to militant states you

are going to find the American public divided, on one side too many and another side too many, and they will be aroused to a dangerous peak that will reflect tremendously for you or against you. And why should we invite such form of protest against us when we could, by being conservative, take a middle ground? We could walk out before the public expressing our individual opinions, exercising our individual rights and do as we please about it and not bring any question of doubt or shame one way or another upon this body, which we should all be anxious to protect against any attacks from whatever quarter it may come.

As I have said, I have had to fight this question indirectly in every labor struggle that I have indulged in or known of. In calling a strike one of the first things that was absolutely necessary was to throw out lines in order that we might keep the strikers sober, if you please. The first thing that the bosses wished to do in most cases was to get the strikers drunk, and they felt if they could get them in that shape it would be to their advantage, and it has been a tremendous job to save our men who were in every other respect as good men as you would want to find any place.

If this question is all right, if it is absolutely innocent of any wrong, why should there be any question about it? Where there is so much smoke there must be some fire. If this question is all right, why not throw all the bars down and say yes, it is a perfectly moral, legitimate business and is beyond reproach and there should be no more curtailments or hindrances about it than any other respectable line of business. Why is it that it has got to be regulated? We don't regulate other things that are legitimate and fair in law. Then I ask you this question: If the great United States of America cannot handle this question successfully, which has been proclaimed, then how can the states handle it, how can the municipalities handle it? I am here to tell you, after my years of observation, that it cannot be regulated. It has been demonstrated, it has been tried through local option, it has been tried through state legislation and national legislation and it has failed apparently from all lines. And yet men will tell us that it is a failure. Who made it a failure? How many of you men have tried to make it a success? Who is it that has gone dry when he wanted a drink? They tell me more of it is consumed now than ever before. Then what are we kicking about?

I just want to say this in conclusion. The constitution reads as follows; Section 8, Article III:

"Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor."

Now, my friends, I am willing for you to go outside of here and take issue with me, to participate along any line of attack that you wish and I will gladly grant you that privilege, but there is the constitution. Am I to be indulged upon and sit idly by and submit, and will you restrict my right and any others that might be in here—and I hope there are a few—or will we live up to the constitution and defend our fair name and the constitution? I leave it with you.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Glass.

Delegate Allen: I rise to a point of order. That question that is covered in the resolution is not in order.

President Green: Delegate Glass has the floor.

Delegate Glass, Government Employees: Mr. Chairman, I am not rising to defend or oppose the resolution. This is my first Convention, and if I live out my expectancy of life I hope to attend 97 more, because I have found every moment here one of intense interest. However, as some of you know, I am in the spotlight as far as my organization is concerned and will be expected to advise on which side of the Convention I have voted, and if I do not present my views in that line I would be branded as fearful of taking action, and those who know me best know that that is just one of the things I am not afraid of. I know that it would be impossible for me to change the views of any one and I have no disposition to do so. I merely wish to record my vote, or to have my vote recorded in the negative so as to be of future record and let the future decide the wisdom of that attitude.

Delegate Allen, Champaign Central Labor Union: I would like to rise to a point of order.

President Green: What is your point of order?

Delegate Allen: My point of order is that the question before the house is out of order under Section 8, Article III of the constitution, which reads:

"Party politics, whether they be Democratic,

Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition or any other shall have no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor."

President Green: Where is there any party politics in this question?

Delegate Allen: I leave it to you to rule, Mr. Chairman.

President Green: The Chair would like to be enlightened on that point, how you regard this question as a question of partisanship or party politics.

Delegate Allen: The Prohibition Party is a political party. That is the fundamental plank upon which they are organized. Any other question might be regarded as non-political as easily as that one might be. If I can not enlighten the Chair any more on that I am sorry. However, it seems plain enough to me that it has been ruled out of order at previous times and it is so specifically and plainly stated that it could be easily ruled upon by the Chair.

President Green: The Chair is of the opinion that the point of order is not well taken because it is impossible now, so far as I am able to see it, to regard this great question as a political question. For that reason the Chair is compelled to rule that the point of order is not well taken.

The Chair desires to supplement that ruling by this brief statement. For years the American Federation of Labor has declared itself in favor of a modification of the Volstead Act. There has been an overwhelming sentiment manifested by the officers and delegates in attendance at Conventions of the American Federation of Labor in support of the proposal to modify the Volstead Act. I think that action was based upon a genuine belief and a genuine desire to promote temperance and to promote sobriety. Lately it took on an economic tinge, because it was believed that a modification of the Volstead Act would not only promote the cause of temperance, but in addition to that it would help in the distressing economic conditions which prevail throughout the nation. However, the American Federation of Labor never at any time declared in favor of repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. We always regarded the proposal to modify the Volstead Act as a reasonable proposal, one that was within the range of possibility, because the Constitution confers upon Congress the power

to define intoxicating liquors. For that reason the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor believed that Congress possessed authority to amend the Volstead Act, raising the alcoholic content to the point where people believed it would not be intoxicating in fact.

Now I can not help but state my personal opinion, notwithstanding the fact that I recognize sentiment has changed. The recent election demonstrated that fact beyond a reasonable doubt. The change has swept the nation. People believe, I think the majority of them, that we have failed in our purpose to enforce the prohibition statutes. But, after all, I think it unwise and inadvisable for this Convention to go as far as the Committee proposes, that is, to declare itself in favor of a repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. I say that because we represent all shades of opinion upon this question. The men and women of labor themselves are divided upon it, and every one of them are entitled to their opinion upon this question. Then we are dealing with men of all shades of opinion upon this question and it is raised against us in many instances, I doubt the wisdom of going that far, although it seems clearly evident to me that the sentiment of the Convention is favorable in that direction. I wanted to make this statement because it seemed to me proper that I should do so, so that the officers and members in attendance at this Convention might know how I feel towards this subject.

The motion to adopt the Committee's report was carried.

Anti-Trust Legislation.

Your Committee, having before it that section of the Report of the Executive Council entitled "Anti-Trust Legislation", on Page 72, submits the following:

It must be clear to every trade unionist that modification of our outworn anti-trust legislation is imperative and the Council wisely proposes such modification. The American trade-union movement requires the right to organize in conformity with the development of modern industry and unless the hands of the clock are to be turned backward entirely there must be a like right running throughout the whole industrial field.

We have declared that labor demands and must have in industry a status of standing comparable to its status and standing in the political realm and that we aim to achieve an

extension of democratic practice in industry comparable to our democratic practice in our political life. This being true, we can not inflict upon industry itself restrictions and restraints that would prevent management and operation from following those forms of combination and organization without which our own ideals can not be carried into effect.

We do not recommend or commend combination of industry to permit ownership, control or domination by a few, but to permit and make possible the very opposite. Under our present legislation it is unlawful for trade associations to function normally or in the best interests of industry and society. This and other limitations and restrictions might well be modified, if not repealed.

In the stress and strain of a Convention we can not draft the modifying legislation required, but such modifying legislation should be drawn in the light of the philosophy of our movement, in the light of the foregoing declarations and in the light of declarations of previous conventions on this subject.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Kellogg Pact.

The Executive Council, in the section of its report entitled "Kellogg Pact", on Page 73, announces that in July, 1932, the Council adopted the following declaration:

"We are in sympathy with the plan to amend the Kellogg Pact so as to make it more effective in preventing signatory nations going to war, providing such plan can be developed that will adequately protect the people of the United States."

The nature of the declaration, your Committee believes, indicates that the Executive Council will exercise due caution and studious care in the consideration of any specific amendment or amendments which may be proposed to the multi-lateral treaty commonly known as the Kellogg Pact. The treaty is of comparative recent origin. It was endorsed by the American Federation of Labor at the Toronto Convention in 1929. It has attracted world-wide attention and support. Its strength rests upon the good faith of the signatory nations and the chastening power of world opinion. We express the earnest hope that thorough tests of the effectiveness of the treaty in its present form will be made before any element of physical force, even though of a negative character, is made a part of the procedure to be followed in the application of the pact to specific cases. In the light of our understanding of the pur-

pose of the Executive Council and the nature, scope and significance of the pact as expressed herein, your Committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Government.

In the section of its report entitled "Government", followed by the sub-titles "Changing Government Functions", "Costs of Government" and "Comparative Costs", on Pages 74 and 79 the Executive Council presents valuable information calculated to induce rational thinking and action in relation to government functions and expenditures. We commend the report to the careful attention of trade unionists and other thoughtful citizens of every class and station throughout the United States. The following quotations from the report are presented as an indication of its general purpose:

"The increase in governmental activities reflects the growing public interest in various economic undertakings; the need for protecting the consumer; the need for advising producers who must sell and buy in world markets; the need for conserving natural resources; the need for having standard weights and measures, etc. The fact that governmental activities, employees and costs have steadily increased is not in itself a reason for alarm and an argument for curtailing such expenditures. Each item of expenditure should be evaluated on a basis of service, efficiency, relation to social welfare.

"Propaganda from those who wish to curtail their personal tax payments by restriction of government work, curtailment of federal appropriations, salary cuts for government workers, should not be allowed to stampede legislators into uneconomic curtailment of work, and neglect of the fundamental purposes for which our government was created.

"A detailed study of the reports of the United States Treasury on receipts, expenditures and deficit will disclose the essential solvency of our nation and its capacity to meet emergencies. Our national wealth is the basis of our fiscal planning and policies. Government expenditures have increased paralleling growing needs and broadening concepts of national service.

"There are those who regard the mounting costs of government as something wholly undesirable. There comes under consideration the sweep of changing functions of government to conform to needs of the citizens under chang-

ing ways of working and living. Mistrust of many proposals for retrenchment in government expenditure is based on the fact that they come from those corporations that would profit by escaping regulation in general interests and from groups representing concentration of wealth.

"The United States takes a smaller levy from national income than do the chief European countries.

"In Great Britain the government took 25.2 per cent of national income; in France, 16.1 per cent; in Italy, 14.2 per cent; in Germany, 13.6 per cent; in United States, 10.4 per cent. The percentages are for 1928, the latest year for which figures for all countries could be obtained."

The report of the Executive Council on the subject of "Government" is timely. We recommend its approval and endorsement.

Commercial and industrial interests throughout the United States are organizing for political action to force the governments, local, state and national, to institute economy in governmental expenditures of all sorts. The sort of economy proposed by these groups seems to be directed against any governmental expenditure, which, from their point of view, is not absolutely essential to the existence of the government itself. If a government building is necessary, they argue it ought to be entirely utilitarian throughout. They may grudgingly accede to the erection of a few public monuments here and there, but that is about the only form of government expenditure which has not been subject to their attack. The argument, of course, is that ultimately these governmental expenditures must be paid for through the efforts of the citizens at large, that therefore it is unjust to the people generally for the government to make such large expenditures as have become customary in recent years. If the government spends less, they say, the people will have more. What they mean is, if the government spends less, a part of the people will have more. They are raising a most interesting issue.

In general, it may be said that the combined wealth of the nation is used by the following three groups: (1) The owners and managers of commercial and industrial enterprises; (2) the government; (3) the wage-earners and salaried workers. There are, of course, to be found various situations in which these groups overlap. It should be pointed out,

too, that the interest of the farmers is much the same as that of the wage earners.

In the last analysis, wealth of the sort to which we refer, is the product of human labor. The commercial and industrial interests, now questioning government expenditures because of its effect upon them, do not, of course, claim to be the sole creators of the wealth of the nation. They simply insist that, due to what they call extravagances on the part of the government for which funds must be in the main provided by private enterprise, they are deprived of their proper share of the wealth of the nation. They are inviting others to follow their example evidently forgetting that others, too, are likely to be actuated by motives of self-interest. If the spirit of utilitarianism and strict economy is to govern as a means of bringing about a more equitable distribution of the wealth of the nation, and that is the announced purpose of those who are leading the present campaign, it cannot be limited merely to government activities and to the interests of a relatively small group. If the philosophy which they now preach is to prevail, and be carried out to its ultimate conclusion, there can be no justification for a millionaire, while there is poverty in the land. A mansion will have no moral right to exist, while a hovel is to be found. Boulevards cannot be justified, while slums remain. It may be that the philosophy of economy as now proclaimed by commercial and industrial interests against the government may seize upon the imagination of the people in a manner far different than its promoters calculate. Perhaps they are rendering a service of which they are unaware, in that they may aid in arousing the public mind to the needs, apparent on all sides, for conditions that will tend to promote the more equitable distribution of wealth among all classes of our citizens. While this is going on, it is well to be on guard against the possible strangling of necessary and wise government activities under the plea of economic waste and extravagance. The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Bituminous Coal Industry

In this section of its report, on pages 100-103, under the caption "Bituminous Coal Industry," the Executive Council refers to the continuing confusion in the bituminous coal industry and the efforts of the United Mine Workers of America to secure the enactment of stabilizing legislation by the Federal Congress.

After long years of utter impoverishment, the workers in the coal industry have become convinced that economic stabilization and improved working conditions will not be brought about through any voluntary effort or co-operation on the part of the coal operators or the owners of the industry.

More than six thousand corporate entities are engaged in the production of bituminous coal under destructive competitive conditions which have brought about continuous wage reductions resulting in poverty among the workers to a degree which is almost akin to despair.

The United Mine Workers of America is seeking to have the Federal Congress enact a measure which would permit coal companies, under certain restrictions, to form collective sales agencies and give to the mine workers the rights of collective bargaining. It is the minimum degree of legislation essential to the economic reorganization of the bituminous coal industry.

Such a measure was introduced in both Houses of the last Congress by United States Senator James J. Davis and Congressman Clyde Kelly, and is known as the Davis-Kelly Bill.

This measure will again be presented for the consideration of Congress when it convenes in December.

Your committee approves the recommendations of the Executive Council, which has extended the aid of the American Federation of Labor to the United Mine Workers of America in the securing of legislation of this character, and renews the endorsement of the Davis-Kelly Bill.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Lewis, United Mine Workers: The report of the Executive Council and the report of the Committee on Resolutions needs no amplification at this time. The story of the plight of the bituminous mine workers has been told to the delegates of the American Federation of Labor in previous conventions.

I rise at this time merely to express the appreciation of the mine workers' representatives to the Executive Council for their report, to President Green, Secretary Morrison and to Legislative Representative Edward McGrady, for the very fine co-operation and support which they have given to the mine workers' program in Congress. We know that that support will be continued. We are most appreciative and hope sincerely for some beneficial results in our attempt to secure this remedial legislation. Thank you.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

Problems of Railway Workers

Under the caption "Problems of Railway Workers," on pages 103-111, in the report of the Executive Council, will be found a summarization of some of the activities of Railway Labor Organizations during the past year. The subjects dealt with consist of Declining Employment; Wages; The Chicago Conference; The Louisiana Arkansas Railway Case; Employment; The Shorter Workday and Shorter Workweek; Consolidation of Railways and Legislation.

An examination of this brief summary of activities will show that the organized railway workers understand the perplexing problems of the industry and have and are meeting the situation by proposing constructive measures for negotiation and agreement and when negotiation fails of the desired result it is followed by proposed legislation.

The Railroad Labor Organizations of whom a substantial majority are affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, are to be complimented upon the able and intelligent manner in which they undertake to and do protect the interests of all workers in this great industry. The American Federation of Labor and the twenty-one standard Railroad Labor Organizations co-operate on all matters of mutual interest in the field of economics and political activities.

Your Committee recommends a continuation of this co-operative policy and expresses the hope that the day is not far distant when all organizations in this group will have taken the necessary action to become affiliated in fact as well as in the spirit of co-operation which has been increasingly in evidence with the lapse of years.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Patent Law Adjustment

The Executive Council reports, on page 113, under the caption "Patent Law Adjustment," that it has inaugurated the study, as recommended by the Vancouver Convention a year ago, into proposed adjustment of patent laws to offset destructive effects of automatic machinery and processes, that no satisfactory solution has as yet been worked out and the study will therefore be continued. Your committee recommends approval of the report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Non-Partisan Political Policy

In its supplemental report on "Non-Partisan Political Policy," on page 160, of second day's proceedings, the Executive Council presents an account of the activities of the Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee in the recent national and state elections, the results of which are summarized by the Council in the following paragraphs:

"An analysis of the election returns shows that practically every member of the United States Senate who was up for re-election and who voted for the confirmation of Judge John J. Parker to be a member of the United States Supreme Court, has been defeated. As a whole, labor fared exceptionally well in the election.

"Our success in the Senatorial campaigns was equaled in the defeat of the enemies of labor in the lower House.

"Fourteen trade-unionists become members of the next Congress.

"It is believed that all the results stated above were obtained as a result of the Executive Council's recommendations and their adoption by the 1931 Convention, and we again recommend that the non-partisan political policy adopted and reaffirmed by the Convention be continued."

Your committee recommends that the report be approved and the recommendations contained therein be adopted.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Poll, Printing Pressmen: I am not in favor of this motion. We have shed our political swaddling clothes. Most worthy Labor, you must quit begging at the door outside for what you could get by going inside and demanding it. Your advice is needed, your viewpoint is necessary in all the legislative halls in this country, of the state and in our House of Congress in this great land of ours. Your counsel is necessary to those great, blind, helpless powers who are lost in this economic wilderness we find ourselves in. For don't you know that the great political power in this country is but the supreme administrative body that rules over the entire economic field? Think of this!

I know I am a minority, but please hear me. A new baby is being born in the womb of time. This is your baby, Labor. You will recognize

it as your own flesh and blood. This baby is the finished capitalist system. That is, it is your own flesh and blood. The corpuscles and sinews of this body are literally every working man, woman and child in this country. Literally, every one of us are on the inside of this thing as we are inside the cosmos. This baby must have political representation and will get it. If you give it here, well and good, but if not, then it will get it from the blood that will run in the streets. And it will be your blood, labor! Do not spill your blood. We must have a political party and all these things will be added unto you.

I wish further to say that you folks have complained of being helpless on the economic field, that you can't organize effectively with all this wonderful productivity and machinery. According to Professor Miller's report and according to Mr. Frey's wonderful statistics that he showed you, I want to say that if labor is ever going to get any benefit out of this machinery you people must have your own political party. We must have a political party, and I am against this motion.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

Junior High Schools in Chicago

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Hanson, of the American Federation of Teachers, on a question of personal privilege.

Delegate Hanson, Federation of Teachers: Mr. Chairman and delegates to the convention—A very serious matter has come to my knowledge which I want to present to you. The Sargent Committee in the city of Chicago has recommended the abolition of the junior high schools in that city. Now you are wondering, perhaps, if the city of Chicago has a Board of Education. Well, it has, but it also has what I do not doubt you have in all your communities—an extra legal committee. The Sargent Committee in Chicago is just like the Stone Committee and the Thorne Committee and the Simpson Committee and the other committees in the other communities. These are extra legal committees that have taken upon themselves the autocratic authority to say how much money shall be spent upon education and upon other local governments.

Now the organization which I represent objects to this extra legal activity on the part of these groups. In Chicago this man Sargent who heads the committee that says how much money shall be spent in that city on education

is Fred W. Sargent, President of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway. I regret that I have not access to my office so that I could give you the exact figures, but I have something approximating the exact figures in references to the tax-paying function of Fred Sargent. He has an income as President of the Chicago & Northwestern Railway and as a director and president of other corporations of almost half a million dollars a year, and he spends in the city of Chicago about \$147.00 a year in taxes. Now that is the man who heads the committee who says how much money we shall spend in the city of Chicago on education. In addition to this, Fred W. Sargent is the same man whose statement appeared on the second page of the Cincinnati Enquirer this morning, telling the American Federation of Labor what he thought of your policy on the shorter workday and the shorter workweek. He objects to that. He says that is a bad thing and if we have such a policy as that established we are going to bring ruin upon the railways and upon this country. Well, I say and my organization says that there is nothing more destructive and there is nothing more revolutionary than the establishment of these extra legal committees that are seeking to run our government.

I think some of you have the idea that this is a peculiar Chicago situation. During the noon recess today I was asked if the teachers in Chicago were getting their pay. I am frequently asked that question, exactly as if it were only in Chicago they were not getting their pay. They are not getting their pay in North Carolina, in Pennsylvania, in hundreds of places. Chicago is used as a smoke screen. Get it out of your heads that this is a peculiar, special and unique situation in Chicago. We did have a special situation there, we had a rotten tax system which these people took advantage of to center their major attacks on the schools in Chicago, and I want to say right here that if it had not been for the union teachers standing to defend the standards of education in the city of Chicago, the schools there would have been practically wiped out. Brother Olander here can tell you the same thing. It is the union teachers that have defended the standards in Chicago, and the center of the fight is there, but it is all over the country. It is not because Chicago is so rotten that it has brought this upon itself. It is because Chicago is so well organized that it is

a good place to start to fight on the public schools. Now just remember that, please.

These conditions exist everywhere. We have about a thousand schools closed in Arkansas. We have schools closed in Texas, in Mississippi in Alabama. We have high schools that have not been opened this year. We have high schools where the course has been shortened to three years. In Bledsoe County, Tennessee, in the year 1931-1932, not a single door was opened. Now that is the situation we are confronting in this country. We are interested in wages. Teachers' salaries have been cut from 10 per cent to 50 per cent. Four hundred thousand teachers are out of employment. That means a lot to my organization. It means a lot in society, but we have gone beyond that point. It is not a question of reducing salaries, it is not a question of unemployed teachers, it is a question of saving our schools.

Up in Chicago they have started by getting rid of the junior high schools. If this Sargent Committee succeeds the junior high schools will go, the senior high schools will go, and I am telling you something: Two years from now I will be down here with this group and there will be no public education, no free tax-supported schools in the United States above the sixth grade.

What are we going to do about it? Nothing is going to be done about it unless you do it. This is organized labor's job. Childhood is worth saving. Our schools are worth saving.

I have asked for the privilege of making this statement because I wanted to see if I could make you understand how tremendously serious this situation is. You know about these committees and you know what they are going to do. You talk about restoring prosperity. There is no way in which you can restore prosperity more quickly than by keeping education. Education is the basis of prosperity. The more education people have the more money they spend. If people are not educated they are not going to buy the books that the printers print on paper that the paper makers make, and the many, many things that all of you people are interested in.

I want you to remember, then, that education is the basis of prosperity. The more education the more spending, and it is not the spending of the few, but the spending of the masses. So I beg of you to get busy and save the schools for the children as well as for yourselves.

Thank you, Mr. President.

Delegate Olander, Secretary of the Committee, continued the report as follows:

Urging Patronage of Union-mined Coal

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, of the Wyoming State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Many thousands of domestic consumers of bituminous coal buy and use this as fuel without regard to the conditions under which it is mined; and

WHEREAS, This fact has helped to encourage the production, transportation, sale and use of much coal produced under non-union conditions and to the loss in membership of the United Mine Workers; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorses the sale and use of union-mined coal, we recognize that its production, transportation and sale, causes a wide diffusion of the moneys spent in wages to coal miners and mine laborers, to railway employees and to teamsters and truck drivers in its delivery from car to bin; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we instruct the members of the Executive Council to urge the members of the affiliated National and International Unions to use every effort to see that the coal they consume is produced by union miners employed under agreement with the United Mine Workers.

The Committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 3.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Graham, Helena, Montana Central Labor Union: Mr. Chairman, as the sponsor of this resolution is not attending the convention, I would like to make a few remarks on behalf of the resolution. Now the local unions and the State Federations of Labor in the mountain states have carried on a campaign for the sale of union mined coal, and we have co-operated with the representatives of the United Mine Workers of America. The State Federations of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods have held several meetings. We have held our convention in Cheyenne, one at Ogden, one at Pocatello, Idaho, and one at Salt Lake City, and we have succeeded in making great headway in the fight against non-union mined coal. In certain cities in Wyoming, in the city of Ogden, Utah, and I am told also in Salt Lake City, there are cards reading, "This store is dealing in union-mined coal," and the union men patronize those stores.

The coal miners have had a big fight and great competition through natural gas being piped in all over the western states. The State Federations of Labor, the coal miners of the mountain states and the members of the Rail-

way Brotherhoods have succeeded in having the people go out and use nothing but union-mined coal for heating purposes. In the State of Montana we carried on a campaign for a few years on behalf of union-mined coal, and we have a condition now where practically nothing but union-mined coal is being sold in our state. We have even carried the fight into Utah, and we are making it so that the people of Utah are buying union-mined coal instead of scab-mined coal. I believe if the unions in the eastern part of the country would take the same action as we have in the mountain states, we would have more union miners working in this country.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Independent Labor Party

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate M. F. Tighe, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

WHEREAS, During the past few years laborers' fight for the right to organize has shifted from the factory to the courts; and

WHEREAS, Social legislation is becoming more and more necessary to the workers in the United States; and

WHEREAS, Neither the Republican nor the Democratic parties can be counted upon to further the aims or to advance the conditions of labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-seventh Annual Convention of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America, go on record as favoring the formation of an Independent Labor Party, and recommend to the next Convention of the American Federation of Labor that it abandon the traditional non-partisan political policy and sponsor a genuine Labor Party.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 5 be non-concurred in.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Your committee reports jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 7, 31, 46, and 54, all of which relate to the subject of banks and banking:

Government Ownership of Banking Institutions

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate M. F. Tighe, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

WHEREAS, The public has lost confidence in our privately owned banks; and

WHEREAS, At the time when the workers most needed their money all savings and loan associations stopped paying out money; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates assembled in the Fifty-seventh Annual Convention

of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of North America ask the American Federation of Labor to go on record as favoring and endorsing the government-ownership of all banking institutions.

Banking

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Speculative bankers in their desire for large profits and quick returns have diverted money from productive industry into the field of speculation; and

WHEREAS, This anti-social and unsound economic policy has not only curtailed productive industrial activity, but at the same time has given an added impetus to speculation as well as to a policy of unprecedented inflation which helped to precipitate the present industrial panic or depression; and

WHEREAS, These speculative financiers, in their mad desire to accumulate more wealth, induced a trusting public to invest in billions of dollars of worthless foreign securities; and

WHEREAS, These same bankers are mercilessly capitalizing the present financial needs of cities by refusing to lend them money until they receive exorbitant and wholly unjustifiable interest rates, or unless cities radically curtail their necessary constructive functions and reduce salaries of public employees, whether earning a living wage or not; and

WHEREAS, The control of credit, the life-blood of industry, by private corporations interested primarily in profits rather than social welfare, is menacing to the existence of government and orderly progress; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor that we urge upon Congress and the President the enactment of legislation which shall enlarge the powers and duties of the postal savings banks so that they may engage in all forms of banking on a parity with private banks; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor inaugurate a nation-wide campaign with a view of exposing these efforts of the bankers to undermine American education and constructive local governmental activity as only through government control of banking and credit can the manipulation of our financial structure for private ends be terminated

Proposing Legislation Regulating Banking

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The development of the banking business has brought bankers into many fields of industrial and commercial activity in addition to receiving of deposits and the making of loans; and

WHEREAS, Through the development of modern business methods, credit in enormous amounts has been secured from bankers by corporations; and

WHEREAS, In connection with the advancing of such credits the bankers have more and

more asserted their control over credit to demand representation on boards of directors of borrowing corporations; and

WHEREAS, The rapid development of this practice has given the banker, the source of credit, far-reaching control over business policies and methods of conducting business; and

WHEREAS, This has also resulted, to a widespread extent, in bankers' domination over terms of employment and conditions of labor; and

WHEREAS, It has become notorious that the bankers of our country have largely proven themselves incompetent to enjoy the trust which had previously been placed in them; and

WHEREAS, It is becoming manifestly evident that regulatory legislation must be enacted; be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and are hereby, instructed to give their careful consideration in connection with the introduction of any Federal and State legislation affecting and regulating banking; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be requested to have prepared a legislative measure regulating banking so that the interest of depositors and those seeking credit will be protected and provisions incorporated which will eliminate the present condition under which our bankers dominate and dictate business and industrial policy.

Legislation for Regulation of Saving Banks and Building and Loan Association

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate Thomas J. Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The wage earners of the United States have suffered grievously during the past three years because of the failures of thousands of banks and many building and loan companies; and

WHEREAS, The failure of such financial institutions have wiped out, in many instances, the life savings of thousands of those who, through a system of regular savings, were endeavoring to provide reserves for themselves and their families; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council of this Federation to give its immediate attention to the subject of so improving the banking laws of the United States as to give depositors in banks under the control of the United States Government a greater security from losses; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to have formulated model safety provisions for savings bank and building and loan companies to be enacted into law by the Legislatures of the various states, to the end that the savings banks and building and loan companies coming under state regulation may be made safe depositories for the savings of the citizens in the states in which they operate.

Your committee is well aware that the experience of the past few years is sufficient to justify strongest condemnation of banking prac-

tices and lack of proper regulation of banks and financial institutions. The losses to the wage earners of the country through bank failures and bankruptcy of savings, trust and loan associations have increased the suffering of thousands of people and added to the intensity of the panic. We are firm in the belief that laws regulating banks and banking should be adopted to prevent recurrence of these sad experiences.

Your committee believes it to be the prime purpose of banks to provide a place for safe keeping of deposits. Every protection to prevent depositors from loss should be provided and the bank system and practices should be remodeled to provide such protection.

While extension of credit for legitimate non-speculative purposes is a proper function of banks the practice of establishing control over industry and business not necessary to protect loans is condemned. We also denounce the policy of banks and bankers in forcing wage reductions under the threat of refusing credit which business and industrial establishments require to continue operation.

It is also suggested that strictest regulations and supervision over popular sale of foreign securities in the United States should be established and maintained. All classes of our people have suffered enormous losses as a result of the sale of worthless foreign securities and this experience should not be permitted to recur.

Your committee recommends that Resolutions Nos. 7, 31, 46 and 54 be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to give careful attention to the question of banks and banking laws and take such action as may be necessary to correct the evils and abuses of our financial system.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Fire Prevention.

Resolution No. 9—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and John Redmond, of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The safeguarding from fire of homes, schools, farms, transportation systems, public buildings of all kinds, boats, forests—in fact, all places where life or property may be endangered by fire—is of prime importance in the preservation of lives and the protection of property; and

WHEREAS, The safeguarding of industrial plants and factories from fire is essential to their uninterrupted operation and employment of labor; and

WHEREAS, The efficacy of continuous community campaigns to educate the public in fire prevention and reduce the fire losses has

been amply demonstrated in many American and Canadian cities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby endorses the period of the educational campaigns of Fire Prevention Week promoted in the United States and Canada by the National Fire Protection Association and its members, and recommends that said Fire Prevention Week should be utilized to inaugurate in all cities of these countries a continuous and effective fire prevention movement aimed at the complete elimination of conflagration dangers and the promotion of fire-safe condition in homes, schools, farms, transportation systems, public buildings of all kind, boats, forests—in fact, all places where life or property may be endangered by fire.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 9.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Opposing Wage Reductions.

Resolution No. 11—By Delegates Fred W. Baer and John Redmond, of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The following resolution was adopted by the International Association of Fire Fighters, in Convention assembled in San Diego, California, August 1-5, 1932:

"WHEREAS, The present economic depression has been directly caused by the deliberate reduction of salaries and curtailment of employment; and

"WHEREAS, The international bankers, working through subsidiary organizations such as national and local chambers of commerce, so-called national and local organizations for the reduction of public expenditures, etc., are deliberately creating the fallacious impression that conditions can be remedied by the further reduction of wages and the further curtailment of employment, or lengthening of hours of labor; and

"WHEREAS, This impression is false in its premises and has been so proved by the economic history of the United States and Canada; and

"WHEREAS, The salaries paid to the employees of National, State, County and municipal governments are used as a comparison for compensation in other fields of labor; and

"WHEREAS, The aforementioned organizations have now launched a nation-wide campaign for the reduction of salaries in such public employment and the further increase of their hours of labor; and

"WHEREAS, The evident purpose of this campaign is to set up a new standard whereby they may further reduce the salaries and further lower the already poor living conditions and standards of living of the workers; and

"WHEREAS, The continuation of this program will only result in a continual decrease of the purchasing power of the people and workers and a continual increase of the so-called depression; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That the officers of the International Association of Fire Fighters be and hereby are directed to take every legal

and constitutional means to combat the dangerous program of the aforementioned organizations; and, be it further

"RESOLVED, That the officers of the International Association of Fire Fighters be and hereby are directed to seek the co-operation of all National, State and local labor organizations, civic groups and community organizations to combat the dangerous activities herein outlined, through the radio, the press and every legal and constitutional means"; therefore, be it hereby

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled at Cincinnati, Ohio, hereby pledges its support to the International Association of Fire Fighters in its efforts to prevent the lowering of salaries or lengthening of hours of labor of firemen in the United States and Canada.

The committee recommends that the last or concluding paragraph of Resolution No. 11 be adopted by the convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Carroll, Covington, Ky.: I rise on a question of personal privilege. A few minutes ago I listened with keen interest to the remarks of Secretary Hanson concerning the efforts that are being made to close some of the Junior High Schools in the City of Chicago. I feel, Mr. President and friends, that the closing of any of the Junior High Schools or the closing of any public schools in Chicago, or in any other city, will have a most disastrous effect upon the future generation. It seems to me, Mr. President, that it is something we are vitally interested in.

Secretary Olander: I rise to a point of order. The delegate arose on a question of personal privilege. If anything has occurred upon which he has been attacked he is privileged to rise on a question of personal privilege, even in the midst of a committee report, but so far he has said nothing which would indicate that he has been attacked.

Delegate Carroll: I was leading up to a motion I wished to make.

President Green: That would not be in order. The point is well taken.

Chairman Woll continued the report of the committee, as follows:

Proposing that All Wage Agreements Expire on Same Date

Resolution No. 22—Delegate Thomas F. Martin, of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The Trade-Union members of various local unions of the international organizations that are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor must present a vigor-

ous and more united effort to combat the unpatriotic and unjust repudiation of wage agreements entered into by the various trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor during the economic depression by self-scheming and designing international bankers, so-called American financiers and corrupt politicians who uphold property value to the utter degradation and suffering of liberty-loving union men and women employed in the various industries where our members are employed; and

WHEREAS, The members of the trade-union movement are fighting with their backs to the wall and must of sheer necessity adopt a policy which will bring all the working agreements of every international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to expire on a specific date in order that we can effectively combat the type of so-called patriotic citizens who have conspired to reduce the scale of living in our country to that of European peasants; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates in this convention assembled recommend to the various international trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, as well as all the various international unions not affiliated, to extend their best efforts to have their various wage conference agreements entered into with their employers expire on a given date, which they believe would be most advantageous to the entire trade-union movement.

The committee recommends non-concurrence in Resolution No. 22.

Delegate Martin, Flint Glass Workers: As the introducer of this resolution I wish to state that in my hearing before the Committee on Resolutions I stated that the organization I represent would agree to let the convention set the date it would be agreeable to have those wage agreements start and expire. I make this explanation because I want you to know that it was not introduced from a selfish motive and to apply to the expiration of our scale.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Tax on Automatic Machinery

Resolution No. 23—By Delegate Thomas F. Martin, American Flint Glass Workers' Union.

We have the greatest country under the sun. It is crowned with gold and silver, under-shod with coal, oil and natural gas. The warehouses and granaries are filled full of the good things of life that labor has created or brought forth with their stooped bodies and horny hands. Notwithstanding this fact, there are millions of idle men, multiplied millions of ragged wives and hungry children, which is a blot upon civilization that can never be obliterated.

The hungry mobs are storming the city hall of our country, crying for bread, and we conscientiously believe that we are in a permanent industrial depression and from year to year the army of unemployed will grow larger and larger due to the fact that automatic machinery is being extended into all lines of industrial activity

and industries are doubling their output about every five years.

The production of automatic machinery is on the increase while the consuming power of the workers is on the decrease. Unless there is some action taken in the immediate future, we see no hope for those that toil and we believe in order to make the Declaration of Independence a reality, which means the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, the working class must be protected against automatic machinery in exactly the same way that the tariff protects them from the pauper labor of Europe; so, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and delegates assembled in the fifty-seventh annual convention of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union urge upon the American Federation of Labor with its national legislative committee to carry into our legislative halls a bill to place a direct tax upon all automatic machinery and the revenue therefrom be taken to pay benefits to the unemployed.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for inquiry and study and such action in relation thereto as may, in the judgment of the Council, seem wise and proper.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Martin, Flint Glass Workers: I would like to request this convention to allow the former President of our organization, Mr. William P. Clarke, to speak for me on this resolution.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I move that the request of Delegate Martin be granted.

President Green: If there is no objection, the request will be granted. Hearing no objection, the request is granted.

Mr. William P. Clarke: Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen—A few moments ago I was approached by the author of this resolution and asked if I would try to express to this convention the reasons why this expression came from the delegates comprising the fifty-seventh convention of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union, over which I had the honor to preside.

May I digress long enough to say that I appreciate more than words will permit me to express the little tribute paid to me yesterday when the Committee on Report of the Executive Council made their report to this convention. I have been attending these gatherings for more than a quarter of a century and this is the first time I have been on the side lines. I appreciate this opportunity to now say a few words to this convention.

The glass industry is divided into four sep-

arate and distinct branches. In this beautiful room in which you are seated there is not a single piece of glass, with possibly the exception of the water jug on the table, made by a skilled glass worker. All these electric bulbs, all these lighting fixtures, the drinking glasses and every other piece of glass within your vision was made by an automatic process.

Our industry has suffered tremendously, but we find the same condition existing in other industries, and the members of the American Glass Workers' Union believe there is merit in the proposition of placing a tax, not only upon automatic but upon semi-automatic machinery, that the government may derive a revenue therefrom, and that this revenue may assist the unemployed in some manner.

I remember that five years ago the former Secretary of Labor, in addressing our convention, said that the machine had lifted the workers from slavery. That may have been true, but the machine in this day has placed the working men and women in the bread line. And when we see so much distress, when we read so much about our inability to collect revenue to support the government, the men connected with the industry I have been identified with all my life believe we should do something to tax the machine and bring revenue to the government.

As previously stated, this revenue may be used in some manner to help the unemployed; it will help to balance the budget, and it will likewise tend to have the effect of hindering the introduction of further machinery until the men and women who have been deprived of an opportunity to earn a livelihood are cared for in some practical way.

Had I known I was going to address you, and had I been given a few minutes time for reflection, I could show how it affects the various industries, whether the Boot and Shoe Workers, the Bricklayers or any other trade. Machinery is playing havoc with them, and that is why we believe this question, which is the most outstanding question confronting the working men and working women of America, and not only America but the civilized world, must be met in some practical manner or we never will be able to put back to work or keep at work the people who are unemployed at the present time.

I think the committee has done the proper thing in referring this proposal to the Executive Council, and I sincerely trust that in their calm deliberations they will find it convenient

to bring this matter to the attention of our government, in order to relieve the terrible situation now confronting us.

In China at the present time they are placing a tax on machinery, and they are allowing the machines to be set to one side while the Coolie has an opportunity to work. It is working in a practical way in the building industry there. If it works in a practical way in the building industry there, why cannot we make it work in a practical way in our industries in the United States.

I thank you sincerely, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity of saying these few words.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Patronage of Pequot Products

Resolution No. 28—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, John P. O'Connell and Emil Rieve, of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Two thousand members of the United Textile Workers of America, in Salem, Mass., are seriously handicapped, and threatened with unemployment owing to the competition of non-union mills making a similar product, with longer hours and lower wages; and

WHEREAS, This local union and the International Union are making every effort to convince the membership of the American Federation of Labor of the importance of this question to the trade-union movement, and suggesting a means whereby our organization can be protected against the attack of those who would destroy our union and place this mill in the same class as the other cheap mills, which drive their workers with the speed-up plans in order to secure mass production with the inevitable glutting of the market; it is, therefore,

RESOLVED, That if the International Union and local unions so affiliated will record themselves with this appeal to their membership, we will out-sell all other scab competitors, and increase our purchasing power to other trade-unionists; and be it further

RESOLVED, That trade-unionists agree to the philosophy of co-operation, so that higher wages and shorter hours may be the means to increasing membership in the American Federation of Labor movement; and that a copy of this Resolution be mailed to all affiliated organizations.

Resolution No. 28 as originally introduced was apparently not prepared for introduction in the Convention of the American Federation of Labor. Your committee has sought to rectify this by appropriate amendments without, however, undertaking to in any way add anything to or detract from the original meaning of the resolution, the adoption of which, in the following amended form is recommended by the committee:

WHEREAS, Two thousand members of the United Textile Workers of America, in Salem, Mass., are seriously handicapped, and threatened with unemployment owing to the competition of non-union mills with longer hours and lower wages; and

WHEREAS, This local union and the International Union are making every effort to convince the membership of the American Federation of Labor of the importance of this question to the trade-union movement, and suggesting a means whereby the United Textile Workers of America can be protected against the attack of those who would destroy the union and place the union Pequot mill in the same class as the cheap mills, which drive their workers with the speed-up plans in order to secure mass production with the inevitable glutting of the market; it is, therefore,

RESOLVED, That trade-unionists agree to the philosophy of co-operation, so that higher wages and shorter hours may be the means to increasing membership in the American Federation of Labor movement.

Delegate O'Connell, Textile Workers: May I express to the Convention the appreciation and thanks of the Textile Workers for the promotion and advancement of the members of their local union at Salem, Mass. The Pequot Mill is the only mill in the United States that is one hundred per cent organized. This local union is fifteen years old and has had an agreement for six years. One paragraph of their agreement calls upon that local union to promote Pequot products. That is the reason for introducing this resolution.

This organization has lived in spite of the antagonism of its scab competitors. In the textile industry the introduction of the stretch-out system has thrown many people out of work, but when it came to this mill they introduced engineering service, worked out by union members with management members, so that the real capacity of work was brought out.

In the non-union mills when workers were replaced they cared not what the worker could do; they lived by the law of force, and many of the workers are used by the hire-and-fire system to make profit. In Salem they have a record of the capacity of work, and the nearest competitor has 35 per cent less wages. Now, with these hours and wages, it appears to me that there must be some advantage to the scab competitors throughout the country, North and South. The scab competitors have such an advantage in that direction that they lack in the advertising field what our concern has to do.

The product in this hotel and on these tables is that of one of the largest non-union competitors in the south. The hotel and Pullman trade, and even the government con-

tracts, is denied to the Pequot workers because of this competition, and there is only the individual consumer to use our product.

They have had the five-day week in that mill for four years. Their output is 29,000,000 yards. If, on the basis of 2,500,000 people in the American Federation of Labor, each was to purchase two sheets and two pillow cases a year, at an expense of from \$2.50 to \$3.00, five or six cents a week, it would amount to 25,000,000 yards, which would keep those workers busy the year 'round.

For the past six years, since this agreement has been written, the Pequot Mills have tried to reach the workers in this way so that they may work full time. The philosophy of the trade-union movement is co-operation. That co-operation has been had with state federations of labor, central bodies and local unions. I think if we could appeal to the international unions, and if they, in their correspondence with their locals, would bring up the question of purchasing Pequot sheets it would be very helpful indeed. If that is carried on forcefully, instead of working four days a week as they are now doing, they would be kept working all the time.

The trade-union movement can keep the mills going without the assistance of anybody else in the United States. They make good sheets and people who purchase them will get good value for their money. If the national and international unions will correspond with their local unions as I have indicated, the mills will prosper.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Your committee reports jointly on Resolutions Nos. 30 and 75, relating to the Mooney case, as follows:

Mooney Case

Resolution No. 30—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, John P. O'Connell and Emil Rieve, of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Tom Mooney is still held in prison, and all attempts by interested parties and groups in the labor movement to liberate him and restore him to the labor movement have been in vain; be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor affirm its belief in the innocence of Tom Mooney and demand his immediate liberation by Governor Rolph, of California; and be it further

RESOLVED, That our delegates to the Convention stand instructed to use everything in their power to bring favorable action on a resolution which would bind the entire American Federation of Labor to work for the liberation of Tom Mooney.

Mooney Case

Resolution No. 5—By Delegate James A. Taylor, of the Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is common knowledge that Thomas Mooney and Warren K. Billings, now imprisoned in the State of California, are the victims of a gross miscarriage of justice; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, that the executive officers stand instructed to request an unconditional pardon for Thomas Mooney and Warren K. Billings, and that in the event that a pardon is denied that a new trial be demanded.

Your committee recommends as a substitute for Resolutions Nos. 30 and 75, that Resolution No. 60 of the Vancouver convention as adopted by that convention a year ago be reaffirmed. That resolution follows:

Mooney Case

Resolution No. 60—Vancouver Convention, 1931.

WHEREAS, It has come to the attention of the labor movement that a committee in San Francisco, known as the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, is circularizing the labor movement of America, for funds, to be used by that committee in its campaign to secure a pardon for Thomas J. Mooney; and

WHEREAS, The Mooney and Billings cases are primarily a California problem; and

WHEREAS, This committee, the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, owes no responsibility to the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, It has been practically impossible to secure an accounting of the funds already collected from the members of organized labor in these cases; and

WHEREAS, The San Francisco Labor Council and the California State Federation of Labor, have adopted the following resolution, thereby assuming the responsibility of passing upon all collections of money on behalf of these cases:

"WHEREAS, The Mooney and Billings cases and convictions for murder growing out of the Preparedness Parade, at San Francisco, California, July 22, 1916, after fifteen years of controversy, sensational developments and endeavors to secure pardons and vindication for these defendants, are still pending before the Governor and the people of California, with no immediate prospects of a satisfactory solution of the legal problems involved; and

"WHEREAS, Popular prejudice against Mooney and Billings has been aggravated by what we deem legalistic and unsound opinions of the majority of the judges of the California Supreme Court, and in no less degree by the impassioned and ill-advised propaganda issued in the name of Tom Mooney, his various defense committees and others claiming to be his partisans; and

"WHEREAS, It is clear that the question of vindication of Mooney and Billings is essen-

tially a California problem, and that the organized labor movement of California owes a duty to take a part in the solution of that problem; it is also clear that organized labor, as represented by responsible labor bodies and officials, at no time has sanctioned or approved appeals made in behalf of these men advocating general strikes, boycotts of California products, or denunciations of governments, institutions and individuals; and

"WHEREAS, In view of most recent developments, at the hearings in the Billings' case before the members of the State Supreme Court, and from the report of the Wickersham Commission, it is made obvious and plain that complete and full vindication and pardons for these two men are not likely to be had under our law and pardoning procedure as now constituted and circumscribed, and that therefore it will be necessary to start and conduct a general movement to make the necessary changes in the laws of California affecting these and similar cases; and

"WHEREAS, Notwithstanding all the confusion, mistakes and wrongs endured in connection with these cases, there appears, nevertheless, a grave duty on the part of all Californians, irrespective of political, economic or social conditions or creed, to do all within their power to render full justice to these men; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, First, That we reiterate our belief in the innocence of Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings of the crime for which they have been convicted and suffered imprisonment.

"Second, That we shall continue by all honorable and lawful means to secure their vindication and restoration to liberty, and hereby renew our application to the Governor of California for an immediate and unconditional pardon of Thomas J. Mooney.

"Third, That we shall support and endeavor to have enacted such changes in the criminal law and procedure of this state, including the administration of pardons, as will remedy the defects and omissions brought to light through the circumstances and revelations of these cases.

"Fourth, That we deem the Executive Council of the California State Federation of Labor to be the properly qualified representatives of the organized labor movement of California to carry out the intent and purposes of this resolution.

"Fifth, That to prevent indiscriminate appeals and collection of funds from labor unions of California for the carrying out of the intent and purposes of this resolution, which are contained in the preceding four resolves, we recommend that every such financial appeal first receive the sanction of the Executive Council of the California State Federation of Labor"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in its Fifty-first Annual Convention, that the president and secretary be instructed to communicate with all national and international unions, state federations of labor, and central labor bodies, advising them that no appeal for funds on behalf of the Mooney-Billings cases receive any consideration unless such appeal bears the approval of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Payment of Chicago (Ill.) City and School Employees

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The public employees of the City of Chicago, including the teachers in the public schools have not received a large part of the salaries due them for services performed during the past 18 months, although considerable reductions in their wage scales have been made; and

WHEREAS, Such salary payments have not been made because of delayed tax collections caused by tax strikes of the larger taxpayers and because of the refusal of the Chicago banks to loan money to the city by the purchase of tax warrants, although the security for such loans is adequate and the interest rate high; and

WHEREAS, The banks of Chicago announce that they have large sums of money they are unable to loan at good rates of interest with sufficient security and that they are discouraging further deposits by lowering the interest rate on savings accounts and by refusing deposits of the postal savings banks; and

WHEREAS, The refusal of these banks to furnish loans to the city for salary payments must be construed as a desire to curtail still further the diminished salaries of the public employees and as a deliberate attack upon public education; and

WHEREAS, The tacit conspiracy in which bankers, politicians and tax dodgers shift responsibility and do nothing to remedy the situation is causing great suffering to the public employees of Chicago and the people with whom they have economic relations and is a standing menace to the education of the children throughout the land; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor calls upon the government and the banks of Chicago to act immediately to end the intolerable situation that exists in Chicago by furnishing money to pay the city and school employees for the services they have rendered.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 33.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: We have reached the hour of adjournment. Before we adjourn the Chair desires to make this announcement: The management of this hotel has advised us that, quite a long time ago, they made arrangements with automobile companies for the use of this room tomorrow. They have asked us to meet in another room tomorrow, and if we are here Friday this room will then be available. It seemed the proper thing for us to do, and therefore tomorrow's sessions will be held in the Night Club Room on the fourth floor. The tables will be moved to that room during the night and all the literature will be moved with the tables.

At 5:30 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock a. m., Thursday, December 1st.

Ninth Day—Thursday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio,
December 1, 1932.

The Convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees: McCallum, Horn, Bowen, Horan, Nelson, Wills, McFetridge, Knight, George, Flaherty, McTigue, Tighe, Baicalupi, Royer, Hannah, Beesten, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Sutor, Collins (W. M.), Burris, Furuseth, Cashen, Connors, Starr, Fay, Jewell, Scharrenberg, Taylor (T. N.), Lawson, Rafer, Reed, Turnblazer, Reilly, Cherry, Taylor (J. A.), Davis (F.), Fox (H. W.), Kutz, Lang, Watkins, Williams, Parks, Koenig, Starkweather, Brooks, Mitchell (H.), Becker, Kramer, Friedrich, Souza, Augustino, Gates, Myers, Rivin, Pierson, Hammer, Newbill, Draper, Uppleger, Switalski, Bower, Greenway, Curran, Carlson, Welsh, Garner, Doyle (F. E.), Woodmansee, Fox (G. J.), Allen, Kromelbein, Saylor, Wells, McGeary, Bohm, Barnes, McElligott, Richardson, Scannell, Meyer, Thoman, Zander.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

Order of Railway Conductors of America
Covington, Ky.,
November 28, 1932.

Mr. William Green,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Netherland Plaza Hotel,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dear Sir—Greetings. At our regular meeting today I was instructed to send a letter of greetings to you and to extend to you our approval of your efforts in behalf of the unemployment situation.

We wish you much success in your meeting and hope that it will be successful in every way and that things will soon begin to improve all over the country.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) R. J. BROWN,
Secretary, No. 486.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Graham, of the Helena (Montana) Central Labor Union, on a matter of information.

Delegate Graham, Helena (Montana) Central Labor Union: Mr. Chairman and delegates of the Convention—a big open shop fight has been started in Butte, Montana. The employers are determined to reduce the wages 20 per cent, and if the union men do not take it they are locking every person out. The Retail Clerks' Union in Butte, the strongest one in the United States, with a membership of between eight and nine hundred, voted

Monday night against a reduction in wages amounting to 20 per cent, and on Tuesday of this week they all went on strike, and the stores of Butte, including the drug stores, have closed down. The laborers working on the power plant, the water works and the street car system came out yesterday. The building trades have been asked to accept a cut. The bricklayers have been cut \$3.00 a day, the plasterers \$3.00, and the carpenters, painters and the rest of the building trades are asked to accept a cut of \$2.00, and the common laborers a cut of \$1.25. All of the labor unions of Butte have voted against this cut in wages. Every one is coming out. We expect at the end of this week there will be between four and five hundred truck drivers out. The teamsters and truck drivers voted not to accept a cut and negotiations between them and their employers have broken off.

There are between twelve and fourteen unions involved in the trouble, and we hope all organized labor in the country and the international unions will give the men of Butte not only their moral support but their financial support. This is the first place in the country where the thing has come to a showdown as to this reduction in wages and the men have said nothing doing, and I hope they will have the support of the rest of organized labor of the country.

President Green: The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Vice-President Woll, Chairman of the Committee, continued the report as follows:

Unemployment

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, of the American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The question of unemployment presents the outstanding problem and challenge to America's collective intelligence and statesmanship; and

WHEREAS, Under modern technology every worker should have his ordinary needs fully satisfied since we are living in a surplus economy era; and

WHEREAS, Unemployment due to our economic system and those who control it for gain, forces the innocent worker and his de-

pendents to bear an unduly heavy if not impossible economic burden; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That, pending the evolution of a saner economic system dominated by the idea of co-operative service instead of individual gain, American Federation of Labor urges upon Congress the adoption of the following program to be made effective at once:

1. The establishment of the six-hour day and five-day week without reduction of earnings, to be justified by the existence of a national emergency greater than war or flood.

2. The establishment of a unified system of government employment agencies working in close co-operation with similar state agencies to avoid duplication.

3. The enactment of legislation for unemployment insurance maintained by the Federal Government or the states with or without Federal aid, including the creation of a reserve to pay the unemployed in crises involving expenditures in excess of the unemployed reserves.

4. The establishment of economic councils on which labor shall be at least equally represented with industry, to plan for the stabilization of industry—public or private.

5. The long-range planning of necessary public works under Federal and state appropriations.

6. The issuance of loans to states to help them finance public works and unemployment relief at least to the extent given to industry.

The six propositions presented in Resolution No. 40 have been acted upon by the Convention through recommendations contained in the report of the Executive Council. The Committee therefore reports that action on Resolution No. 40 is unnecessary.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Finance Reconstruction Corporation Loans to Employers to Provide Employment For Workers

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate John J. Kane, of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The countless industrial plants, the workshops and mines throughout the nation are closed down because the proprietors of these enterprises believe that it would be impossible to operate at a profit; and

WHEREAS, Much industrial and economic stagnation has been caused through lack of adequate credit facilities for many corporations who could resume operations if funds were available; and

WHEREAS, There is absolutely no possibility for a business revival until men and women are back at work and earning some wages; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention instructs its officers to attempt by all possible means to urge upon the United States Congress a proposal that the National Government shall launch a campaign, such as was done to halt

hoarding, to induce employers of labor to resume operations on the basis of non-profit; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Finance Reconstruction Corporation be so reorganized as to advance credits to employers of labor who are prepared to give jobs without earning profits.

The Committee recommends non-concurrence in Resolution No. 42.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Treaty on Safety of Life At Sea

Resolution No. 43—By Delegation of the International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, Article 54 of the Treaty on Safety of Life at Sea, reads as follows:

"Every ship holding a certificate issued under Article 49 or Article 50 is subject, in the ports of the other contracting governments, to control by officers duly authorized by such governments insofar as the control is directed towards verifying that there is on board a valid certificate and, if necessary, that the condition of the vessel's seaworthiness corresponds substantially with the particulars of that certificate; that is to say, so that the ship can proceed to sea without danger to the passengers and the crew. In the event of this control giving rise to intervention of any kind, the officer carrying out the control shall forthwith inform the consul of the country in which the ship is registered of all the circumstances in which the intervention is deemed necessary;" and

WHEREAS, From the foregoing it is plain that in ratifying the treaty we agree to surrender any right to go beyond visualizing the certificate; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, in the interests of safety earnestly protest against this Treaty of Safety of Life at Sea being ratified.

The Committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 43.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Independence of the Philippines

Resolution No. 45—By Delegation of the International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, The bill providing for the independence of the Philippines passed the House during the last session; and

WHEREAS, This bill contains a provision for the immediate exclusion of all Filipinos from the United States; and

WHEREAS, There seems to be a question as to the time necessary to bring about independence; and

WHEREAS, This bill is by unanimous consent and agreement to be taken up in the Senate at once; and

WHEREAS, There is some question as to the number of years which is to be given for the arranging of independence; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled that we urge upon the Senate to make the waiting time for independence as short as possible; and further, be it

RESOLVED, That we most respectfully urge the immediate passage of the bill.

The Committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 45.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Federal License Law For Business Firms and Corporations

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L., through its delegates introduced a resolution at the Vancouver Convention, 1931, calling attention to the necessity of a Federal License Law; and

WHEREAS, The Convention referred this resolution to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, It is advisable to summarize the conditions which make a Federal License Law necessary, and to outline some of the provisions which such a law should contain:

The great bulk of our manufacturing and our commerce is carried on by corporations, many of whom, several years ago, graduated from million to billion-dollar institutions. These corporations secured their charters from those states whose laws were most liberal in the issuing of corporation charters.

There are several states notorious for the liberality of their incorporation laws, these states having greatly liberalized their statutes so that corporations would be induced to secure charters from them. As a result, there are a number of corporations whose main business and whose industrial plants are situated at a distance from the state from which they secured their charter.

Charters of incorporation convey certain specific privileges and exemptions, which make it easier and more safe for men to carry on their business that through partnerships or by individual activity and responsibility.

The individual business man is liable for all of his property for any debt he may owe. The owners of a corporation are only responsible for the debts the corporation may owe to the extent of their individual investment. The individual owner of a business is forced to lose all of his property to satisfy his debts, while the corporation stockholder is only responsible for the amount of his actual investment in the corporation.

The corporation is a collective form of doing business as contrasted to the individual's business activities and the charter of incorporation is a state grant establishing the right to organize for the purpose of carrying on business. It is also a guarantee that this right to organize carries with it privileges, an exemption from certain liabilities, which the individual business man or a partnership can not enjoy.

Our experience as wage earners has been that it is these corporations with their charter right to organize, and their exemption from a number of liabilities which rests upon the individual, which have been the most active and aggressive factors in the program to prevent any organization among wage earners. The corporations, enjoying their specific rights to organize and their exemptions from certain liabilities granted them by their charter, have used their privileged position to place added liabilities upon wage earners when they organize into trade unions.

Corporations and others holding a Federal license without which they could not carry on an interstate business, would be called upon to submit at frequent intervals, not less than twice a year, a statement of the number of their employees, the number of man-hours worked, the total amount of their payroll for wage earners and executives, and the total amount of their sales. This information would enable the Federal Government to possess data which would, in addition to giving statistics on unemployment, give the data which would indicate the changes taking place in the volume of business and the volume of wages. This would give the Federal Government the data now being collected by the Census of Manufacturers, but instead of waiting for two years for the Census of Manufacturers to be taken, and many months afterwards before the results could be known, it would make it possible to have up-to-date information which would be as valuable a guide to the manufacturer and the business man as it would be to labor.

A provision should be incorporated providing for uniform accounting. It was not until the Interstate Commerce Commission was able to compel the railroads to adopt a uniform system of bookkeeping that it was possible for the Commission to have any definite or any comparable knowledge of the railroads' actual business transactions and experience. It would by no means be an insuperable task to devise uniform systems of accounting for the various industrial and business organizations so that the textile, the iron and steel, the machine-tool, the building and other industries, could have a uniform system of bookkeeping which was best adapted for their industry or business activity.

The Federal License Law should provide for reports from the licensees whenever the capital stocks was to be increased or bonds issued.

Another general section of such a law should include what has been established by the Federal Courts or by Congress as fair and unfair trade practices. This provision would cover all the present activities of the Federal Trade Commission and should go further.

Another general section of such a law should contain the public policy of the United States as enacted by Congress, or established by decisions of the United States Supreme Court, as they affect labor and business. It should include the substance and provisions of Section 2 of the present injunction law, which establishes the right of labor to organize into trade unions and choose its representatives free from any interference, intimidation, or coercion on the part of the employer.

We have been informed by some individuals that such a Federal License Law is revolutionary, that it is so radical it would not receive popular support. We have also been told that there was a question as to the constitutionality of some of the provisions as are being outlined.

The question of constitutionality was raised against the Ohio "Yellow Dog" Contract Law. We were informed when that measure was first given publicity, that the purpose of the law was praiseworthy but that it could not be enacted because of constitutional obstacles. The answer is that it is now the law of the United States.

As to a Federal License Law being a radical step, it will be quickly admitted that it is a most distinct departure, but as to its being radical we suggest that the radical change has already occurred. The far-reaching revolutionary methods of doing business through corporations instead of through partnerships or individual responsibility, has become the general practice.

The radical change is in the methods by which the great bulk of our business is now being transacted by corporations who could not exist except for the special privileges granted to them by states having the most liberal laws covering incorporation. The most radical change of all is the control which these corporations have established over labor's opportunities to have a voice in determining their terms of employment and conditions of labor.

The individual's opportunities of earning a living, the standard of living he can enjoy in many instances are as fully dominated by the industrial policies applied by corporations as they are by the law of the land.

Federal laws to control the monopolistic trend of corporations to regulate their activities through anti-trust laws, have been as ineffective as the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act. It has become a growing opinion that the anti-trust law should be repealed. There must be a more adequate law to take their place.

We are convinced that the most wise, the most practical and the most effective method of establishing necessary control and regulation, is through the enactment of a law which provides that all individuals, partnerships and corporations, doing an interstate business, must secure a Federal license, a license which would be revoked whenever the licensee violates the provisions of his license; be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby requested to have a thorough study made of the problems involved, and prepare a bill for introduction in the Congress of the United States.

Your Committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 47.

Chairman Wolf: I might also direct attention to the fact that the Committee has previously reported on this subject through the Executive Council.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Policy of Lorton (Va.) Reformatory Employing Prisoners on Skilled Labor

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Lorton Reformatory at Lorton, Virginia, is employing larger numbers of prisoners at skilled labor; and

WHEREAS, After a thorough investigation of conditions at the Reformatory, the Washington Metal Trades Council finds that this Reformatory is doing much work formerly done by trade-unionists in the District of Columbia; and

WHEREAS, This Reformatory, while placing the inmates at skilled labor, is apparently preparing to greatly enlarge some of its shops in which skilled labor is done; and

WHEREAS, It is unjust that this labor should prevent honest workmen from securing employment in the industries of Washington, D. C., and vicinity; be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention approve of the efforts of the Metal Trades Council of Washington, D. C., to prevent any extension in the use of convicts on work requiring skilled labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor give all assistance possible to the efforts being made by the Washington Metal Trades Council to deal with the problem which has been created through the policy of the Lorton Reformatory, which provides for a large increase in the working of convicts on manufactured articles requiring skilled labor.

The Committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 48.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the Committee.

Delegate Mills, Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union: Mr. Chairman, I want to lend hearty endorsement to this resolution and I hope that when the delegates vote on it they will vote on it as an expression of opinion in opposition to prison work in every state in the United States. The printing trades in Washington are possibly more concerned with the conditions in the reformatory than are the metal trades. During the past two years they have started a large prison print shop affecting all printing trades with the possible exception of the electrotypers and the photo-engravers. We find, after investigation in other states, that considerable work is being done in prison shops of all kinds. On investigation of the penitentiary in Maryland, we find it is more of a manufacturing establishment than it is a prison. While the results of this training may not be to such an extent that we should feel alarmed at the number of men who go out

and follow the trades which they learn in the prison, yet it is always something that we should stop if possible.

We find in the Maryland penitentiary that about 2 per cent of those who learn the printing trade actually follow the trade after they get out. We also found on investigation last year, the printing trades particularly, that there is quite a lot of counterfeiting going on in what we call the bedroom printing shops. I call attention to one thing which happened some time during the last year which shows the extent to which this may go. The United States Government or the Post Office Department found counterfeit money orders in existence. After considerable investigation they found that these money orders had been produced by convicts employed in the printing shop at Oklahoma State penitentiary.

We have also found that labels for nationally advertised goods are being produced by men who have learned the printing trade in prison shops. They are producing the wrappers for these articles—one product in particular coming to my attention, Listerine—which are strictly counterfeit articles, both the labels and the product.

At the present time the printing trades are conducting a fight in four states against the expansion of the printing shops in the prisons of the United States. There is not a state in the United States, in my opinion, but that has some manufacturing in its penitentiary, and I believe the delegates today should express their opinion in opposition to such a practice.

We find, of course, in talking to the directors of these shops, that they feel that the program of rehabilitation should be conducted in the prisons. We feel, too, that because of social conditions something should be done to rehabilitate the prisoners, but we do not feel that they should teach them a trade which, when they get out of prison, might lead them into further crime. I hope when the delegates vote today in favor of this resolution that it will be an expression of every delegate that they are opposed to manufacturing of all types in prison print shops.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Chairman Woll: The Committee recommends that Resolution No. 49 be amended by striking out the words, "approved by the Convention of the Metal Trades Department just adjourned," from the first Resolve paragraph, and striking out the words "to the Metal Trades Department

in the determination of its representatives" from the second Resolve paragraph, and that the resolution as thus amended be adopted. The amended resolution reads:

Construction and Fabrication of Vessels and Material For National Defense Should Be Done in United States Navy Yards

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Los Angeles and Boston Conventions of the Metal Trades Department declared in favor of having ships and munitions necessary for national defense manufactured by the government instead of private industry; and

WHEREAS, The Boston Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorsed the position which had been taken by the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, There are professional pacifists, professional militarists and patriots for profit who endeavor to influence public opinion and Congress so that legislation affecting national defense will be enacted to suit their desires; and

WHEREAS, The Shannon Committee, appointed by the last session of Congress, has been holding nation-wide hearings upon the question of "Government in Business;" and

WHEREAS, Private shipbuilders and manufacturers of munitions have appeared before the Shannon Committee and demanded that the building of vessels for the United States Navy and the manufacture of munitions shall be taken out of the nation's navy yards and arsenals and turned over to private industry; and

WHEREAS, There can be no sane program for national defense until private profit has been eliminated from warfare and from the munitions and ships required for national defense; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention endorse the principle which holds that a sane, constructive policy of national defense is only possible when private profit for the construction and fabrication of necessary ships and munitions is eliminated; and further be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be, and is hereby, requested to give its active support to prevent any action by Congress as the result of the submission of the Shannon Committee's report, which would permit private industry to construct or fabricate vessels and materials for national defense which can be produced in the nation's navy yards and arsenals; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention endorse the principle that private profit must be eliminated from the production of material for national defense before the sinister activities of the war mongers and patriots for profit can be abated and eliminated.

Chairman Woll: You will note that the resolution as amended makes the adoption of the

resolution the expression of this Convention rather than the expression of the Convention of the Metal Trades Department.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the Committee's report.

Delegate Frey, Molders: Mr. Chairman, the time is not opportune to go into the merits of the question in its entirety. Without a doubt, as soon as Congress convenes or shortly afterwards, the Shannon Committee will bring in a report which will endeavor to eliminate the government from business, and in its meetings there will be an endeavor to take away from the navy yards and turn over to private ship yards, the construction of all vessels for the United States Navy. The Shannon Committee has made great headway with public opinion. Recently there appeared before the Shannon Committee representatives of the National Council of American Ship Builders, of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, of the National Association of Manufacturers, and of the Metal Trades Association and other representatives of national employing groups for the specific purpose of having all ships for the United States Government built in private ship yards. There will be a terrific effort to prevail upon Congress to put the Shannon Committee's report into effect. It will require the assistance of every international union, and my purpose in speaking now is to remind the delegates that very shortly, as soon as the Shannon Committee has made its report, the Metal Trades Department will request the American Federation of Labor to ask all of you to get in touch with your Congressmen and with your United States Senators so that the Shannon Committee's report will not be carried into effect and so that the policy of the American Federation of Labor on the matter of national defense will be established by the Congress of the United States. It is a tremendously important subject, and it is because of its importance that I have taken these few minutes of your time, so that when you receive a call for assistance, when you are asked to communicate with your Congressmen and your two United States Senators, you will have some appreciation of the necessity of bringing all the influence you can, to bear upon them and inform them fully, so that the efforts of the International Munitions Trust will not be carried into effect.

The Bethlehem Steel, Vickers-Maxim, Armstrong's of England, Schneider-Cruzot, of France, Krupp's, of Germany, and Skoda, of Austria, for many years have had an interna-

tional understanding. They make their profits through the building of armaments and the building of cannon, as has been brought out in the British Parliament. This great International Munitions Trust owns or subsidizes newspapers in every large country for the purpose of manufacturing war scares so that Parliaments will place orders for munitions. We want to keep our country free from that type of sinister war propaganda, more dangerous, perhaps by far, than some of these international questions which are leading nations now, in Europe, to get ready for another conflict.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Limiting Advertising on Radio

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate Paul Scharrenberg, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There has been a steady decrease of employment in the newspaper printing field which is not all due to the present depression, but is due to the ever-increasing amount of advertising business that is being drawn from newspapers and transferred to the radio; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government has created a radio commission whose duty it is to regulate and control the use of air channels thereby establishing the principle of control and regulating the use of the air as a means of communication and publicity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the 52nd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that this subject matter be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to make a careful study thereof, and if feasible and practical, attempt to secure national legislation that will have for its purpose the prohibition of long advertising lectures and speeches over the radios of the country, limiting advertising by radio to an announcement of the name of the sponsor of the program and the product or merchandise such sponsor may be selling.

The Committee recommends that Resolution No. 53 be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to investigate the subject matter and to take such action in relation thereto as in the judgment of the Council may seem wise, proper and necessary.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Protective Tariff for the Oil Industry

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate Grafton J. Fox, Tulsa (Okla.) Central Labor Union.

RESOLVED, That in the interest of hundreds of thousands of laborers in the United States dependent directly or indirectly upon the petroleum industry, we favor legislation having for its purpose the protection of the petroleum industry of the United States against

the flood of cheaply produced foreign oil coming into our markets.

The Committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 55.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Old-Age Pension Legislation

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate Philip Ickler of the Central Labor Union of Pensacola, Florida.

WHEREAS, The unemployment situation is becoming a greater problem every year; and

WHEREAS, The machine and electric inventions are throwing human labor more and more into idleness; and

WHEREAS, The old-age limit in industry has moved from the age of 70 years of earlier days to between 50 and 45 years of today; and

WHEREAS, The machine age and mass production in almost every industry are bringing down the age limit still more; and

WHEREAS, Our Central Labor Council and its affiliated Locals of Pensacola, Florida, endorsed the Old Age Fund, Insurance or Pensions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its 52nd Annual Convention, at Cincinnati, Ohio, be earnestly requested to use every possible means and the full power of our organization to have such insurance enacted into Federal and State Laws.

The Committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 57 as being in harmony with previous declarations of the American Federation of Labor in favor of the enactment of Old-Age Pension Legislation.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Teachers Salary Cuts

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate Florence Curtis Hanson, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, at its Convention in Vancouver, reaffirmed its position in regard to the economic unsoundness and injustice of wage or salary reductions in this present crisis; and

WHEREAS, Throughout the United States severe cuts in teachers' salaries have been made, and automatic increases have been withheld; and

WHEREAS, In many cities and towns virtual decreases in salaries have been brought about by the so-called "voluntary contributions" to unemployment relief funds, and to financially distressed local governments; and

WHEREAS, It is a well-known fact that as a general rule teachers' salaries have not kept pace with the wages of other workers or with the cost of living and that at their best teachers' salaries have been far from adequate; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor continue to oppose with all its power and influence any salary cuts, whether direct or as so-called "voluntary contributions," and in places where such cuts have been made, endeavor to bring about the restoration of the previous schedule.

The Committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 60.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I think there should be an addition to that resolution, to the effect that the American Federation of Labor not only opposes reductions in teachers' salaries, but also opposes any curtailment of educational facilities. I move you, Mr. Chairman, that the resolution be amended to that effect; likewise that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be requested to call upon all state federations of labor and city central bodies to use every effort to oppose any curtailment of educational facilities.

The motion was duly seconded.

Secretary Olander: In the face of the well-known conditions prevailing throughout the United States, it is possible that this Convention up to now has taken no notice of it, in view of the fact that we did have a Committee on Schools and Education here? If nothing of that sort has been done, then in place of a hurriedly drawn amendment on the floor, the subject matter ought to be referred to the Committee, and if no other Committee is prepared to handle it I think I can say that the Committee on Resolutions, notwithstanding the late hour, will undertake the job.

Delegate Martel: I have a resolution I hoped to have unanimous consent to introduce. I will place this before the Committee and they can report to the Convention.

Secretary Morrison: I move that this report of the Committee on Resolutions on Resolution No. 60 be referred back to the Committee to report on at a later date.

Secretary Olander: What is the matter with our report on No. 60? Isn't it all right?

President Green: The Chair is getting a little confused. Delegate Martel offered an amendment to the report of the Committee. Secretary Morrison moves that the resolution be referred back to the Committee for a further report. The motion to refer is before the Convention.

Chairman Woll: I ask the Convention to defeat the motion to defer. The Committee has a resolution from the Teachers' Federation. It reports favorably on the adoption of

that resolution. Now some other matter is called to our attention which should have been dealt with by the Committee on Schools and Education. We were in session all last week. We have no objection to taking up any new matter submitted to us, but I don't think the Committee ought to be placed in the position of having its report referred back without instructions, because all we can do is report the same as we have done this time.

Secretary Morrison: I made the motion. I did it at the suggestion of the Secretary of the Committee that they would be willing to take their time and to report back. If I am mistaken, of course I would be willing to withdraw the motion.

Secretary Olander: There is very little difference between Secretary Morrison and I, except that I think the report of the Committee ought to be adopted; then if you want the Resolutions Committee to consider the larger question of the continuity of our schools, the Committee can be instructed to report on that question, which is different from the matter contained in the resolution.

Delegate Martel: I would like unanimous consent to introduce the resolution I referred to.

President Green: It is the opinion of the Chair that that request should come after the Committee's report is finally disposed of. The action of the Convention will recur on the motion of Secretary Morrison to refer.

Secretary Morrison: I will withdraw the motion.

President Green: Is there any objection to withdrawing the motion? Hearing none, it is withdrawn. It appears to the Chair that the amendment offered by Delegate Martel would not be in order because it attempts to amend the resolution rather than the report. The question now recurs on the motion to adopt the report of the Committee.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Martel: I again offer that resolution and request unanimous consent to its introduction.

The resolution was read and Delegate Wharton objected to its introduction.

Delegate Wharton, Machinists: I object to the introduction of the resolution for the following reasons: I was Chairman of the Committee on Education and Schools. If the delegate will read the report of the Committee on Education he will find the subject fully

covered in that report submitted to this Convention and adopted. He may have been absent—I don't know.

Pensions of Spanish War Veterans

Resolution No. 63—By Delegate F. A. Ackerman, Chicago Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The people of the United States of America, since the inception of our Republic, have always been grateful to the members of its military forces which created and preserved it and fought its battles when called upon to protect it; and

WHEREAS, Such gratitude has always been manifested by rewards in the form of land or pensions; and

WHEREAS, In 1898, when war was declared against the Kingdom of Spain, our Republic requested volunteers to fight its battles and there responded over 400,000 men to the call of the President eager to go where they might be sent; and

WHEREAS, Many of those forces not killed or wounded, were sent into malaria and fever infected regions in which they contracted diseases impairing their physical abilities from which they never fully recovered, and which affect their earning capacities in their declining years; and

WHEREAS, The medical records were so carelessly kept and the medical departments were so inefficient that it is now impossible for a veteran of that war to secure official information pertaining to the character of his ailments; and

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States, in recognition of the service of the men in the war with Spain, has passed laws granting those men a small pension if incapacitated 10 per cent or more, whether service connected or not; and

WHEREAS, An organization known as the National Economy League, composed of men who are either on the Government payroll or have members of their families drawing retired pay, is seeking legislation which will take away the pension of the Spanish war veterans, unless their infirmities can be proved service connected; and

WHEREAS, These men are at an age where employment is generally denied them so that self-support becomes impossible, necessitating resort to charitable institutions, or soldiers' homes, either of which costs Society at large more per man than pensions; and

WHEREAS, Among the members of the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, there are thousands of men who served as volunteers in the war with Spain, and who, under the program of the National Economy League would lose the small benefits already granted them for their volunteer services by the people of the United States through Congress; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates of the American Federation of Labor, in regular convention assembled, condemn the program of the National Economy League, and we request the

Executive Council to combat the said program in the coming sessions of Congress in the matter above referred to.

The Committee recommends that Resolution No. 63 be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to take such action in relation thereto as may, in the judgment of the Council, seem proper and necessary to assure justice to the war veterans to which the resolution refers.

Delegate Ackerman, Chicago Federation of Labor: I am heartily in accord with the report of the Resolutions Committee on this particular resolution, but for the benefit of the Convention, the delegates assembled and the visitors, there is some explanation that is not covered in the resolution as to the personnel of the National Economy League. Those in the labor movement are very familiar with the caliber of men who compose that organization, but there are a great many newcomers and young people assembled here who do not have that information.

The National Economy League is composed purely of retired Army and Navy officers who, upon their retirement, receive annuities of from \$6,000 to \$21,000 a year. They have a steady job for the rest of their lives and a fixed income. As the resolution says, over 400,000 citizens responded to the call of the President during the Spanish-American War. Those 400,000 men were inducted into the ranks of the Army and Navy of this country. They were sent into the fever-stricken territories and districts in Cuba, down in our own Southern states, over in Puerto Rico and over in the various islands known as the Philippines. To-day those men who served their country well without a draft and without any urging, who enlisted of their own volition, are from 53 to 70 years of age. They are at an age where whatever little health they had left has been destroyed; they are afflicted with heart trouble and other similar ailments.

In the large military hospitals the medical staff have defined those ailments as being caused directly from malaria. It is known and classified by the medical profession, particularly so at the Hines Memorial Hospital, the largest in the United States, at Hinesville, immediately west of Chicago, where at the present time there are 142 members of the Spanish-American War veterans with the disease now classified as burgo disease.

Young fellows are educated after they leave high school and have influence enough to be

sent to one of the two greatest educational institutions of their kind in the United States, one at West Point and the other at Annapolis, where they are well fed, well clothed and given spending money at the expense of the United States. After they have served their time in the schools I referred to they receive commissions. All they need to get into the school is political influence, because the Congressmen and Senators from each state can nominate candidates to fill their quota in these two schools.

After these young men have received their commissions and served their time in the Army and Navy they are retired at a certain age, with a nice remuneration for the rest of their lives. As I said before, the delegates who have influence with their locals back home should notify the various local officers to take this matter up at their meetings and solicit the Congressmen and Senators of their districts to vote against this vicious proposition as proposed by the National Economy League to take away part, if not all, of the little remuneration these poor afflicted fellows are now receiving from the hands of the United States Government. This is an insidious attack on them. It is not the first attack that has been made. They don't worry about anybody else; they get their remuneration monthly as long as they live.

I want to give you a little illustration. Rear Admiral Sims recently, at Boston, attacked the Spanish-American War veterans' pensions. Admiral William S. Sims, United States Navy (retired at \$6,000 a year), attacked the Spanish-American War veterans' pensions as a steal of the nastiest kind and an outrage to the American taxpayer. Admiral Sims is on the Advisory Council of the National Economy League, whose object is to reduce or take away entirely the pensions paid to ex-service men.

Admiral Sims' statement is an absolute falsehood, a malicious misstatement of facts, because it does not cost the taxpayers one cent to pay these pensions to the Spanish-American War veterans. That was provided for by Congress. Let us take a little brief summary and see where the money is coming from that pays these pensions.

Not a farmer, not a home owner, not a mechanic, clerk or professional man pays one cent toward the pensions coming to the afflicted Spanish-American War veterans. This money is derived, the largest bulk of it, from the income tax and part of it from certain special licenses and certain divisions of the tariff. That is the way the money comes that goes into

the pockets of those fellows who are absolutely unable to take care of themselves. If it were not for that little remuneration of twenty-five, thirty or fifty dollars a month they receive, they would be objects of charity. It keeps them out of the alms houses and the bread line. And for a group of people who are educated and given a super-education at the hands of the people of the United States to take the position they do with regard to their fellowmen is an outrage.

The resolution speaks of the loss of records that were kept in a slipshod manner. We have quite a number of Spanish-American War veterans as delegates to this Convention. Among them is Delegate Nolan, of the Operating Engineers, who was in the Quartermaster's Department all during the Spanish-American War, and re-enlisted in the World War and served. I think he can give you in more detail of how the records were kept.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Legislation To Enforce Shorter Workweek For Women Workers

Resolution No. 73.—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, John P. O'Connell and Emil Rieve, of the United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled has labored in behalf of the shorter workweek and workday for years by legislation and economic strength; and

WHEREAS, In these depressed times we know that the mechanization of industry has substantially lowered wages, and created unemployment and diminished our purchasing power to consume the things we produce; and

WHEREAS, We believe that goods, wares and merchandise manufactured or produced in the United States and territories under long hours are detrimental to the well-being of the toilers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates in Convention assembled, instruct our Executive Council to have the Webb-Kenyon Bill technique explored and translated into appropriate proposals to bring about a shorter workweek for women and children.

The Committee recommends that Resolution No. 73 be referred to the Executive Council for inquiry and study of the proposal contained therein and such action in relation thereto as may, in the judgment of the Council, seem wise and proper.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Maximum Navy For the United States In Accordance With the Provisions of London Naval Treaty

Resolution No. 77.—By Delegates A. O. Wharton, Charles W. Fry, R. A. Henning, Daniel Haggerty and N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The Treaty for the Limitation and Reduction of Naval Armament, signed at London on April 22, 1930, imposes upon the people of the United States the obligation faithfully to perform their duty in the maintenance of conditions which tend to insure peace, progress and civilization of the world; and

WHEREAS, Due to the world depression even the strongest governments are in a condition of instability which may result in our Government being compelled to defend its shores; and

WHEREAS, An adequate Navy is our country's first line of defense and would furnish our representatives to the prospective forthcoming and future Peace Conferences a powerful argument proportionate to the strength of our position, in insuring world peace by limitation of armament or otherwise; and

WHEREAS, We regard it as axiomatic that any organization, be it a nation or a labor union, places itself in an unfavorable bargaining position if its defenses are weakened before an agreement looking to peace is reached; and

WHEREAS, The present serious unemployment situation could be materially relieved if our Federal Government would, at the earliest practicable moment, inaugurate a naval building program designed to bring up our naval strength to that permissible under the London Treaty of April 22, 1930; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Fifty-second Convention of the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, at Cincinnati, Ohio, that the United States Government in order to maintain our national security in a world which at present is by no means safe, build and maintain a Navy in conformity with the maximum naval strength permissible under the London Treaty of April 22, 1930; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the United States Government utilize its navy yards and arsenals to their full capacity in building and modernizing or repairing such naval vessels, ordnance aircraft and equipment as may be needed to carry this program into effect; and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be directed to assist in every way possible, the several National and International Unions interested in carrying into effect the provisions of this resolution.

Your Committee recommends as a substitute for Resolution No. 77 that the action of the Boston Convention (1930), in relation to similar resolutions, be reaffirmed, namely, that "The American Federation of Labor place itself on

record as favoring the development and upkeep of all navy yards and arsenals, and their use for the building of ships for any department of the Government, as well as for the Navy and Army, and, also, the manufacture, to whatever extent may be practicable, of material, equipment and supplies for all departments of the Government; the adequate remuneration of all civilian employees, and the adequate remuneration of all enlisted men and officers in the Army and Navy"; and, further, "That we favor the manufacture of war munitions and naval vessels in our arsenals and navy yards so that the elimination of private profit will place this department of national defense beyond the baleful influence of those who seek to create sentiment for the production of war munitions so that they may make greater profits."

Delegate Alifas: This is a very important matter from the viewpoint of a great many of the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and I am somewhat disappointed in the recommendation of the Committee. Only yesterday this Convention, upon recommendation of the Resolutions Committee, went on record in favor of reaffirming our position with regard to temperance, and at the same time recommended the manufacture of light wine and beer and the repeal of the 18th Amendment. That was not considered by the Committee as inconsistent with our ideas of temperance, and I agree with the Committee.

On yesterday afternoon also the Committee brought in a resolution concurring in the provisions of the Kellogg Treaty providing for world peace. I agreed to that resolution. While we can agree that world peace is desirable, it is not always best advocated by the laying down of arms by those who have at least a safe and non-aggressive form of government. From information I have received from naval experts, the Vinson Bill provides for the construction of 120 naval vessels, three air craft carriers, nine cruisers, and 85 destroyers of two different types. The building of those vessels is recommended over a ten-year period, involving an expenditure of \$616,000,000 in ten years, a yearly average of \$61,600,000.

In accordance with investigations we have made through economic experts, every dollar spent by the government in a year will amount to \$6.00 in purchasing power. At that rate \$616,000,000 will produce approximately \$3,000,000,000 worth of purchasing power. If we expend the money in that way it will help industry. What we need in this country now is work,

and it seems to us that pursuing a building program of this kind is the logical thing to do in a period of depression. This building program is really only a replacement program. If we believe in national defense to the extent of keeping up our present Navy, this building program will mean merely perpetuating it.

We have 254 destroyers, all of which will have to be replaced, they will become obsolete in three or four years from now, and in order to keep our navy up to its appropriate strength this building program, which is really a replacement program, ought to be continuous.

This matter affects practically every industry in the country. We are informed that the materials which go into the building of vessels for the navy come from practically every state in the union. It involves the production of steel, copper, tin, wood, and even cotton cloth, and the people who earn wages where these things are being produced, will purchase commodities which involve every conceivable line. As money and wages are turned over, it is readily discernible that work of this kind should involve wages and work for a vast multitude of people. I am safe in saying that in the course of ten years, if this building program is stopped, which up to the present has been going on, it will mean that an additional number of men will be deprived of work. You cannot put a large industry out of business without putting a lot of people out of work, and we have found, up to date, that when people are thrown out of work it is not so easy to place them in other avocations.

The money by which this building program will be paid comes out of Federal income. Federal money is derived in about equal proportion from income tax and the tariff. Income tax is derived from incomes above \$2,500 a year for married people and above \$1,500 a year for single people. Therefore the small property owners, the bulk of the people of the United States, are not taxed one penny for this purpose. The money derived from the tariff does not appreciably increase the tariff which is collected, and therefore a building program of this kind must be financed by the very people who have money.

It has been said if we relieve the taxpayer he will invest his money in industry. In 1929 our financial and industrial leaders had practically all of the money of the United States, and yet they did not invest it in industry, which makes me think if we allow them to keep the

money which otherwise they ought to pay to tax, they will begin hoarding it as they have been doing for the last two or three years.

Now, this is a very important matter, and it seems to me the Committee might at least have recommended that the Executive Council see the advisability of advising the government to maintain the present navy. There is an effort being made to curtail Federal expenditures. That means throwing people out of work. \$100,000,000 saved on the navy, as I understand those in favor of economy are proposing, is going to mean that much more money taken out of circulation, and we may be placed in the same position as were some of our dry farmers who would rather starve to death than to have their products used to make beer. We may find that our program of world peace will deprive us of jobs as we may rather starve to death than to provide a navy that will only be used when it becomes necessary.

I would like to discuss this more at length, but I felt I should make these few remarks to point out that the delegates here are vitally interested in this matter. Every trade connected with the Metal Trades Department has members directly affected. Those who are not directly affected will be affected through the use of supplies.

The railroads are experiencing a depression at the present time, their car loadings are reduced, and if these materials can be hauled by the railroads it will benefit the railroad workers and so on down the line. I would very much appreciate it if the Committee could see its way clear perhaps, to give this matter further attention.

I therefore move, if I may be permitted at this time, to refer the matter back to the Committee for further consideration.

The motion was seconded.

Chairman Woll: I think the delegate in question does not fully comprehend the import of the Committee's recommendation, for if he listened attentively he would realize that the Committee has not intended to give expression on the subject of maximum production of naval armaments under the London Treaty, and without placing ourselves in opposition to that point of view. The Committee viewed the situation in this light, that a treaty had been entered into between the nations as to the maximum naval requirements. If the resolution is adopted in the form in which it was presented it would place the American Federation of Labor, as well as

its officers, in a position where it would be in opposition to any attempt on the part of this, as well as other nations, to come to a further treaty, still further limiting the armaments of nations. I am quite sure that the delegates of the Metal Trades Department, as well as of this Convention, have no desire to place the American Federation of Labor or its officers in such a position. I think it is the viewpoint of all concerned that the nations of the world might agree to a still further reduction of armaments. It is upon this question of not binding this Convention to that treaty without change or modification by agreement between the nations that we did not want to adopt the resolution in its present form. The resolution leaves the matter open as to the strength that we should encourage upon our nation as to naval armaments and it leaves the Executive Council to deal with this question as it sees fit rather than to do as we have done.

I think in view of that fact the delegates should be amply satisfied that the Executive Council will be prepared to meet not only the wish of the Metal Trades, but whatever emergency may arise. It is a well-known fact that conferences are constantly going on between the representatives of the nations of the world for the purpose of reducing armaments of all nations and thus relieve the heavy burden upon the people of the world, as well as to encourage peace among the nations of the world. It is in that light and for that purpose the Committee has recommended giving the Executive Council full power and latitude on the question of naval strength, that we should impress upon our Government from time to time without tying them to the London Treaty for all time.

Delegate Horn, Blacksmiths: I am in favor of the resolution as presented by the Machinists. I am very much impressed with what Vice-President Woll said about the conferences we have entered into as to reducing armaments throughout the world. If I remember right, we have entered into two or three of these and the American Government is the only one that has carried out the agreement. We are constantly told through the press that practically everybody is built up to the limit except the United States.

We are all opposed to war, but we all know that being opposed to war would not stop war. We might as well get up here and say we did not want any more strikes as to say

we did not want any more war, but we know we would have them just the same. Fortunately, I represent the Metal Trades and you may think that I am one of the fellows interested. I am, but I have been an American citizen all my life and I am more interested in my government than in anything else. I am a firm believer that the best way to protect the Union and keep the peace of the world is for our own government to be able to defend itself when necessary.

Every time we get into a war we buy up all the old tubs there are on earth. You heard a discussion here about the Spanish War a short time ago, and all of us who were old enough to remember know what took place at that time. We are practically all familiar with what took place during the World War. Much of this so-called attempt to live up to the agreements of the other nations has something else back of it. The attack is always made on the navy yards and arsenals, it seems, and of course that means reduction of governmental expense by laying off men. In fact, 90 per cent of the people of this country, when you talk about expenses, think the proper way to do is to lay off some one in the employ of the government, and if that policy is carried out and the time comes when we get into serious trouble, we will have a repetition of the government being held up and robbed like it has been in every other war we are old enough to recall.

That is why I am in favor of the resolution presented by the Machinists.

Delegate Alifas, Machinists:—

President Green: It appears no one else desires the floor. Proceed, Delegate Alifas.

Delegate Alifas: I just did not want to have the motion put before I had an opportunity to say a few words. I was somewhat heartened by the further explanation of the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee. It is sometimes difficult for delegates to hear and comprehend the import of the report of a committee, and perhaps I did not catch that phase of it which did not appear to go directly contrary to building up our Navy. We know that in international negotiations, when they start to negotiate for the limitation of armaments they usually take the status quo at the time the conference is held. At the time of the Washington Conference in 1922, they adopted as the basis of armaments the standing of the respective navies. It resulted in a 5-5-3 ratio as between the United States, Great Britain and

Japan. When it came to the London Treaty one of these nations had been building faster than the rest of them, and the ratio was discussed as of 10-10-7. That brought Japan up just a fraction above what it was in 1922. If the United States Government continues to allow its Navy to deteriorate without replacement and we go into a conference with half the size of the Navy we now have, the argument will be that we should accept the standing as to naval strength that we had at the time the conference ended. I do not believe that merely because we should endorse now the building up of the American Navy to the provisions of the London Treaty we would be barred in any way from again agreeing to a naval program entered into at some other date.

The resolution, as I see it, does not bind us to the London Treaty any longer than until the time comes when another treaty has been adopted. I would be the last person in the world to want to precipitate a war for the sake of providing work. I would rather not have the work, but, as I see it, we are not advocating war, we are advocating measures against war, and this is one of the ways of doing it, and while we are maintaining that position we are also keeping our population working. If our population does not get work we may get something even worse than war, and I am more interested in that than I am in spending a little extra money in building up a Navy which, after all, we do not propose to use for purposes of aggression.

The motion offered by Delegate Alifas, to refer the subject matter back to the Executive Council, was defeated.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

U. S. Government Intervention For American Citizens in Foreign Countries

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth, of the International Seamen's Union.

WHEREAS, A large number of wealthy citizens are exporting their wealth to establish in the territories of other national manufacturing plants, and to acquire lands on which to raise and slaughter cattle, to raise fruit, vegetables and other agricultural products; and

WHEREAS, Some of the wealthy citizens are expatriating themselves as well as their wealth; and

WHEREAS, Such citizens continue to claim United States' protection for their wealth and themselves, while operating and living in other countries; and

WHEREAS, Such citizens thereby shirk real citizenship everywhere, and cause serious dis-

agreements and sometimes intervention by the United States in neighboring or other sister nations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, that while we freely grant to such citizens the right to expatriate themselves and their property, we would emphatically deny to them any right to appeal for and obtain any protection from the United States; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the United States exercise jurisdiction over all persons and property within our national and territorial boundaries and we disclaim any jurisdiction over persons, except diplomatic representatives, and property within the jurisdiction of sister nations; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we respectfully urge upon Congress to embody these fundamentally American ideas into law, to the end that we may be at real peace with our neighbors and all other sister nations.

Your Committee expresses itself as in full sympathy with the principle involved, viz:—that while we freely grant to our citizens the right to expatriate their property and persons and that in so doing we hold that they become subject to the customs and laws of the nation whose jurisdiction they have entered.

However, in the application of this principle to all persons and under all circumstances, as is implied in this resolution, your Committee urges great care and caution be exercised. While it is realized that individual citizens of our nation may so comport themselves in foreign lands as to raise the serious question of whether property or personal rights and privileges are violated by such foreign powers, nevertheless there also arises the question of treaties and arrangements between nations such as relate to the return of fugitives from justice and as involve other jurisdictional relationship. It is because of these uncertainties we recommend approval of the principle involved in this resolution and refer the subject of its application to persons for further study and consideration to the Executive Council.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Installment Buying

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate Andrew Furuseth, International Seamen's Union of America.

WHEREAS, There are in the United States two kinds of racketeers, both dangerous to the peace, security and welfare of our people; and

WHEREAS, One class of racketeers work within the law or in toleration of law by promoting installment selling, thereby depriving buyers of their independence, industrial and political, by excessive capitalization, mainly to

disguise income and escape taxation and by organizing holding companies, who acquire control of corporations by acquiring the majority of stock and then pyramid the same by issuing stocks based upon such ownership, which stock is sold to unsuspecting simple buyers who thereby lose their savings. The second kind of racketeers base their power upon criminal acts and on their free use of the guns and other weapons and levy on victims for so-called protection against dangers which the racketeer promotes; and

WHEREAS, Both these forms of racketeering are destructive of human security and welfare; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we most earnestly advise against installment buying, that we demand from the legislature the passing of laws to strictly regulate and restrict capitalization so that stock will represent the investment of cash and products of Labor, that holding companies be prohibited, and from the Executive we demand the enforcement of law regardless of persons or class.

What this resolution would have this Convention declare is opposition to all installment buying on the ground that all installment buying tends to excessive capitalization and to the formation of holding companies. While your Committee is in complete accord with the ultimate purpose of the resolution, viz: restriction against excessive capitalization and the development of holding corporations to evade responsibility under the law—whether of income taxes or otherwise, it does not believe this purpose can be or should be accomplished by a denial of installment purchases is not to be denied—but the remedy under the installment plan is the poor man's means of credit and as such should not be restricted but should be so regulated as to prevent any element of fraud and usury. That there may be excessive installment purchases is not to be desired—but the remedy proposed may lead to evils worse than the complaint manifested. This subject is one that may well receive further consideration by the Executive Council especially insofar as the regulation of this form of credit may be concerned, as well as the form of organizations designed to evade and avoid proper regulation and responsibility under the law, and we so recommend.

With regard to allegations contained in this resolution relating to activities destructive to human security and welfare, your Committee has no hesitancy in recording itself opposed to all forms of so-called racketeering within or without the labor movement. However we counsel great care and discrimination in the application of these terms. Alto-

gether too often do we find legitimate trade-union activities described as racketeering by the unthinking or ill-disposed to the struggle of wage-earners. That there is room here and there for improvement within the labor movement is not to be denied, but the greater danger is from without. More and more do we find those of criminal tendencies and unconcerned in the well-being of the wage earners endeavoring to gain control of our trade unions, and under its cloak, promote selfish if not criminal purposes. It is against this development we protest.

Then, too, we are not unmindful of the fact that such restricted laws as our Anti-Sherman and similar state laws encourage employers to lead trade unions into combinations and activities designed for the betterment of all within the industry, but without the field of legality. That such arrangements may and have led to a practice dangerous to both employer and worker is not to be denied, and it is equally admitted in other instances such arrangements have resulted in good to the industry as a whole and the wage earners the trade unions involved. If we are to deal with these problems then we should consider the source of their developments and not merely with consequences arising there out of. This your Committee has attempted to do in reporting upon the subject of Planning and the Anti-Trust Laws as presented in the Council Report, and it is in this light we recommend reference of this general subject to the Executive Council.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Pullman Porters' Injunction Fight

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters No. 16808.

WHEREAS, Pullman porters are some of the most severely exploited workers in the United States, having sustained a wage cut of \$5.00 a month last February, although their monthly wage at the time of the cuts was only \$77.50, a wage sadly inadequate to maintain a porter's family according to standards of decency, health and comfort; and

WHEREAS, The hours of work of Pullman porters average 400 a month at a time when railroad workers have the 240-hour workmonth and the American Federation of Labor is fighting for the six-hour day and the five-day week; and

WHEREAS, Porters are being furloughed by the Pullman management in utter disregard of the principle of seniority, laying off men up to nine and ten years in the service, while others, four, five and six years in the service,

are retained, and sometimes new men hired, under the dangerous and vicious clause that fitness and ability shall supersede seniority rights according as the superintendent may arbitrarily decide, a policy adopted obviously to exact more work for less pay from the porters, to reduce the number of porters entitled or soon to be entitled to free uniforms, to reduce the number of porters nearing the pension age, and quite frequently the number of porters active in the Union; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has instituted a suit for an injunction in the Federal Court of the Northern District of Illinois, to abolish the Pullman Employ Representation Plan or Company Union and to establish the right of self-organization for the porters, guaranteed by the Railway Labor Act and the Norris-LaGuardia Law; and

WHEREAS, The Pullman Company introduced a motion to dismiss the porters' case on the grounds of incapacity to sue and the absence of proper party, although Pullman porters operating in the service were joined as individual complainants and interveners with the Union; and

WHEREAS, Judge George E. Q. Johnston issued the following, in re the motion: "This matter coming on to be heard upon defendant's motion to dismiss the bill of complaint, the court having listened to oral arguments and considered the briefs filed by counsel for the respective parties and now being fully advised: It is ordered that the defendant's motion to dismiss the bill of complaint be and the same is hereby overruled. It is further ordered that the plaintiff may, if it so desires, have leave to amend its bill of complaint within twenty days;" therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its Fifty-second Annual Convention in Cincinnati, Ohio, does endorse, commend and pledge support to the significant, militant and worthy fight of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to eliminate the Pullman Company Union through injunction procedure, as did the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, which will not only establish the right of self-organization to the porters, but help break down the company union movement in general which is a deadly menace to trade-union movement organization.

The Committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 80.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the Committee.

Delegate Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. President and fellow delegates—The resolution involves the question of the company union. I am not only interested in discussing this question because of its concerning the Pullman porters and me, but because it is vital and very important to the stability and future progress of the American labor movement. The company union has grown up since the war to gigantic and menacing pro-

portions. The Russell Sage Foundation made an investigation of company unions and revealed that they have grown to nearly 1,000 since they began after the war.

We have heard on the Convention floor some observations relative to the limitation of our economic power and reasons have been assigned for these limitations, indicating that they are due to the relatively small number of workers embraced in the trade unions. In my judgment, one of the chief reasons for the relatively small number of workers embraced in the trade unions is the existence of the company unions. Some of the highly paid and high-powered psychiatrists have devised and formulated this type of industrial organizations with a view to deceive the workers. They have been given attractive and euphonious names, such as industrial congresses and parliaments, employee representation plans, with a view to misleading the workers, and consequently it is very important that attention be directed towards this type of industrial organizations.

The Pullman porters are leading the fight for the purpose of abolishing the company unions in the Pullman industry. I want to give you some information about this struggle. In 1925 the Pullman porters began a definite trade-union movement. At that time the porters were receiving \$67.50 a month in wages. As a result of the pressure of a movement to organize the porters we were able to increase their wages to \$77.50. However, it may be suggested that the porters receive other forms of income. The porters do receive tips, but our organization is opposed to the tipping system on the ground that it is economically unsound and morally unjustifiable. We believe that when a worker gives a fair day's work he is entitled to a fair day's wage and that he should not be dependent upon the gratuities that he may solicit from the public. As a matter of fact, the tipping system is inadequate, it is uncertain and irregular, and consequently we have directed our opposition to this policy and have planned upon a program to secure a definite wage that will enable the porters to get a standard of living commensurate with decency, comfort, and good health.

Now the Pullman porters, as a result of this depression, have had a very drastic reduction in their income from tips. This reduction approaches 50 to 75 per cent. We had a survey made by the Labor Bureau of

New York in order that we might get an objective picture of the condition of the Pullman porters, and that survey revealed that the porters have got to pay \$33.00 a month as an occupational expense. In other words, the Pullman porters buy their shoe polish for shining the shoes of the passengers. They must pay for two uniforms a year. They pay for their food in transit and at the termini and also for lodging in certain instances. These expenses amount to \$33.00 a month.

At the same time they are now receiving only \$72.50 a month, because last February the Pullman Company cut the wages of the Pullman porters \$5.00, and the company has also indicated that the porters will get another cut. Consequently, you can see the condition under which the Pullman porters labor.

In addition to the question of wages there is the question of hours of work. Many of you who ride on the Pullman cars from time to time watch the Pullman porters ministering to your needs and to every want that you may express. You have no idea as to the conditions under which those men work. The Pullman porters labor on an average of some 400 hours a month. They have so arranged the runs that the hours of work in some instances grew up to 500. For instance, a porter operating from New York to Springfield, Mass., is on the road six nights a week. From New York to Buffalo or Montreal, he formerly received a lay-over after one round trip, but now he receives a lay-over only after two round trips. Say, for instance, a porter leaves New York at 6:00 o'clock in the evening and gets to Montreal the next morning at 8:00 o'clock. He leaves that very same evening back for New York at 6:00 o'clock, gets into New York about 8:00 o'clock the next morning, leaves that same day again for Montreal at 6:00 o'clock, gets into Montreal at 8:00 o'clock, and leaves that day again for New York at 6:00 o'clock, arriving in New York at 8:00 o'clock, and then he gets a lay-over of about a day. As a result of this stretch-out, speed-up, sweat shop policy the Pullman porters' energy is being depleted, and in some instances they are found nodding on the train, and when they are found nodding, the inspector or spotter will immediately write him up and he loses about thirty days. This is known as the Book suspension, so you see why our organization is fighting for 240 hours a month, in order that the porters might get proper rest.

It is assumed that a porter operating from

New York to Chicago will get three hours sleep a day, but it is also expected that that porter will answer the bell when it rings. As a matter of fact, the Pullman porter is the only worker in America who is supposed to be asleep and awake at the same time, but that is a fact because of that policy where the Pullman porter is supposed to answer that bell.

Now since this depression beginning in 1929, the Pullman porters have been dealt with rather recklessly and in utter disregard of the principle of seniority. Some three or four hundred porters have lost their jobs since 1929. They are furloughed arbitrarily. When a man reports for duty he is told he can go home and wait until he is sent for. The Pullman Company should at least give a porter two weeks' notice of his furlough, but he is furloughed on the minute when he reports for duty.

Our organization recognizes this as being inimical to the interests of our men and therefore we have waged a fight for seven years in the interests of establishing a legitimate organization that would be able to negotiate an agreement on wages, rules and working conditions. But one of the great obstacles to the organization of the porters is the company union, this vicious, iniquitous and sinister instrument used by the Pullman Company to coerce and intimidate the men. And it is my opinion, fellow delegates, that during this depression, which is having a devastating economic and social consequence upon the worker, the industrial capitalists will seek to consolidate and entrench the company union in all of the industries in order that it will be impossible for the workers to build legitimate organizations.

Therefore, it is important, it is vital, it is pertinent, it is timely and proper that all of the workers be concerned about this question of the company union.

Now we went into the District Court of the United States, Northern District of Illinois, for the purpose of getting an injunction against the company union in order that the Pullman porters might not be the victims of intimidation. We have been able to get a very important, significant and valuable decision from Judge George E. Q. Johnston. When we presented our petition for that injunction the Pullman Company appeared and introduced a motion to dismiss our case on the ground of incapacity to sue, maintaining that we were an unincorporated body and consequently did not constitute the proper parties. I want to read for you

a part of this decision, just a small excerpt from it. It is so vital that it concerns the very heart of the labor movement, because after all, the great question before all workers is the right of selection, the right of designating representatives that you want in matters concerning your wages and working conditions. Now the company union is calculated, it is designed to prevent you from exercising that right. So you see that this decision of Judge Johnston is vital to all of the workers of the American labor movement. This is a part of it:

"The first question then presented on the motion is: Does the plaintiff Brotherhood Association organized as set forth in plaintiff's bill, and authorized to sue as therein alleged constitute for the purpose of this bill a proper party plaintiff?"

"The only distinction to be drawn between the Texas & New Orleans Railroad Company, et al. v. Brotherhood of Railway & Steamship Clerks, et al., 281 U. S. 548, and the instant case is, that in the case above referred the plaintiff was a Brotherhood, its membership was composed of railway and steamship clerks. It was the plaintiff in the action, but also joined with the Brotherhood as party plaintiff was one Harper, a member of the union, designated as the representative of the Brotherhood. In the instant case the Brotherhood is composed of sleeping car maids and porters in the employ of the defendant, organized in the same manner and for the same purpose as the clerks were in the above case referred to, and filed its bill alone without in the first instance joining an individual as a party plaintiff."

It is very important to note the question of joining the individual as a party plaintiff in the action. Our organization did not join an individual as a party plaintiff in the original bill. The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks did join an individual as a party plaintiff in its original bill. But this is the attitude of the Judge on that matter.

"Defendant contends in support of its motion to dismiss plaintiff's bill that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters can not maintain this action, (a) because it can not act as a 'designated representative' under the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, and (b) it can not bring this action as a class action under Equity Rules 37 and 38.

"The court has carefully considered the statements of counsel on oral argument as well as the briefs filed.

"Section 2 of the Railway Labor Act, paragraph 3, reads as follows:

"Representatives, for the purpose of this Act, will be designated by the respective parties in such manner as may be provided in their corporate organization or unincorporated association, or by other means of collective action, without interference, influence, or coercion exercised by either party over the self-

organization or designation of representatives by the other.'

"From the reading of the foregoing provision, it will be observed that there are no limitations placed upon the manner in which 'representatives shall be designated,' nor any limitation upon who may be 'designated.' The Act throughout refers to both 'corporate organization' and 'unincorporated associations.' It also provides for the selection of representatives 'by other means of collective action.'

"From the language of this Act the court can reach no other conclusion than that the employes within the meaning of the Railway Labor Act could 'designate' the plaintiff Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters as their representative.

"The next question then presented is, can the plaintiff in this case as the 'designated representative' of the employes maintain this action? By reference to the quoted portion of the plaintiff's bill it appears that in representing the employes it is acting within the scope of its organization."

That is the opinion handed down by Judge Johnston. I submit it as being very significant and pertinent to the labor movement, because if the position of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters had not been upheld, the possibility for organizing the unorganized workers would have been practically nil, because a bar would have been placed in the face of the unorganized workers, maintaining that they did not constitute a proper party.

Now we have carried on this fight for some seven years. The Pullman porters have maintained it practically by themselves. We have gotten support from the President of the American Federation of Labor and from some of the various unions. The Pullman Company has attempted to threaten, and they have indicated that if the porters persisted in this fight, it would replace the men with other workers, but that has not frightened our organization in the least. As a matter of fact, we took the position that rather than give up our fight for self-organization we are perfectly willing to go down in the struggle, and, if need be, let the Pullman Company make any attempt to replace the men that they wish to. We still will carry forward the struggle, realizing that the right of self-organization is paramount, is fundamental, and it is a common interest affecting every group of workers.

In order to break down the company union you need a fighting spirit, that type of spirit indicated in that challenging, stirring, eloquent and forceful address made by our eminent President, Brother Green, on the shorter workday. That is the type of spirit that we have had to manifest in order to overcome the company

union of the Pullman Company. Our case will come up in January. The case will be on its merits, the legality or illegality of the employee representation plan. We have not the slightest doubt that we will win this fight, and when we win this case it will be a tremendous tribute not only to the Pullman porters, but to the entire labor movement, because it will establish the right of the men to self-organization, along with the decision handed down by Chief Justice Hughes, and it will also practically liberate the other employes of the Pullman Company who have not been able to organize, that is, with the exception of the Pullman conductors. They are the only group who have been able to win the right of self-organization.

So we are appealing to the delegates of this Convention that when you return to your various communities you will speak to the Pullman porters, and encourage them; let them know that they have got to fight if they would win. In the final analysis we have recognized that the Pullman Company will not give anything to the Pullman porters as a gift. They can only get what they have the power to take, and that is true with any group of workers in relation to any corporation. No power, no corporate group in the country will voluntarily surrender any concession to the workers. As a matter of fact, it is a struggle that must be carried on.

Our organization is waging that struggle. I think it augurs a new day among the negro workers, because it typifies a new spirit, that spirit which does not depend upon begging for a living, that spirit that does not depend upon philanthropy or charity, but believes that in the final analysis salvation must come from within, salvation must rest upon their power—P.O.W-E-R—that nothing else counts but power. That is the reason why the Pullman porters have built the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and we hope to get your co-operation, and your moral support as you move among the men from time to time.

Delegate Lewis, United Mine Workers: Might I ask President Randolph if I understood him to say that the matter of finance to carry on your litigation is now a matter of prime importance and consideration?

Delegate Randolph: Yes.

Delegate Lewis: And by the same token that any financial assistance you might get would be of great benefit to your fight?

Delegate Randolph: Yes.

Delegate Lewis: As a member of the Committee on Resolutions, I did not have the opportunity to be in the committee when this matter was first considered. I was there when the resolution was finally adopted. It seems to me that it is an obligation upon the part of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations to give a helping hand to this struggling organization now dealing in this direct fight in a matter of fundamental importance to the American labor movement.

I appreciate the financial circumstances of the American Federation of Labor, but I think perhaps the Executive Council could send out to each affiliated international union a request for a nominal contribution to be sent to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, and this in turn given to the Sleeping Car Porters' organization to help them in their fight. I am appreciative of the fact that perhaps a few dollars, under these circumstances, would be of substantial assistance.

I would like to ask, as a member of the Committee on Resolutions, whether the Committee would not accept as a part of its recommendation, the suggestion that the Executive Council take this action.

Chairman Woll: Speaking for the Chairman and Secretary, the Committee certainly has no objection. Our suggestion would be to merely accept the Committee's report and then follow it up with the motion you have in mind.

Delegate Lewis: Then I propose to make an amendment to the Committee's report.

Chairman Woll: We have no objection to that.

Delegate Lewis: I move to amend the Committee's report by adding thereto the following: "That the Executive Council is instructed to bring this matter to the attention of each affiliated organization with the request that they give special consideration from the standpoint of making a possible contribution to Secretary Frank Morrison, of the American Federation of Labor, which money in turn shall be contributed to the Sleeping Car Porters' organization to carry on their fight."

Chairman Woll: As Chairman of the Committee, I second the motion.

The amendment offered by Delegate Lewis was unanimously adopted, and the motion to adopt the Committee's report as amended, was carried, by unanimous vote.

Friendly Society of Engravers

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate Charles A. Alexander, of the Central Labor Union of Passaic County, New Jersey.

WHEREAS, The Friendly Society of Engravers, established in the year 1874, and composed of highly skilled tradesmen who have a well-established organization and are in a healthy financial condition and realize the necessity of all workers being affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The membership of this organization represent a group of workers not now directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, but who desire direct affiliation; and

WHEREAS, This organization at present holds membership with the American Federation of Labor through their affiliations with the International Metal Engravers' Union, in which International Union (the members of the Friendly Society of Engravers represent more than 80 per cent of the organization, known as the International Metal Engravers' Union) find it hard to interest and secure the affiliation of new members due to the fact that the International Union of Metal Engravers itself has at no time had, other than those constituting the Friendly Society of Engravers, more than one shop organized; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the issuance of a direct International Charter, under such name as the American Federation of Labor may deem advisable and covering such jurisdiction as the American Federation of Labor may think proper, would strengthen the Labor Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the officers and Executive Council to take such steps as are necessary to bring about the issuance of an International Charter to those now constituting the Friendly Society of Engravers.

The Committee recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council for further inquiry and consideration and with full authority to take such action as it deems best for the protection and promotion of the interests of the workers involved.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the Committee's report.

Delegate Volz, Photo Engravers: I am in favor of the recommendation of the Committee, but take it for granted that in considering this question the Executive Committee will call into consideration those other organizations having any jurisdiction over any kind of engraving, so that there will be no later conflict as to the jurisdiction which might be granted. I am in favor of the recommendation, with that understanding.

President Green: The Committee advises me that it is understanding.

The motion to adopt the Committee's report was unanimously carried.

Chairman Woll: The Committee recommends that Resolution No. 84 be amended by striking out the the second, third and fourth "Whereas" paragraphs, which are as follows:

WHEREAS, The exorbitant and excessive costs of profit-making insurance companies has resulted in imposing such high costs that some employers are now imposing directly on the workers the cost of workmen's compensation; and

WHEREAS, At the recent Convention of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor the State Deputy Insurance Commissioner freely admitted that in order that some workmen's compensation insurance companies be allowed to continue to operate, it was essential that all State Insurance Commissioners accept financial statements from these companies with securities valued at prices far in excess of the market values; and

WHEREAS, Such conditions justify the fear that in the future injured workers may find that the companies to which the employers have paid money for protection are no longer solvent; and

The resolution as amended reads:

Workmen's Compensation Insurance

Resolution No. 84—By Delegate Robert J. Watt, of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has properly and consistently advocated the establishment of state funds in the respective states for all workmen's compensation insurance; and

WHEREAS, The only protection which can be given to industrial workers is to have state funds established in each state; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of American Federation of Labor instruct the Officers and Executive Council to initiate at the earliest possible moment a militant campaign with all labor bodies to secure the establishment of state funds for workmen's compensation insurance in each state.

Thus amended, the Committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

Delegate Watt, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor: I discussed this matter of compensation insurance the other day and I would like to add to that discussion one other phase of the situation that I think is of particular importance to those crafts that are looked upon as hazardous occupations, particularly ironworkers and painters. I might say that beginning with the Sullivan case some years ago, when the Supreme Court of our state ruled that pneumoconiosis, which results from nothing more nor less than inhaling the dust, was a personal injury and came within the meaning of the Act, we have had within our state a great

deal of trouble with this sort of injury. In fact, in the few years since that decision the rates on that particular occupation have gone from \$3.00 per \$100.00 worth of payroll to \$10.50, and in the case of the ironworkers, to \$18.65 for every \$100.00 worth of payroll. Now, on November 1 of this year the insurance companies in our state notified the whole granite cutting industry that they would no longer accept risks in their industry. In other words, the position we are in now is this: That the granite cutter or the stone cutter is out from under the Act and those men who earn a livelihood at that industry have no protection whatsoever.

I merely make mention of these facts because I think it is quite important. If the insurance companies are going to be allowed to tell the granite industry that they are going to choose their risks hereafter, then they are going to tell some other industries that I know about in a very short period the same thing. It may be that half the insurance companies in our commonwealth are insolvent if their actual investments were taken at their market value. That may be the chief reason. However, I think the delegates here might well give some thought to this because once they are out from under the Act it is rather difficult to again get them back.

Delegate Mills, Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union: I think the time has come when the American Federation of Labor should again reaffirm its position in opposition to insurance companies handling compensation insurance.

Chairman Woll: This calls for opposition to private carriers.

Delegate Mills: I understand that, but I want to support the Committee's recommendation. The experience we have had in Washington is of very short duration. The American Federation of Labor took a leading part in having adopted the workmen's compensation laws. It opposed the handling of those funds by insurance companies. Certain business people in the city of Washington opposed the American Federation of Labor on that score, contending that the insurance companies should at least have their slice. It has developed during the past year that they are now receiving their slice, and those same business men who so strenuously fought the opposition of the American Federation of Labor are at this time advocating state funds for compensation insurance.

It so happens that I am a member of the Law and Legislative Committee of the Chamber of Commerce in Washington, which at

this time is holding hearings in an attempt to change or, at least, regulate the insurance rates. During this year the insurance rates on compensation insurance in Washington were raised 21.8 per cent. One company or one group of companies earned a profit on compensation insurance in Washington of 8 per cent. Other companies lost 10 per cent. It also happened that in the District of Columbia, and I imagine in some other states, we do not have very strict regulation of insurance rates. The rates are set by the Board of Underwriters which is composed of the insurance companies.

I believe that the time is ripe when the American Federation of Labor, through the state organizations, can possibly take out of the hands of insurance companies the payment of compensation insurance, and the sooner that time comes, the better off we will be. We were considered Communists in support of compensation insurance because we advocated it being placed in the hands of the state, but at the present time the attitude on the part of business men has changed, and I believe we can depend for some support at least upon the people who have opposed us in the past, I think we can look for some support from them in our position in the past.

Delegate Flynn, Newspaper Writers' Union No. 17662: There is one point in reference to this resolution I would like to stress, and that is this: It interests every organization, especially in those states where the law is so-called elective. Some two years ago the granite cutters of Quincy, Massachusetts, were notified by their employers that they could not get continued coverage by insurance companies. After some negotiations in which the labor movement of Massachusetts was not consulted, they entered into an agreement with the insurance companies that the workers themselves would pay 50 per cent of the hourly cost of workmen's compensation. It was carried on for a year, and when it came to renew it, the employers demanded, with the support of the Insurance Commissioner of Massachusetts, that the employees pay the full cost. Last May or June, when the contract expired and the employees refused to assume the full cost, which was costing something like \$1.00 a day, the employers locked them out and the men were out for two months, and in order to get employment we are told they were forced to agree to a repetition of the old contract. They are now paying 50

per cent out of their wages directly of the cost of that insurance—not on a monthly, quarterly or yearly basis, but on a daily basis, so they haven't got a chance to get away. Despite the fact that they are doing that, a month or six weeks ago the employers were served with notice by the Insurance Commissioner that no insurance company licensed to operate in Massachusetts, would continue to carry this insurance. Mind you, the same companies operate in most all of the other states. The granite cutter of Maine, Rhode Island, and Illinois, is covered by the same companies with the employer paying the full cost.

A hearing was held at the State House in which I have no hesitancy in saying the Insurance Commissioner was a party, with the insurance companies, to simply jacking up the rates, that if these men wanted employment they would have to pay what the traffic would bear. If they can do that to the granite cutter they can do it to anybody else.

You are all familiar with the fact that hundreds of thousands of men over forty years of age are unable to get employment today because these companies will not accept the insurance except at an exorbitant and excessive rate. They have now gone from that to a demand that the cost of this compensation insurance, supposedly a tax on industry, supposedly paid by the employer, must now be paid by the employee. That is the exact situation in the granite industry in Quincy, Massachusetts, and as I say, if they can do it in Quincy, tell me where they can't do it.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I think we are deeply indebted to our friend from Massachusetts for bringing this matter before the Convention. I was very much interested in what Delegate Watt had to say the other day. In addition to what has been said here, I would like to direct the attention of the delegates not only to these things that have been said, but to the slimy manipulation of the private insurance companies in the selection of men to administer the law in various states. Things have reached a stage in our state wherein a man can not be appointed to the Compensation Commission or administer the compensation law unless he first receives the O. K. of the insurance companies, and many of the labor men who sought positions as deputies in the department were denied the opportunity of employ-

ment because of the interference of the insurance companies.

I think the time has come when the American Federation of Labor should conduct a vigorous fight to eliminate the private insurance companies in the administration of the compensation laws.

Delegate Graham, Helena (Montana) Central Labor Union: Montana is another state that has had a vicious fight with the private insurance companies. We tried to initiate a measure and have it put on the ballot so that we could have a referendum on this proposition, but every insurance company in the state opposed it and there were articles in the editorial columns of the daily papers on it, advising people not to sign the petition. We estimate that there were \$65,000 spent in the state to beat our efforts to have the measure initiated and put on the ballot, and in a state with a small population like Montana, that is a good deal of money.

The insurance companies are carrying on a vigorous campaign to put the state fund plan out of existence, and the only organizations that are carrying on this fight in behalf of workmen's compensation are the State Federations of Labor. It would be a good thing if the American Federation of Labor and all the international unions, through their monthly magazines and their journals, would carry on a constant campaign for a number of months against insurance companies, and let us make a good effort in the coming sessions of the State Legislatures to have bills introduced and put over to put the insurance companies out of the workmen's compensation law. That is one of the biggest things we should do this winter, make a combined concentrated attack upon the insurance companies.

Delegate Frey: I am glad to hear these facts brought out on the floor of this Convention. At the Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in 1914, by a practically unanimous vote, the delegates approved of the principles on which the Ohio compensation law had been founded, and one principle was that private profit must be entirely eliminated from the payment of workmen's compensation. In 1914, the Convention of the American Federation of Labor advised all State Federations of Labor that the sound thing for workmen's compensation was the exclusive state fund principle.

Since that time, to my knowledge, the President of the American Federation of Labor

has called upon those most familiar with the Ohio law to go into the several states and assist trade-unionists, not only in getting the necessary foundation for it; and, unfortunately, in a number of states trade-union representatives have found opposition which came from sources outside of the insurance companies. I have had some battles before State Legislatures myself, and I know what the handicap has been and the reply of those in our several states who are dissatisfied with their workmen's compensation laws and who are now waking up to the part the insurance companies play in opposition to the adoption of the American Federation of Labor's policy.

The American Federation of Labor since 1914 has been telling the labor movement that there can be no sound workmen's compensation legislation that is not based upon the state fund system so that private profit is entirely eliminated.

Delegate Donnelly, Ohio State Federation of Labor: What is the report of the Committee on the resolution? Is it to approve?

Chairman Woll: The Committee approves of the resolution.

Delegate Donnelly: I think this is quite an important resolution and it should receive the attention of not only the delegates from the State Federations of Labor, but it should receive considerable attention from the officers of the American Federation of Labor, which I think it will; but in addition to that I believe that the officers of the various international unions in this country must, if they stop to consider the proposition, realize that they have a very vital interest in the character of workmen's compensation laws in the various states of our Union, for the very sufficient reason that their members in those states are the ones that come under the operation of those laws.

It is true that for a number of years the American Federation of Labor has endeavored to impress upon the various states the importance of having enacted in those states where they do not exist, the model workmen's compensation law which was a draft, practically, of the Ohio law. But I think that it should be considered that there is something more necessary than just urging those State Federations of Labor that they endeavor to get such laws. In many of the states of our Union I am given to understand it will be necessary to amend the state constitution before they can establish state insur-

ance funds and make the operation of the workmen's compensation law a function of government.

That is what we have done in Ohio. We have made the collection of the premiums, the administration of the law and the disbursements of the awards the function of government, and we have said under our compulsory system that every employer of three or more must pay premiums into the state insurance fund or he must secure from the Industrial Commission of Ohio the privilege of paying workmen's compensation direct, and he must safeguard that compensation to his workmen by furnishing the Industrial Commission of Ohio a bond to make sure that workmen will not suffer through bankruptcy of that firm.

By making workmen's compensation administration a function of government we have said to the insurance companies of America that nothing in the constitution of the state of Ohio, nothing in the statutory law of the state of Ohio will permit them to do business in that line of business.

Now, I expect, Mr. President, that within the next few months there will be broadcast—it is now under way—that there will be broadcast in all the states of the Union where Legislatures are in session and where labor is endeavoring to model their laws somewhat along the line of Ohio's law, that the Ohio Workmen's Compensation Fund is in distress; that that fund is insolvent—that rates have had to be increased, and I want to warn at this time the delegates to this Convention to be very careful about accepting

such statements coming from insurance companies for the purpose of defeating legislation desired by labor along the line of establishing state insurance funds for workmen's compensation.

I want to say here and now that the Ohio fund is absolutely solvent, with \$39,000,000 reserve to pay claims already allowed and a million dollars of surplus to meet claims that are to be allowed, and that the increases in Ohio in the rates have been lower than in any other state of the Union, and the employers and manufacturers of our state are benefited thereby.

We have found in the last few months, in literature sent out by the insurance companies of this country and in addresses made at insurance Conventions, that there is great danger to the compensation law. I want to say, Mr. President, that the great danger to the compensation law is in the statements of those who would like to make a profit out of the death and injury of workmen.

The State of Ohio pays exactly what the accident costs; the state bears the cost of administration; the workmen get what the law allows; and we find, taking the awards paid, that there is a greater amount of benefits paid to the workers in Ohio under the state fund and that there is greater humanity employed in considering compensation claims than in any other state in the Union.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

The Convention was adjourned at 12:45 p. m. to 2:30 p. m.

Ninth Day—Thursday Afternoon Session

The Convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees: McCallum, Powlesland, Bowen, Horan, Nelson, Wills, McFetridge, Knight, George, Flaherty, Bishop, McTigue, Zaritsky, Tighe, Bacigalupi, Duhecker, Royer, Fljzodal, Hannah, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Snitor, Mahon, Kehoe, Collins (W. M.), Burris, Furuseth, Cashen, Connors, Starr, Fay, Jewell, Scharrenberg, Gross, Jarvis, Taylor (T. N.), Lawson, Raftery, Reed, Turnblazer, Reilly, Cherry, Davis (F.), Fox (H. W.), Kutz, Harper, Lang, Watkins, Williams, Parks, Koenig, Starkweather, Brooks, Mitchell (H.), Becker, Kramer, Friedrich, Fritz, Souza, Gates, Myers, Rivin, Pierson, Hammer, Newhill, Draper, Uppleger, Switalski, Bower, Greenway, Curran, Carlson, Welsh, Garner, Doyle (F. E.), Woodmansee, Fox (G. J.), Kromelbein, Saylor, Wells, McGeary, Bohm,

Barnes, McElligott, Richardson, Scannell, Meyer, Lufrano, Thoman, Zander.

COMMUNICATIONS

New York, New York.

William Green,
President, American Federation of Labor Convention,
Cincinnati.

The Union Health Center extends its fraternal greetings to the officers and delegates in Convention assembled. The Union Health Center established twenty years ago by the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union is now used by all organized labor of New York and vicinity. It is therefore the only institution of its kind within the American Federation of Labor. May your deliberations help to stimulate your membership in its efforts to make this world a better place to live in.

Educational Department, Union Health Center.
PAULINE NEWMAN, Director.

New York, N. Y.,
December 1, 1932.

Mr. Green,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Netherland Plaza Hotel,
Cincinnati.

Our membership was highly elated with your action on the unemployment insurance and the six-hour work day. We are happy to see that militant spirit displayed by the great body of organized workers of our country. In expressing our thanks for your timely action we want to pledge our loyalty and support to the American Federation of Labor in their struggle for the protection of right of the workers which you are now undertaking.

JACOB J. HELLE,
Manager, Children's Coats and Reefer Makers'
Union, affiliated with the International
Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Salt Lake City, Utah,
December 1, 1932.

American Federation of Labor Convention,
Netherland Plaza Hotel.

In behalf of organized labor in Utah the Utah State Federation of Labor cordially invites the American Federation of Labor to name Salt Lake City as the Convention City in 1933.

Utah State Federation of Labor,
M. A. THOMPSON, President.
GEORGE A. YAGER, Secretary.

Secretary Morrison read a communication from W. B. Weisenburger, President of the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce, extending an invitation to the American Federation of Labor to hold its 1934 convention in that city.

Report of Committee on Resolutions

Chairman Woll continued the report as follows:

Communism

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate George W. Perkins, Cigarmakers' International Union.

WHEREAS, The propaganda of Communism continues throughout the United States, directed from Moscow, where the Communist Internationale, the Red International of Labor Unions and the Communist Government are one and inseparable, forming arms of the same dictatorship; and

WHEREAS, The Communist propaganda, disseminated in the United States through a score or more of major organizations and an even larger number of subordinate agencies, including a dozen daily newspapers, has for its first objects the destruction of the American Federation of Labor, American recognition of the Communist regime in Russia and the destruction of every organization hostile to Communism; and

WHEREAS, The final object of the Communist propaganda is the complete destruction of democracy and human freedom and the establishment of a dictatorship in this and every other free country, subordinate to the Communist authority in Moscow; and

WHEREAS, The aims and the operations of Communism constitute a condition amounting to warfare against the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor renew its declaration of unalterable opposition and hostility to Communism, to the recognition of the Communist regime in Moscow by our Government and to every activity of organized Communism and that we counsel our membership to be zealous in refusal of all aid or comfort to any Communist organization, or to any campaign conducted by any Communist organization or by those organizations which are allied with and sympathetic to Communism through interlocking directorates or other devices and subterfuges.

Your Committee recommends that Resolution No. 87 be amended by striking out fourth "Whereas" paragraph and that the resolution as thus amended be adopted.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

H. D. Lee Mercantile Co.

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate W. S. Kramer, of the Central Labor Union of Harrisburg, Pa.

WHEREAS, It has been admitted that remarkable strides have been made in the creation of time and labor-saving machinery; and

WHEREAS, It has been most conclusively demonstrated that no new fields have been created for the absorption of labor's time resulting from such machinery; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has for its immediate goal the accomplishment in fact of a shorter workday and a shorter workweek, as a progressive stride to keep pace with modern machines; and

WHEREAS, The adoption of such work schedules should be encouraged and commended by the American Federation of Labor, its affiliates and its friends; and

WHEREAS, The H. D. Lee Mercantile Co., manufacturers of Lee overalls, unionalls, work shirts, pants and children's play suits in all its five factories at Trenton, N. J.; Kansas City, Mo.; South Bend, Ind.; Salina, Kansas, and in San Francisco, Calif., in all of which factories are employed thousands of workers—all members of the United Garment Workers of America; and

WHEREAS, In all these factories the five-day, forty-hour week without a reduction in wages prevails; and

WHEREAS, By its adoption of this shorter workweek, the H. D. Lee Mercantile Co. has proven itself a friend of labor and a good example of progressive leadership in American industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor officially commend said H. D. Lee Mercantile Co. and offer said company's success with the adoption of the shorter workweek as a concrete example

to other manufacturers in the same or kindred industries; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor apprise the several locals of the National and International Unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, by mailing a copy of this resolution to such locals.

In lieu of Resolution No. 88, your Committee submits the statement that the company named therein and all other persons, firms and corporations operating under union shop conditions are entitled to the commendation and support of organized labor.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Issuance of Names of Unemployed Union Members To Special Relief Agencies

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate W. S. Kramer, of the Central Labor Union of Harrisburg, Pa.

WHEREAS, The present economic conditions have caused the creation of special agencies for remedial and relief purposes in the cities and towns of the several states; and

WHEREAS, Such agencies in their efforts to apportion work and relief to the many unemployed in the said cities and towns attempt to ascertain the number of unemployed by listing them by classification as to trade; and

WHEREAS, Many Central Labor Unions are often called upon to secure from their affiliated locals the number of said locals' unemployed members to be listed by crafts or trades; and

WHEREAS, Present conditions point to a diminished membership; and

WHEREAS, Aforesaid lists, therefore, would tend to reveal the strength or weakness of a Central Labor Union, or of one of the various Locals comprising it; and

WHEREAS, Unscrupulous manufacturers' associations or other enemies of organized labor could and probably would use such lists to the detriment of said locals in particular or organized labor in general; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as against the issuance by any Central Labor Union of such lists as above mentioned; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be mailed to the several Central Labor Unions so that the latter may be guided accordingly.

Your Committee recommends that Resolution No. 89 be referred to the Executive Council for investigation of the subject matter and such action in relation thereto as the Council may deem necessary to protect the interests of the labor movement.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Rehabilitation of Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate Santiago Islesias, of the Free Federation of Workmen of Puerto Rico.

WHEREAS, The Free Federation of Workmen of Puerto Rico has reported to previous Conventions the disastrous economic conditions prevailing in the Island and such reports have been found to be true by the Federal and insular authorities, and to the effect a general plan of rehabilitation has been agreed upon to relieve local conditions in the Island; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor was always ready at all times to give its worthy support to the cause of the people in general and labor in Puerto Rico and to help our Island; therefore, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to earnestly urge and lend his moral support and help before the President and Congress of United States to every measure and plans of rehabilitation as set forth in previous reports and recommendations of the Executive Council and the resolutions passed by the last three Conventions, 1929, 1930, 1931, of the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 92.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Federal Safety Legislation For the Protection of Building Trades Workers

Resolution No. 93—By Delegates James T. Moriarty, Sheet Metal Workers' International Association; James P. Meehan, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, and Robert J. Watt, of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is for the interest of building trades workers that rules for the prevention of accidents be in effect on all construction work and that every effort be made to create the highest standards possible for the safety of men engaged in the building industry; and

WHEREAS, The statutes of several states in the Union have provisions governing safety and prevention of accidents in building construction, which laws and rules apply to all work performed within the border of the state excepting Federal buildings; and

WHEREAS, Experience has shown the need of a Federal law that will create and place into effect safety rules for the prevention of accidents on buildings; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Adjustment Board of the Boston Building Trades Council go on record in favor of petitioning through resolution to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, now in session at Cincinnati, urging the Executive Council to submit legislation to the next Congress for a law

that will provide that contractors engaged in the construction of buildings for the Federal Government must conform to all state laws, of the state in which they are operating, as such laws relate to safety and prevention of accidents in the building industry; and be it

RESOLVED, That the Secretary be authorized to communicate with Secretary James P. Meehan of the Massachusetts State Building Trades Council, James T. Moriarity and Robert Watt, who are delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention, requesting them to present a resolution to the American Federation of Labor, urging presentation of a petition to the next Congress for the enactment of a law similar to that proposed in this resolution.

The Committee recommends that Resolution No. 93 be amended by striking out the fifth or last paragraph and amending the fourth paragraph to read as follows:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor favors the submission to Congress of a legislative proposal to require that contractors engaged in the construction of buildings for the Federal Government must conform to the laws of the state in which they are operating relating to safety and the prevention of accidents in the building industry.

Your Committee further recommends that the resolution as thus amended be adopted.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Chairman Woll: This concludes the report of the Committee on Resolutions as to all resolutions and matters presented to it. The Committee has one proposal of its own which it wishes to submit before the Convention finally concludes.

It has been called to my attention that Resolution No. 94 was referred to the Committee on Resolutions. The Committee was not presented with the resolution, but the records of the fifth day show it was referred to this Committee. Therefore the work of the Committee is not completed.

President Green: The Chair recognizes the Committee on Executive Council's Report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Secretary Sumner, for the Committee, reported as follows:

Machinists—Carpenters

On Pages 81-82 of the Executive Council's Report, under the caption of "Machinists-Carpenters", the Executive Council reports an agreement entered into between these organizations.

Your Committee is most gratified to note that after the many years that this controversy has been pending, these two organizations have arrived at a basis of settlement of the differences that existed between them, and we compliment these two organizations and the Executive Council on this achievement.

Machinists'-Carpenters' Agreement

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate McDonough, Building Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The cardinal principle enunciated when the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor was instituted, it was specifically stated, was that the Building Trades Department would have autonomy governing all matters of trade jurisdiction in the building industry; and

WHEREAS, That enunciated policy in the past has proven very beneficial in a great measure to the interest of the great majority of the affiliated unions in the department; and

WHEREAS, The Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor has at no time to our knowledge petitioned the American Federation of Labor to alter or amend the method of defining jurisdiction as prescribed in the Constitution; and

WHEREAS, On pages 63 and 64 in the report of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to the Fifty-second Annual Convention, there appears under the caption "Machinists and Carpenters" an action and conference between the Carpenters and Machinists which indicates clearly to the presenters of this resolution that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor was in error in becoming a party to this stated tentative understanding and addenda and should have requested the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor and its Affiliated Trades to have participated in this conference, which is purely a Building Trades matter; and

WHEREAS, The tentative understanding and addenda, if permitted to be endorsed or approved by the American Federation of Labor Convention, will cause serious conflict involving possible strikes and lockouts throughout the nation in the building industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to acquaint the officials of the American Federation of Labor of the error and possible consequences; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Affiliated Unions of the Building Trades Department be directed to instruct their delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention to put forth every possible effort to defeat that portion of the Executive Council's report bearing on the subject quoted in this Resolution, thereby maintaining the constitutional rights granted the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

Resolution No. 20, presented by the Building Trades Department, Page 137, First Day's Proceedings, was likewise submitted to your Committee and the representatives of the Building Trades Department appeared before the Committee and claimed that an endorsement of this agreement would take away the jurisdictional rights that have already been granted to other organizations in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee therefore recommends that in order that the rights of all may be protected, the resolution and the agreement be referred to the Executive Council for the purpose of adjudicating any differences that may exist.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the Committee.

Delegate Wharton, International Association of Machinists: I want to find out, if I can, just what is the reason that organizations acting under direction of this Convention may not be permitted to carry out those instructions. This is a case that has been before the conventions of the American Federation of Labor for something around twenty years, and for many years it was one of the annual discussions of the Convention.

Prior to its introduction into the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, it was a matter of discussion in the Convention of the Building Trades Department at Seattle in 1913. A record of the Building Trades Department of 1913 will show the exact language embracing the same character of work that is now used in the agreement between the Carpenters and Machinists, signed last month, and approved by the Building Trades Department of 1913, when our organization was recognized as eligible to membership in the Building Trades Department and to meet with the Department.

In 1915, without one single complaint ever having been filed against our organization for any infraction of the rules of the Building Trades Department, or in any manner being accused of violating in a single instance the basis upon which we were admitted to the Building Trades Department, we were expelled from that Department and we have not been affiliated with it since.

Now it might be well for the delegates to this convention to understand in some measure some of the things which have been instituted against our organization by what we might term the self-constituted authority of the trades now remaining in the Building Trades Department. I cannot conceive how it would be possible for

the organizations affiliated with the Building Trades Department to object to an agreement between the Carpenters and the Machinists on matters which this Convention has repeatedly stated are matters that concern these two organizations.

If I had any reason to believe there would be any objection to the agreement that was entered into by these two organizations, I certainly would have brought files to show the action that has been taken by trades affiliated with the Building Trades Department, by which they deny our organization the right to do work which had been confirmed by the highest authority in the labor movement, by conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

If there is anything in connection with the agreement entered into between the Carpenters and Machinists which, in the judgment of any organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, infringes upon their jurisdiction, I would like to ask the chairman as well as the delegates why they would not be required to follow the same methods and procedure the laws of the American Federation of Labor prescribe. There has been no complaint filed with my organization by any body affiliated with the Building Trades Department in connection with this agreement.

If I read the resolution correctly, which was introduced in this Convention by the President of the Building Trades Department, it is not a resolution which could properly come before this Convention. It is a declaration of the opinion of the delegates attending the Convention of the Building Trades Department. It goes farther than that, it is a direction to the delegates of the Building Trades organizations, that is, the organizations affiliated with the Building Trades Department, to protest some action taken by somebody else in this Convention; but there is nothing in the resolution which is properly before the Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

I have no objection to the delegates of the Building Trades Department Convention agreeing among themselves by adopting a resolution directing the delegates of those organizations attending this Convention to protest anything that comes up in this Convention, but I do protest the acceptance of a resolution of that character, and that resolution being submitted to a committee to act upon, when there is nothing in the resolution that has any relation to the agreement entered into by the Carpenters

and Machinists, except the declaration of opinion of the delegates that attended the Convention of the Building Trades Department. If the laws of this organization mean what they say, and if the direction of the last Convention means what it says, then these two organizations did nothing more than comply with the definite instructions contained in the decisions adopted by the Vancouver Convention of the American Federation of Labor. There has been no complaint filed with my organization by any of the organizations, and I know of no reason why we should be caused to go to the expense of now being required to appear and defend something we have no knowledge of. The laws provide that if there is a grievance between organizations that conferences will first be held between the organizations concerned.

Now, my friends, I want to place before you again the rather peculiar position in which we find ourselves. For twenty years and for convention after convention, without a single protest on the floor of this Convention, unanimous action in every instance, where the question was decided as to the language outlining our jurisdiction with reference to construction and building work, it is the identical language contained in the agreement between the Carpenters and Machinists.

For some years, and particularly since I became President of the International Association of Machinists, I have been interested in trying to prevent the introduction of jurisdictional disputes upon the floors of this Convention, believing, as I do, out of long years of experience, that it is much more desirable to bring about agreement between the crafts directly concerned than to take any other action.

We have made agreements with the Pressmen, we have made agreements with the Brewery Workers, we have made agreements with the Engineers, with the Electrical Workers and possibly with several other organizations, and we now include the Carpenters in that group. There has been no protest filed in this Convention against our entering into any of those agreements. I would like to inquire why they do not pursue the usual procedure in this respect? I might refer to an action by the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department in connection with my own organization.

Some years ago they met at Buffalo and took exception to an action taken by the New York Building Trades. Our organization has been affiliated with the New York Building Trades Council for twenty years, and is now, and under

the charter of that organization they may not be removed from that Council. A jurisdiction was established when my organization went into that Council in New York, and that jurisdiction has been on record since 1913. In a matter affecting our organization a protest was filed with the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department and they issued a decision which amounted to disfranchisement of our organization and granting jurisdiction to another organization.

There are a number of instances in which local Building Trades Councils have ruled that the Machinists' is not a Building Trades organization. If we have got to reopen this question and go to the bat, I assure you we won't duck the issue. We have a record that will make some people think twice about charging our organization with infringing upon the rights of the other organizations.

We went along and tried to be decent and fair. I know there are differences between these organizations and there probably will always be differences, but there is a right way and a wrong way. There are men sitting in this Convention representing organizations that, in the language of the trade, ran our men off the job, and they were doing work that has never been done by any but Machinists.

The report of the Committee should be voted down, and if there are grievances between any organizations they should first proceed in the manner prescribed by the laws of this organization.

Delegate McDonough, President of the Building Trades Department: I sat here and listened attentively to what President Wharton of the Machinists has said. I want to disagree with practically everything he has said. We have no objection to the Machinists and Carpenters entering into an agreement. What we are protesting and objecting to is the ratification of this agreement by the American Federation of Labor, for the reason that if the American Federation of Labor ratifies it, it will mean endless jurisdiction disputes. We are interested in trying to keep any more jurisdiction disputes off the few building trades jobs that are going on in this country.

We appreciate that when the Executive Council considered this agreement they were trying to harmonize the differences between the two trades mentioned, but in doing that, if it is ratified by this Convention, they are disharmonizing all the trades in the Building Trades Department. When we were informed

that the Committee considered this we wanted an opportunity of meeting with the Executive Council and going into the matter in detail. We did not desire to take up the time of the Convention, but if they want that we are prepared to do it.

I don't want to cast any inference, but it is peculiar that on the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor there are two members who belong to trades concerned in this matter. I don't say that has anything to do with the recommendation of the Committee, but it is evident that the Building Trades Department was not called in to present the question of the organizations in conflict. This is the language we object to, which if it becomes a part of the records of this Convention, will be put in the hands of every business agent of the Carpenters and Machinists in the country. Having had possibly as much experience in trying to determine jurisdiction disputes as anybody in this country, and having been a business agent for twelve years, I know the tactics that many of the business agents adopt—and I probably, as a business agent, adopted some myself.

I am not criticising anybody for doing those things, but if this is adopted every business agent of the Carpenters and Machinists Unions will appear on the job and use this as a positive declaration by the American Federation of Labor.

I will just read the whole understanding, the tentative understanding:

"Tentative Understanding

"In order that more harmonious relations may exist between the International Association of Machinists and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America over work in dispute, and that by and through co-operation and assistance on the part of both organizations better conditions may prevail in the work claimed by each, the following tentative understanding is proposed:

"That the officers and members of both organizations assist each other in bettering and maintaining hours, wages and working conditions on this class of work.

"That if a dispute arises that can not be settled locally, no stoppage of work shall take place but that the matter in dispute be immediately submitted to the International President of the Machinists and the General President of the Carpenters for readjustment.

(Signed) A. O. WHARTON,
International President, International Association of Machinists

(Signed) WM. L. HUTCHESON,
General President, United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners of America."

Then there is the addenda:

"In keeping with the above tentative understanding which was ratified by the duly constituted authorities of both organizations, the following work will be recognized as work to be performed by the members of the respective organizations:"

That, in my opinion, if this Convention ratifies this agreement, is a positive declaration and a concession of jurisdiction of the following work to the Carpenters and the Machinists.

"Line shafting, pulleys and hangers, belting and chutes, all conveyors, lifts and hoists, except that type of conveyor that is an integral part of the machine. For example: A power house starting from the breaker house; the conveyor work would be performed by members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, but would not include the breaker machinery, pulverizers, fans, etc., setting and connection of reduction drive. Members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America would install that part of the work defined as actual conveyors.

"The International Association of Machinists has jurisdiction over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories or elsewhere where machinery may be used."

This is signed by the Presidents of the two organizations.

In my opinion, if ratified in the terms of the agreement, it covers practically everything that it is possible to erect. As far as the Building Trades Department is concerned, we have no objection and we offer no protest if the Machinists and the Carpenters want to enter into an agreement, but when they enter into an agreement and then ask for a ratification of same by the American Federation of Labor—an agreement in which they are dividing, in my opinion, a lot of things that do not belong to them—then as representing the Building Trades Department, we are very strongly opposed. As I said before, when the matter was taken up by the Executive Council we were not invited in. The Carpenters and the Machinists are parties to the Executive Council. Of course we haven't any objection to that, either, but we were not called in. We were willing to accept the Committee's report and at the proper time discuss it before the Executive Council. But seeing that President Wharton of the Machinists evidently desires to have it settled by this Convention, we are willing to at least accept the action of the Convention.

As far as jurisdictional disputes are concerned, we, representing the Building Trades

Department, are using our best efforts to eliminate jurisdictional disputes.

In the city of Cincinnati, here today, on the one large job that is going on in the city, there are jurisdictional disputes and we are using our best efforts to eliminate them. Right on that one job there are two disputes that these organizations are not interested in, but many others, and if the American Federation of Labor endorses this agreement without giving the opportunity to the trades in our Department to be heard, you are just starting jurisdictional disputes on every job in this country.

I want to say that so far as the Machinists are concerned, President Wharton has stated the truth when he has told you that there were members of the Department that were expelled but the Building Trades Department does not recognize the Machinists as a building trade. We do recognize the Carpenters as a building trade and we are sorry to say that the Carpenters are not in affiliation with our Department, and that is not through any fault of our Department.

I want to say further that the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, in Section 6 of Article XV, specifically states:

"Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor."

It also states that each Department shall represent the Department that will determine the matter of jurisdiction and matters pertaining to the Department as designated.

I will say that I am very positive if the Carpenters were in affiliation with the Building Trades Department, where they should be, we would not be confronted with the agreement that is now up for adoption between the Machinists and the Carpenters. Personally, at least the Department is in favor of accepting the Committee's report.

Delegate Feeney, Elevator Constructors: Mr. Chairman, Delegate Wharton, in the course of his remarks, would lead one to believe that the sole matter before the Convention was the resolution presented at the Building Trades Department convention. Such is not the case. The Building Trades Department unanimously passed that resolution and requested every delegate to the Federation Convention from the Building

Trades Department to use every effort to defeat, if possible, that portion of the Executive Council's report dealing with this matter.

Now I want to say for myself, and I think that I express the opinion of every delegate in the Building Trades Department, that we have the profoundest respect for every member of the Executive Council, and that includes Brother Wharton. I personally believe that the Executive Council thought they were doing something good, something that everybody would benefit by. I believe they made a mistake. I believe I can prove that, and of course, the members of the Council being human, like the rest of us, are apt to make a mistake.

Brother Wharton stated that they had been granted jurisdiction and he cited that portion of the Executive Council's report that dealt with this subject matter. Brother Wharton probably does not remember that the Machinists were never granted jurisdiction over the assembling and erecting of elevator machinery. Surely there are plenty of delegates in this Convention who know that controversy was up year in and year out—yes, as Brother Wharton said, for some twenty years, and you can't show me, you can't show anyone else, that the American Federation of Labor ever granted a jurisdiction dispute against the Elevator Constructor.

Now I feel that the Executive Council, when they became a party to this, did not think for a moment that they were taking something from somebody and giving it to somebody else. But let's go into it a little bit. Our organization publishes in our Constitution all jurisdiction decisions, decisions or letters from officers of the American Federation of Labor bearing on decisions, so that each of our membership shall have it with him at all times if it becomes necessary to present the facts. Now Brother Wharton said there was only one way to do a thing and that was the right way, and in that we agree with him. That is the only way to do it—the right way—and the method that was applied here by those interested is not the right way. The right way to determine jurisdiction is to let everybody in connection with the American Federation of Labor Conventions, and the other Departments that may be interested, know what is going on and be given an opportunity, if they have a just complaint, to register that complaint.

Under date of May 9, 1904, we received a letter from President Gompers which can be

found in the archives of the American Federation of Labor. That letter is as follows:

"Washington, D. C.,
"May 9, 1904.

"Mr. Henry Snow,
"General Secretary-Treasurer, International
"Union of Elevator Constructors,
"Chicago, Ill.

"Dear Sir and Brother—Today Brothers Feeney and Havenstrie of your organization called at this office and requested a definite statement regarding matters of jurisdiction of your International Union.

"Of course you are aware that the same subject was under discussion at the Denver meeting of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor held last month.

"Desirous of rendering the very best possible service I can to your organization, consistent with the rights to which all other organizations are entitled, I, therefore, beg to say that at the time when your organization applied for charter from the American Federation of Labor the following claims to work were embodied in your application:

"The assembling of all elevator machinery, to wit: hydraulic, steam, electric, belt and compressed air; also assembling and building escalators or traveling stairways; the assembling of all cars complete, putting up all guides, either of wood or iron; the setting of all tanks whether pressure, open or pit tanks; the setting of all pumps (where pumps arrive on job in parts they are to be assembled by members of this Union. All electric work connected with car, machinery and hoistway, including bells, annunciators and lights; all overhead work, either of wood or iron, and supports for the same when required; the setting of all templates, all indicators, all fountains, either of wood or iron that would take the place of masonry, the assembling of all hydraulic parts in connection with elevators, all locking devices in connection with elevators; the boring, drilling and sinking of all plunger elevators, all link belt carriers and all work in general pertaining to the erection and equipment of an elevator complete."

"Prior to the issuance of the Charter to your organization claims to jurisdiction were made by several organizations of some classes of work which were not allowed. Then an agreement was reached between the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, by which your organization yielded to the Electrical Workers the following classes of work: 'The electrical work on flash lights, electrical annunciators and lamps and feed wires to the controller.' With that reservation and with those claims made by your organization to jurisdiction, the charter was issued by the American Federation of Labor.

"Fraternally yours,

"(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,
"President of the American Federation of
"Labor."

Now, since that time the Electricians have gained the right to do other electrical work on elevators, but it did not happen in the manner

that is proposed here today. They were here. Those interested were present, so that they could present their claims, and on some occasions they won and on others we won.

We have no objection to the Machinists and the Carpenters entering into an agreement. That's all right. If they think there is any good to come out of that, well and good. We do say, however, that in doing so they should not agree between themselves to divide up the work that has been granted to other organizations in the American Federation of Labor. But we would even say nothing about that if it were not for the fact that the Executive Council is hooked up with it. The prestige and influence of the Executive Council is what makes it dangerous for us. As far as they are concerned in making their agreement, that does not mean anything. We will take care of that when they get on the job. Don't let that worry you. But we can't take care of the Council. When they have got the Council's signature to their right, then they go to the employer and we have him to fight, along with the Council.

I know something about the influence and prestige of the Executive Council, having used it for many years for the benefit of my organization, and I certainly am not going to sit down and allow the other fellow to take an unfair advantage of us. If he can convince the Executive Council, with all the rest of us present, that they are justified in giving him a decision, all well and good. But you will pardon us if we demand to be heard. We had not intended to discuss this thing and the only reason that I got up was that I felt the remarks made by Brother Wharton should not be permitted to have been put in the record without at least some answer to them, Mr. President.

Thank you.

Delegate Morrin, Ironworkers: I rise to support the report of the Committee, which refers this subject to the Executive Council for an opportunity for all interested trades to be heard. We were the original introducers in the Building Trades Department of this resolution that has been mentioned, and in it we were joined by the Elevator Constructors, Sheet Metal Workers and other building trades organizations. We knew nothing of this agreement between the Machinists and the Carpenters until we saw the thing in the minutes of the Executive Council's report. We took the proper step and procedure to bring that to the attention of the other building trades, and we

all appeared as a body before the Committee on Executive Council's Report, which decided that they would refer this matter back for a hearing of the trades that were interested. We were under the impression that was satisfactory. We were so advised. We had no intention of taking up the time of this Convention. We felt that if given an opportunity to present our claims we would be able to establish our rights to work that the Carpenters and Machinists have gotten together and divided up amongst themselves. It is a situation where one would say to the other—the Machinist would say to the Carpenter, "We will give you the Netherland Plaza Hotel," and in turn the Carpenter would say to the Machinist, "We will give you the Sinton Hotel," and neither one of them own either.

They have totally disregarded previous decisions of the American Federation of Labor. That is what we object to. We have no objection to the Carpenters and Machinists making this agreement. They can make one every week or every day if they want to, provided they are not going to encroach upon the work of our trade, as well as other trades associated with us in the Building Trades Department. That is what we object to.

Brother Feeney called attention to some correspondence and he said he had to go way back in the archives of the organization. We will have to go him one better. I have a letter under date of July 23, 1904, pointing out the results of a conference that was held under the supervision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in Washington, D. C., June 27, 1904. The letter is as follows—dated May 24, 1904, and addressed to the then President of the Ironworkers, Frank Buchanan:

"May 24, 1904.

"Mr. Frank Buchanan, President,
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers,
144 E. 115 St., Chicago, Ill.

"Dear Sir and Brother:

"I beg to call your attention to the conclusion reached by the Executive Council at its Denver meeting in the case of jurisdiction between the several Metal Trades organizations. It is as follows:

"In the dispute as to jurisdiction in the Metal Trades especially as between the allied Metal Mechanics and the United Metal Workers, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. hereby decide that on or before July 15, 1904, a conference shall be held composed of two delegates from each of the following organizations: Machinists, Structural Iron Workers, Metal Polishers, Allied Metal Mechanics, United Metal Workers, and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., said conference shall assign to each of the first three unions all persons now members of the Allied Metal

Mechanics and United Metal Workers eligible to membership therein, and shall unite in one International Union all members of the Allied Metal Mechanics and United Metal Workers not eligible to membership in the other unions, and, said conference shall clearly define the jurisdiction of the Amalgamated Union so formed. Any union declining to take part in said conference or refusing to abide by its decisions shall forfeit its charter forthwith."

"Inasmuch as the Executive Council directed that a conference shall be held and before July 15, 1904, I beg to suggest as the date for this conference June 27, in Washington, D. C. If this meets with your approval, and you will be ready to have the two representatives of your organization in attendance, kindly advise me at your earliest convenience.

"A letter similar to this is being written to the executive officers of the several other organizations referred to above.

"Awaiting your early reply, and with kind regards, I am,

"Fraternally yours,

"(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor."

At that conference at which the International Association of Machinists was represented, as well as the Iron Workers' International Union, the following record of that conference shows that jurisdiction was unanimously conceded by the Machinists to the Iron Workers over the moving and placing of all heavy machinery in bridges and buildings. Let it not be understood by this Convention that we are claiming machinery work. We are not. We have in our International Union a number of rigger local unions who rig and do the necessary rigging and handle equipment for heavy pieces of machinery that will range from five to fifty or seventy-five tons and more, and those are the men that come under the classification of our organization. The lining and adjusting and fitting of that work is always done by Machinists. That has been the customary procedure. That has been in accordance with the decisions of the A. F. of L. when these two organizations get together, and the Machinists, who have been very graciously conceded jurisdiction by the Carpenters over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories or elsewhere, wherever machinery is being used—that covers the entire territory.

In some of the coal mining districts we come in contact with the breaker machinery, heavy lifts to be made, and it is handled and operated with derricks and equipment used in connection with structural steel. We also claim conveyors and supports for same. For many years our organization had an agreement with

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners that was abrogated a little over a year ago by the Carpenters. That agreement with the Carpenters conceded to us the right to erect this work, which frequently runs into heavy structural steel. It depends on the nature of the conveyor that is being put up. In the smelting districts and in the coal mining districts sometimes a large amount of structural steel is required to support the conveyor. They have got together and politely decided that the Brotherhood should do that, as well as all other conveyor work and all chutes, whether it is coal chutes, ash chutes, or any other kind of chutes—work that we never had a contest about before, only with the Boiler Makers, and we reached an agreement with them. So they have graciously conceded back and forth a great amount of work, and neither one of them have it.

They were fortunate in having two members on the Executive Council and they were familiar with what was done. We are not criticising the Executive Council. We feel they think they were doing a very good thing in trying to avert jurisdictional disputes to settle this matter, but I am sure they did not know that there were a large number of other trades involved, and there were a large number of these trades who appeared before the Committee on Executive Council's Report and voiced their objections to this agreement, which, if permitted to go through, carries as definite an endorsement as could be given any trade over this jurisdiction. It says: "The following work will be recognized as the work to be performed by the members of the respective organizations." If that is not complete jurisdiction to the Millwright and Carpenter, then I am badly mistaken, and so is everybody else in the Building Trades Department. Representatives of every organization in the Building Trades Department appeared before the Executive Council and voiced their objections to this agreement and the way in which it was entered into and the lack of knowledge on the part of any of the Building Trades that this agreement has been consummated or had been brought about.

I did not know we were to occupy the time of this Convention. I thought we could best solve this problem before the Executive Council when a hearing was set at which we would be heard, as well as the Elevator Constructors, the Sheet Metal Workers and others interested. But inasmuch as Brother Wharton

saw fit to bring this to the floor, let me reiterate what our little brother said up there, Brother Feeney: "We will take care of the matter on the job." You are not doing that work now and we will try to maintain that work for the trades that are doing it, but we are not going to sit idly by and permit this Convention to place in your hands or in the hands of the business agents of your local unions something that they can go to the employer with and raise a doubt as to who shall do his work, something that will undoubtedly bring about strife over jurisdictional matters and general confusion in what little building work is going on today. I don't want to do anything that will make less work. The Lord knows, there is little enough now for the building tradesmen of this country. We want to preserve what we have and to try to go on with that work without confusion and jurisdictional strife, but this agreement, if given the blanket approval of the Convention and the American Federation of Labor as proposed in the Executive Council's report, will bring about the very thing we seek to avoid.

That is why we say to you that we are agreeable to accepting the Committee's report and refer this matter to the Executive Council for a hearing of the interested parties in order that we might be heard. Is there anything wrong with that? Certainly the Machinists can not object to the right of a trade to be heard on the contention they may have, and that is what we are doing.

He mentioned some matters here in connection with New York, and I want to answer that and say this: Some of the local unions of our International Association are in the Building Trades Council of New York City. Our Structural Iron Workers are not. They are working at a great disadvantage in that district. We have our riggers' local union in the Building Trades Council. They do nothing but heavy machinery work—derricks and equipment of a heavy nature. The Machinists have a representative who sat on the Executive Committee of the New York Building Trades Council. I wonder if any of you fellows ever heard him. If you have not you have missed out on something. Our riggers' local union changed their business agent, they elected a new one, and before that new business agent could be seated in the New York Building Trades Council, Mr. Dalton, representing the Machinists, demanded that he sign on the back of his credential all the work of

his trade over to the Machinists, and they were out of affiliation for some four or five months in the Building Trades Council of New York City until the Building Trades Department definitely and concretely notified the Council that they must recognize the jurisdiction of the Iron Workers' organization. If you want the low-down on New York, that's New York. We have a lot more we can give you the low-down on if you want it.

I did not want to take up the time of this Convention to go into it, but I do say we were put to a great deal of disadvantage because, while I am not challenging the Executive Council's integrity, and while I believe they acted in good faith and thought they were performing a worthy proposition that would bring about peace between these two trades, still we are asking that the matter should go to the Executive Council for them to give a hearing to all interested parties. And the Machinist, if he wants to be fair, cannot object to that, and I am satisfied that if that is granted we will be able to present evidence at least in support of our claims, as well as the other trades.

The correspondence I have read is in the files of the American Federation of Labor. If it is not, I will be glad to furnish copies. It goes back thirty years, but it recognizes unanimous consent on the part of the Machinists to our jurisdiction over the work that they now claim, boots, breeches, body and soul, not only in factories and buildings everywhere, but they say everywhere where machinery is used. Certainly they did not leave out anything.

That presents the case insofar as the Iron Workers are concerned. We are asking an opportunity to be heard, along with the other trades, when the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor takes this matter up.

Delegate Wharton: May I make a statement, and I think perhaps we can bring this to a close?

President Green: Very well.

Delegate Hines: —

President Green: Would you wait a moment until I make an explanation in behalf of the Executive Council? I am sure that in this particular case every delegate in attendance at this Convention will appreciate the fact that the Council has acted in good faith. In fact, the Council endeavored as best it could to carry out the instructions of the Vancouver Convention, and it brings to you this report as evidence of the fact that the Council carried out the instructions of the Vancouver Convention. If we

had failed to carry it out, what would you have done with the Council? Let me read you the resolution presented at the Vancouver Convention, Resolution No. 89, by Delegate A. O. Wharton. Listen to this:

"WHEREAS, The International Association of Machinists as such and by decisions of the Building Trades Department Convention, Seattle, 1913, and numerous decisions by conventions of the American Federation of Labor, has jurisdiction over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories, or elsewhere, where machinery may be used; and

"WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners have continued to use every means at their command to place members of their organization on this work and have persistently refused to recognize or in any manner respect the decisions of the A. F. of L., the highest recognized authority on this subject in the American Labor movement; and

"WHEREAS, Numerous conferences have been held by the officers of the two organizations over a period of years and no agreement having been reached; and

"WHEREAS, The two International Presidents during the 1930 Boston convention of the A. F. of L. agreed to appoint a Joint Commission for the purpose of conducting a joint investigation in various cities and report their joint findings and submit their joint recommendations to the respective International Presidents, said findings and recommendations to be used as a basis for further conference and, if possible, agreement between the two organizations. The Joint Commission's report and recommendations, excepting the verbatim minutes of the investigations conducted by them in Chicago, Ill., dated November 25, 1930, St. Louis, Mo., dated December 2, 1930, and New York City, dated January 7, 1931, are as follows:

I don't think it is necessary for me to read the report of the joint commission appointed by the officers of these two organizations to go into the question of the jurisdiction between the Millwrights and the Machinists. But here is the "Resolve" that was adopted:

WHEREAS, The International Presidents have held conferences, with the Commission's report before them, and were unable to reach an agreement and it being apparent that no agreement will be possible so long as the officers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners maintain the policy and attitude as shown by the records in this case over a period of some eighteen years; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council be and are hereby directed to prepare and distribute, within sixty days, an official circular which shall include therein Resolution No. 24, adopted by the Building Trades Department Convention, Seattle, 1913, the recommendation of the committee, the roll

call vote verbatim and notice of appeal by Delegate Kirby reading:

That was the resolution that was introduced because of the dispute, bitter it had become, between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the Machinists over the question of millwright work, whether the Carpenters should do it or whether the Machinists should do it.

Now what was the action of the Convention on this resolution I have just read? Here it is.

This question comes to your committee through the instrumentality of Resolution No. 89 appearing on pages 214 to 216 of the proceedings of the second day's session. Embodied in this resolution is a review of former efforts to adjust this controversy. It is the judgment of your committee that some progress has been made towards a settlement of this long-standing controversy, and your committee deems it advisable to reproduce that part of the record which embraces the report of a committee composed of three representatives of the Machinists' organization and three representatives of the Carpenters' Union, which committee was appointed by Presidents Wharton and Hutcheson for the purpose of making an investigation. This report reads:

And that was the report I referred to a moment ago. After quoting it, then the Committee says:

In the judgment of this committee, formed upon the information presented to us and the findings of the joint committee of the two organizations, this question can be settled. Therefore, it behooves President Wharton and Hutcheson to devote time and effort to the end that they may agree on a plan to carry into execution the recommendations of their joint committee. Because of this, we recommend that this matter be referred to the Executive Council and that they be directed to give every possible assistance in bringing about an adjustment.

Now the dispute was brought to the Vancouver Convention by the Machinists' delegation, a dispute between the Carpenters and the Machinists only, and when the discussion was placed on the floor no one arose to say that they, too, were interested in that jurisdictional dispute. Now I confess I am as innocent as a lamb. I never knew there was another building trades organization interested in this jurisdictional dispute between the Carpenters and the Machinists over millwright work, and it has taken all the joy out of my life to find out here that there are other organizations apparently interested, because I thought we had accomplished something wonderful this year, for a number of people have told us that we would never be able to bring about a settlement of that dispute be-

tween the Carpenters and the Machinists. And I will say to this delegation that I have never devoted more time and effort and patience and thought to a jurisdictional dispute, with a purer and loftier purpose in mind to settle a dispute between two organizations, than I did with this during the past year.

It was with much difficulty that I brought them together in behalf of the Council, and when we met last July this matter was before the Council in a most aggravated form. Surely every one heard that first "Whereas" read in the resolution proposed at Vancouver. Nobody challenged it. It says:

"WHEREAS, The International Association of Machinists as such and by decisions of the Building Trades Department convention, Seattle, 1913, and numerous decisions by conventions of the American Federation of Labor, has jurisdiction over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories, or elsewhere, where machinery may be used."

That "Whereas" was in the resolution presented at Seattle. It was read, it was published. The Machinists said, "That is ours, it was granted to us not only by the American Federation of Labor, but by the Building Trades Convention." And the record shows that no one challenged that statement. So I was under the impression that it was a dispute between the Machinists and the Carpenters over millwright work—millwright work, if you please, and you who are here in attendance know what that is. Years ago it was the woodworker who did millwright work. Time has changed and now there is a lot of metal work in it and it developed a fight between the two organizations. So after much difficulty, carrying out these instructions, the Convention at Vancouver said to the Executive Council, "Bring them together, call them in, do all you can to settle the dispute; promote peace and harmony; appeal to them to compose their differences." Well, we did it. We carried out your instructions, we held the conferences, we begged and we pleaded, and as a result of it—and it was no easy job—they came to this understanding and this agreement. And I say to you, my friends, I felt happy because I thought, here is another jurisdictional dispute settled.

Now surely Brother Morrin and these others must have known the instructions of the Vancouver Convention. They must have known we were trying to carry out those instructions.

but nobody ever said to me that there was any other question involved and I never knew it until now—I am telling you the truth—I never knew it until now.

Now, then, the Council simply reports on the agreement, and believe me, it was no easy job. There isn't anything in this agreement where the Council says that they either grant the jurisdiction or that they approve it. Now listen to it:

"The Executive Council is pleased to report that through conferences held between the representatives of the International Association of Machinists and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, an agreement was reached which it is hoped will prove to be a settlement of the jurisdictional controversy which arose between these two organizations many years ago.

"The representatives of the two organizations involved displayed a very fine spirit in all the conferences which were held. As a result of suggestions made and proposals submitted, an understanding was reached which was embodied in a memorandum of agreement reading as follows:"

Then we incorporate in the record the agreement reached, not between them and the Executive Council, but between the two organizations, the Machinists and the Carpenters. We thought it was our duty, if we succeeded in carrying out your instructions, to tell you that we had succeeded. The Convention surely meant what it said when it told us to go to work and bring about a settlement. It certainly was not an attempt to say one thing and mean another. When you delegates, and many of you were in Vancouver, told the Executive Council to go settle this dispute, you meant it, didn't you? Well, we carried out your instructions and in all sincerity, for I never knew, I repeat again, that there was any other organization that was involved in this jurisdictional controversy between the Machinists and the Carpenters.

Now, then, I am not going to impose on your time and patience by reading the agreement. It is there—not an agreement between the Council and these organizations, but the agreement they made themselves through our efforts in bringing them together. Then they composed their differences and settled it.

After quoting the agreement, all we say is:

"The outcome of the conferences held demonstrates the fact that even when difficulties in connection with jurisdictional disputes seem to be well nigh insurmountable, if the representatives of the organizations interested approach the consideration of the difficulties in the right spirit and with a determination to find a basis of accommodation, they will ultimately succeed."

There isn't anything in there where the Council says, "In view of that agreement we recognize that the jurisdiction established by you belongs to you." We are merely reporting an agreement without comment. I can not for the life of me understand how any construction could be put upon that report that would mean that the Executive Council had in any way whatever dealt with the question of the jurisdictional rights of President Morrin, of President Feeney, President Hutcheson, President Wharton, or anybody else. If I was asked to officially interpret this agreement, I would say it was an agreement between two organizations settling a jurisdictional dispute between themselves, and it in no way involved the jurisdiction rights of any other organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Now, then, I think I have surely clarified the situation. The delegates and officers here can see the picture. You told us to do something at the Vancouver Convention. We carried out your instructions. We report the result of our efforts. It is here as a matter of record only and no action that I have taken or that the Council has taken or that this Convention could take on this report would, in my judgment, in any way infringe upon, transgress upon or interfere with the jurisdictional claims or rights of any other organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

President Feeney: May I ask you a question, Mr. President?

President Green: Yes sir.

Delegate Feeney: Do the rest of the Executive Council so agree with what you have just expressed?

President Green: I am sure they do, Brother Feeney.

Delegate Feeney: If they did, I am for the Executive Council's report, and if that had been embodied in the report nothing would have been said.

President Green: I am glad to make that explanation. The agreement is between the carpenters and the machinists. The machinists claim this jurisdiction has been given to them. They have quoted decisions of the Convention, as I have said, but we are not passing upon that; we are passing upon an agreement reached between two organizations over a jurisdictional dispute.

Delegate Hynes, Sheet Metal Workers: Mr. President, I want it understood that I am not criticising the Executive Council for the action

they have taken, any more than to say that the members of the Executive Council maybe are not as familiar as we are with the cuteness of the business agents, including the sheet metal workers' business agents, when they want to get something over somebody else, insofar as a jurisdictional dispute is concerned on the job. It may be news to you, Mr. President, and to the members of the Executive Council, in the agreement made between the two trades, that in one of the biggest cities of the country on a large Government job, if this agreement had been ratified we would have had to remove 67 men from that job, and in these times, of course, that is not a very nice thing to do.

Regardless of how you may feel, Mr. President, or how any of the delegates in this Convention feel about it, I am here to tell you if this agreement is adopted by the Convention the business agents of the respective trades mentioned in the agreement will have the opportunity of going to the contractors and saying, "The American Federation of Labor in convention, through a report handed down by the Executive Council handled by a committee on the Executive Council's report and passed in the Convention, decided that the jurisdiction of those two trades shall be so and so." There is the position, Mr. President, that we know from past history, in which the elevator constructors, the iron workers and the sheet metal workers will be placed.

In the end what does the committee's report mean? That all interested trades meet with the Executive Council and point out to the Council the right of these trades to work covered in the agreement. There isn't a time that men cannot sit down and agree upon work between themselves. Then when another trade disagrees with them there is nothing to do but strike on the job or come to the American Federation of Labor and be given an opportunity to point out to the Executive Council or the president or a committee of the Council the wrong the carpenters and machinists did by giving other people's work away to one another.

Delegate Kennedy, United Mine Workers: I was a member of the committee that heard this dispute the other day. It started out, ostensibly between building trades organizations, but upon analyzing the addenda of this agreement I discovered, as Brother Green discovered a few moments ago, that this agreement, without interpretation or explanation now infringes upon the jurisdiction of the

United Mine Workers. In the Vancouver convention when this subject was under discussion by the committee of which I was a member at that time, and it was referred back, I understood then it was between the carpenters and machinists.

And bear in mind that nothing in that resolution at Vancouver had reference to breakers or breaker machinery, and yet in the agreement we find those terms used, and there is no question in my mind—without explanation or clarification, and taking this agreement literally—that either organization to the agreement could claim men now belonging to the United Mine Workers. And as proof of my contention, within the past month or two the machinists have already claimed work that belongs to the United Mine Workers in some sections of Illinois. That lends some color to the statement I am now making to this convention.

We have machinists employed on breakers; they build conveyors, they build chutes, and what not. We have machine shops in connection with mines and with breakers and with collieries. We have an agreement with the carpenters' organization and have had it for a number of years. It was made at the Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor. We have got along under that agreement, but as this stands now, without mentioning our previous agreement with the carpenters and machinists, evidently they are all set aside, judging from this one little term incorporated in this report.

Instead of the situation becoming better, you have added to the controversy another organization, and it is my judgment if this goes back to the Executive Council with the report of the committee, in addition to hearing the building trades organizations, we are going to ask that we be heard in order to clarify our jurisdictional question in relation to the entire subject matter.

Delegate Wharton, International Association of Machinists: In order that the historical features of the controversy be complete, I would like to have incorporated in the record the references which have to do with the decisions rendered in connection with this controversy on the floors of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and I particularly want to call attention to the fact that they are subsequent to decisions referred to by Mr. Feeney of the Elevator Constructors and President Morrin of the

Structural Iron Workers, so that the fear which they have injected into this question does not seem to me to be applicable to the carpenters and machinists.

In a letter addressed to our former president, William H. Johnston, in 1921, by the late Samuel Gompers, he states:

"Washington, D. C.,
March 1.

"Mr. Wm. H. Johnston,
President, International Association of Machinists,

I. A. of M. Building, Washington, D. C.

"Dear Sir and Brother:

"Replying to your communication of February 21st, I beg to hand you herewith the following:

"Resolution 50, with action of the convention: page 327, Seattle 1913 Convention, American Federation of Labor.

"Resolution 152, with convention action: page 417, proceedings Philadelphia 1914 Convention, A. F. of L.

"Machinists-Carpenters, E. C. Report and action of convention: pages 129, 193, 403, 417, proceedings San Francisco, 1915.

"Machinists-Carpenters, Report of E. C. and action thereon: pages 129, 376, 377, 399, proceedings Baltimore, 1916.

"Resolution 153, pages 401-406 and Machinists-Carpenters E. C. Report; pages 129-130, proceedings Buffalo, 1917.

"Machinists-Carpenters, E. C. Report: page 127, St. Paul 1918 proceedings.

"Machinists-Carpenters, E. C. Report and action of convention, Atlantic City 1919 proceedings.

"The enclosed is the record from the official printed proceedings of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor on the jurisdictional case between the International Association of Machinists and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

"With best wishes, I am,

"Fraternally yours,

"(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,

"President, American Federation of Labor."

Under date of March 3, 1921, in another letter to former President William H. Johnston, President Gompers quotes Resolution No. 152, adopted at the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Philadelphia in November, 1914. That resolution is quoted in full. I will read one of the "Whereases". I wish the delegates to pay particular attention to the language used in reference to our jurisdiction:

"The International Association of Machinists has jurisdiction over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories, or elsewhere where machinery may be used."

In the concluding paragraph of the letter President Gompers said:

"The annual convention held at Buffalo, November, 1917, reaffirmed the resolution of the Philadelphia convention as above quoted,

the committee to which the subject matter was referred reporting and the convention adopting the following:

"Your committee finds that the Philadelphia convention of the A. F. of L. gave jurisdiction over the work involved in Resolution No. 153 to the International Association of Machinists. At the Baltimore convention the two interested organizations entered upon an understanding for the purpose of adjusting differences as they might arise and to endeavor to adjust the entire controversy. Failing to agree after a number of conferences, they ceased to meet. Your committee is of the firm conviction and belief that the only possible way by which the differences between these two organizations can be satisfactorily adjusted, is by their meeting with one another until a final adjustment is reached, and if necessary an officer or representative of the American Federation of Labor should be in attendance at these meetings to prove helpful in bringing about a better understanding and avoid friction and turmoil. Your committee, therefore, recommends that the two organizations involved in the controversy be instructed and directed to meet in keeping with the foregoing suggestion and settle their differences in accordance with the understanding reached at the Baltimore convention, that in the meantime the action and decision of the Philadelphia Convention be held to be in force and effect and that the Executive Council be authorized to do everything in its power to help bring about an amicable and satisfactory adjustment between the interested organizations."

"Reference to the proceedings of the succeeding conventions of the A. F. of L. up to and including the convention held June, 1920, at Montreal, Canada, show that the above still stands as the declaration of the American Federation of Labor as regards the jurisdictional controversy between the two contending organizations.

"Fraternally yours,

"(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,

"President, American Federation of Labor."

Now, Mr. Chairman, with further reference to the report before this convention. I have no desire to reintroduce into this convention a controversy of so many years standing. I know, I think, as well as other delegates here that differences do exist and that they will continue to exist, but I do believe we should make every possible effort to adjust differences between the organizations directly concerned before bringing them into this convention. The agreement entered into between the carpenters and machinists relates to differences that exist between them and nobody else.

If the belief is aroused that an agreement has been entered into that infringes upon the jurisdiction of other organizations, then those organizations should take the matter up with either of the organizations with which they

think they have a difference. We did not discuss the jurisdiction of the Iron Workers as granted by this organization. Not at all. As far as I am concerned I am willing to withdraw the objection I made to the report of the committee to refer it to the Executive Council and let it go to the Council. If that will keep it off the floor of the convention we are willing to do that.

Delegate McDonough: We were willing to do that in the start. We were under the impression that that was the course to be pursued.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Conclusion

It would not be fitting that your committee close this report without pausing a moment to pay our respects to President Green and his colleagues on the Executive Council; and to express our appreciation for the capable manner in which they have performed the duties entrusted to them. The past has been a most trying and unpleasant year in which to represent the interests of labor. But there is much to inspire courage and hope of success in the outlook. The undying determination of members of organized labor to "carry on" in spite of the odds, is most commendable. With that devotion so manifest what leader would falter! But even then, if it were not for the indomitable spirit and the moral and spiritual stamina of the officers of the unions and of the Federation—that spirit that will not be denied—we of all men would be most miserable. We are safely and capably led and we know it. We feel secure in that knowledge. We wish our selected leaders to know that we know it and that their efforts are appreciated and that they may continue to serve with the assurance that this is so.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice-President Wilson, Chairman of the Committee: This concludes the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report, and is signed:

JAMES WILSON, Chairman;
CHARLES A. SUMNER, Secretary;
GEORGE L. BERRY,
THOMAS KENNEDY,
F. H. KNIGHT,
EDWARD FLORE,
J. J. HYNES,
ANDREW FURUSETH,
JAMES C. SHANESSY,

MARTIN LAWLOR,
JOHN J. MARA,
ANDREW J. FALLON,
HENRY W. STRICKLAND,
JOS. P. RYAN,
CHAS. RAU.

The report of the Committee as a whole was adopted by unanimous vote and the committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

President Green: The chairman desires to take advantage of this opportunity to speak on a matter of personal privilege. My attention has been called to an editorial published in a great metropolitan newspaper, dealing with a subject matter acted upon by this convention. I am taking official notice of this editorial because of the influence and character of this newspaper and because of its standing in the formation and crystallization of public opinion. I refer to an editorial which appeared in the New York Times to which my attention has been called. In its issue Wednesday, November 30th, this editorial was published. With your permission I will read it. It is entitled "NOT A TIME TO QUARREL."

"Surprise and disappointment will be caused by the speech of President Green at the convention of the American Federation of Labor at Cincinnati. He has been reckoned among the most steady-going and reasonable labor leaders. His position as head of a powerful organization is one of great influence, and this he has always seemed to desire to use in a spirit of moderation and with a proper sense of responsibility. But on Monday his demand for a five-day week and six-hour day was couched in what was acclaimed by the assembled delegates as the 'greatest fighting speech' of his career. Mr. Green declared that the labor unions are at the end of their patience and are ready to resort to 'forceful methods,' making use of every weapon in their armory, in order to compel industrial managers everywhere to yield to the labor ultimatum.

"Such a militant attitude is doubly unfortunate. It can not fail to be disturbing to all who have thought of the American Federation of Labor, under its present leadership, as inclined to avoid extremes of all kinds, and to seek to maintain and perhaps enlarge the gains of organized labor by carefully studied means and by conciliatory methods. Suddenly to pass over to brusque and belligerent proposals must cause disquiet to its friends. Moreover, the time for such a changed policy seems to have been badly chosen. With millions of men already out of work, the threat of strikes with the result of making idle great numbers more seems wholly out of keeping with the needs of the hour. We are in the midst of trying times when employers are just as anxious as workmen can be to keep their business going and furnish wages to as many as possible. But it is a troubled period through which we are passing when the order of the day ought

always to be conference and co-operation between Labor and Capital, and when nothing could be so ill-timed and disastrous as a quarrelsome and bitter tone on either side. At the moment when all should be trying to work together for the good of all, President Green's extravagant and menacing words sound like bells jangled out of tune.

As concerns the substance of his demand, it is so abrupt and sweeping as obviously to require time and careful analysis before anything can be done about it. It contains both social and financial implications of the gravest sort. The proposal is clearly one to put a new strain upon the resources of employers. If the week is to be one of only five days, and if the day's labor is to be no more than six hours, while no decrease in wages is to be tolerated—there will be, in fact, demands for still higher wages—the labor costs entering into production will indisputably be pushed much higher. How are they to be met? Have President Green and his associates read the annual report of our industrial companies and noted how few of them have made any profits at all on which to pay an income tax? If workmen are much put to it nowadays, let them not forget that their employers grow haggard and pale in striving to get enough money ahead to pay their help, and to keep their shops and factories going. To thrust upon them any such added burdens as would be involved in granting President Green's request would be to force them, in many cases, into bankruptcy, or into closing down their works. The whole plan as one to help reduce unemployment is grotesque. It would make the last estate of the workers worse than the first.

"Without unduly stressing these points, which would have to be most seriously considered if the project were to be pressed, it is sufficient for the time being to deprecate anything like a hostile clash over these issues at such a critical juncture. The great and immediate need of all classes in society now is not to fight each other but to sit down and reason together. No one who has observed events during recent years will deny that organized labor has won many advances and benefits. But it has done this most successfully when it has displayed qualities which have not antagonized or frightened the general good sense of the community. That has been the rule even in prosperous times, and to drop it when the nation is going through stress and struggle would be both unwise and self-destructive. We are all in the same boat and must try to pull the oars in harmony. Only so can we keep afloat. It requires discipline and a spirit of accommodation on the part of all the members of the crew to ride out the storm and reach the desired haven."

I am certain that there are large numbers of citizens of this republic who are deeply impressed by the editorials printed and published in the New York Times, and it is for that reason only that I am taking advantage of this opportunity to express my opinion

briefly regarding the sentiments expressed in this editorial.

Apparently the statement I made to the officers and delegates to the Convention a few days ago must have found its mark, for here is the reaction, and it has come quickly. But in reading the editorial, my friends, this fact stands out as most striking, that the editor failed utterly to deal with the fundamental questions involved in the statement I made to the officers and delegates in attendance at the Convention.

The editorial of this paper refers sympathetically to the "pale employer" who, he says, is striving hard to find money with which to pay wages, but there isn't one single word in that editorial referring to the pale child and the pale mother and the broken father suffering from unemployment. It was for the unemployed we pleaded, it was for the millions who have gone to bed hungry, night after night and day after day for well nigh three years. I ask you and all who have read this editorial if you find in it one note of hope for these unemployed. Has that editorial suggested a better remedy, a better plan than we have presented to the general public, to employers of labor and to the representatives of our great Government?

Then, again, there has been no reference made to the effort of labor, to which I called the attention of the delegates, in the development of the wealth of this nation, in the address I delivered. No reference is made to the days when the management of industry found its earnings so great that it became necessary for them to expand their plants, to reconstruct, to rebuild, to spend the money, to declare extra dividends and stock dividends in order to save themselves from paying it to the Government in income tax.

We hold that in those days the men who are referred to now as being pale because they are trying to find money with which to meet their payrolls, committed a crime against labor that has not yet been righted, and committed a wrong that has not yet been answered. And many of the corporations of this country, those who forced upon labor, not only one reduction, but two, three and more, are still paying dividends to their stockholders out of the reserves created by labor during those prosperous days.

There are many corporations in America that thus far have not failed during all these three years of suffering and strife to pay dividends to the stockholders, and labor goes hun-

gry, children are underfed and undernourished, and men are begging for work, but at each quarterly period the stockholders of the corporations receive their checks as dividends. I claim that that reserve is as much belonging to labor as it is the stockholders who are now being paid their dividends.

It was that principle we had in mind when we declared yesterday, calling upon the Government to require corporations to create reserve, not alone for the payment of dividends, but out of which the unemployed workers could be paid in order to feed themselves and their families. Reserve, yes, it all comes from labor's blood and labor's sweat and labor's hands, and I am getting very much disturbed over the situation.

How can we remain still when, after three years, our people are still hungry? And there is nothing in this editorial that even suggests a remedy. We proposed it. We begged for the kind of peaceful co-operation referred to. With all the power we possess we begged the employers of labor to meet with us; we begged the Government to call a conference for the purpose of taking care of the unemployed, to find work for the jobless. The Government refused. I have pleaded personally with the representatives of the employing interests in this nation to meet with labor.

Three years have gone by, nothing has been done. We are meeting with a great congress of labor when a great emergency exists. What do they expect us to do? Sit still? They mistake our patience and self-control; they feel we have lost courage, but we haven't; the fighting spirit is in the labor movement; all it needs is to be aroused, and we have notified the world that it is aroused and we are going to fight, not with physical violence and force, but with our economic strength for the six-hour day and the five-day week.

In making that fight we are making the fight for the nation itself, we are making the fight for the women and children, we are making the fight for honest, able-bodied men who want to earn a decent living for themselves and for their families.

Industrial management mechanized industry. They said, "We will do the work with machinery, we will produce more, we will displace working men through the introduction of machinery and power."

Very well! That you may do, but we say if you are going to do that you must adjust the working time so that these men and women displaced are given an opportunity to work. We

carry the responsibility and the blame to the door of industry; we place it where it properly belongs. You are responsible, industrial management, for our militant fighting attitude, if I may put it that way.

And I want to repeat to you what I said that, so far as I am concerned, I shall arouse the fighting spirit of the men of labor. We will select those who are the best ready to fight, we will make them the spearhead in this effort, we will draw the line of battle and we will carry the struggle to the door of industry, of management, until the battle is won.

(At this point in the address the entire audience arose and applauded vigorously.)

This is the reply which I desire to make to this editorial. I am glad they paid us the compliment of recognizing that we are deeply in earnest. When a great paper like this writes an editorial of that kind, we can arrive at the conclusion that, after all, our shot has hit the mark and we are counting for something at least.

Delegate Bieretz, Electrical Workers: May I offer just one thought in connection with this for reflection? You will notice at the top of the first page of the New York Times, "All the News That's Fit to Print." I think it becomes obvious that that should include on the opposite side of the page, "All of the Editorials Printed to Fit."

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT

Delegate Maloney, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Perhaps I should express the regrets of the Adjustment Committee for not reporting earlier during the sessions of this convention, but Chairman Rickert suggested that we had better wait, as some resolutions might be referred from some other committee for our consideration. However, during the noon hour, after sitting in this harmonious and subdued atmosphere produced by the beautiful lighting effect, President Rickert said that nothing contentious would develop, and so we decided to make our report.

If I may trespass upon the great good nature of our distinguished president, Brother Green, I would like to say that I noticed during his discussion of the little jurisdictional controversy that went on here this afternoon he said that the joy of living had been taken away from him.

Now, I would like to say to President

Green that the funeral of the noble experiment is not very far in the distance—I think you will all agree with me that we attended its wake yesterday—and I would like to say to Bill here that if he would attend a night-club session, perhaps a year from now, in the atmosphere we enjoyed here at noon time, and perhaps as an experiment with him indulge himself in one or two, or three or four, or maybe five or six glasses of that amber fluid that I think the most of you have partaken of during a long and useful life—and perhaps I might add a highball or two—I am convinced that the joy of life would be restored and that President Green would admit that happy days were here again.

No resolutions or business of any kind have been referred to us for consideration or adjudication, consequently the mere announcement of this fact to this convention must constitute our report, which is signed by the entire committee:

T. A. RICKERT, Chairman;
JAMES MALONEY, Secretary;
ROY HORN,
JOHN F. McNAMARA,
J. B. ETCHISON,
CHARLES L. BAGLEY,
H. B. FERHAN,
PHILIP MURRAY,
W. B. MAHON,
F. H. FLJOZDAL,
M. F. TIGHE,
WM. C. ELLIOTT,
J. P. McLAUGHLIN,
M. F. GREENE,
H. H. BROACH,
R. M. BURR,
ROBERT T. MCCOY,

Committee on Adjustment.

President Green: Mr. Secretary, I think that is a very, very fine report.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: Mr. President and delegates to the convention. Since the secretary of the Committee on Adjustment has proved to you his remarkable versatility in settling controversies, if I am not violating the rules of this convention, I would like to move that in the future differences between the Wets and the Drys be referred to this committee and kept from the floor of the convention.

President Green: The purpose of this resolution will be carried out as long as Jim Maloney is secretary of the Committee.

Delegate Volz: I move as an amendment to the motion that the meetings which this Committee will hold be held in one of the clubs referred to by the Committee.

The report of the Committee was adopted,

and the Committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAWS

Vice-President Ryan, Chairman of the Committee: The Committee on Laws has not been quite as fortunate as the Committee of which Brother Maloney is secretary. We passed through the first week of this convention, and your Committee was congratulating itself that for the first time in the history of the American Federation of Labor it seemed that we might have a convention without any amendments being offered to the constitution. However, in that we were not successful, as there was a resolution introduced and referred to us by the unanimous consent of this convention. The Committee is now ready to report on that resolution. The report will be read by our secretary, Frank Doyle.

Secretary Doyle read the following resolution:

Amendment to Constitution

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate John L. Lewis, of the United Mine Workers of America.

RESOLVED, That Article V, Section 1, on page IX of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, be amended by striking out the word "eight," appearing on the second line, and inserting in lieu thereof the words "twenty-five."

Secretary Doyle: I think, for the benefit of the delegates, it might be well to read Section 1 of Article V.

Article V.—Officers

Section 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, eight Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention on the last day of the session, unless otherwise determined by the Convention, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

Secretary Doyle: The intention of the resolution is to increase the Council to 28 members. The Committee's report is as follows:

Your Committee has given the most careful consideration to this resolution, to its import and to the question of whether it would result in benefit or disadvantage to our movement. We have heard the arguments of its introducer and of those who oppose its enactment as a part of our constitution.

It seems clear beyond dispute to the members of your Committee that no good results

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

could be had from adoption of this proposed constitutional amendment.

For thirty years the Executive Council has contained the same number of vice presidents which it now contains. During those thirty years, which have included years of overwhelming strain and responsibility, unsurpassed for gravity in all of our national history, our movement, with the Council as it is, has led the world in trade union achievement.

There is no indication that the Council has at any time or in any way failed to respond to the demands of our movement or of our time. It was with the Council as it is that our movement wrote its record of monumental achievement during the World War. And it is under the guidance and leadership of the Council with its present size that this Convention, even before our sessions here have ended, will have written a record of progressive legislation and laid down a program of advanced action and thought that continues it in the forefront of world labor movements.

In the judgment of the Committee there has not been advanced to them any reason of weight or genuine merit for changing the size of the Council and thus changing the structure of our administrative machinery. It has not been shown that greater responsiveness to the needs of the movement could be secured or that larger numbers would lead to better direction of our affairs or a better presentation of our position to the world.

The Council throughout all these years has been fairly representative of the various and varying trade interests and groups within our federation. They have thus been qualified to interpret, not only the written directions of our conventions, but the spirit and the constantly varying requirements of the various groups and interests within our democratic movement. There appears no reason to suspect that the conventions will be less wise in their choice of representatives in the future than they have been throughout that past that has brought to our movement so much of achievement and so much of recognition. Moreover, when great emergencies have arisen, demanding the judgment of greater numbers of the representatives and spokesmen of our movement, such national conferences have been called without hesitation. Notable among such conferences have been the conferences called just prior to our entry into the World War, the conference held in Pittsburgh to rally assistance to the United Mine Workers and the

conference within the recent past in Washington to rally support for the anti-injunction bill and for unemployment relief.

Finally, it is in our conventions that our programs and our principles are laid down and formulated. And there is no delegate to whom the floor of the Convention is barred or who is prevented in any way from there contributing to the thought and accumulated wisdom of our movement.

If at some time it should appear that advantage for labor could be secured, or that greater progress toward the realization of labor's ideals could be made, it would then be time to consider either this or some other change. But thus far no good reason has been advanced or is apparent and we therefore recommend non-concurrence in the resolution.

MARTIN FRANCIS RYAN, Chairman,
FRANK DOYLE, Secretary,
DENNIS LANE,
JOSEPH KEHOE,
A. J. KUGLER,
THOMAS F. McMAHON,
CHARLES ANDERSON,
THOMAS C. CASHEN,
M. DUNCAN,
THOMAS FLYNN,
JAMES CLOSE,
MAX ZARITSKY,
THOMAS CONNELLY,
JOHN B. SCHULTE,
FRED J. DEMPSEY,
LESTER W. ROYER,
EDWARD I. HANNAH,

Committee on Laws.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

President Green: You have heard the reading of the resolution and the report of the committee. The motion is to adopt. Are there any remarks?

Delegate Lewis, United Mine Workers: The report of the committee gives no consideration to the viewpoint of those organizations and those members who hold views opposite from those expressed in the committee's report. In assigning reasons for non-concurring in the resolution, their echo is as it has always been, that there are eleven members of the Executive Council, that it is unreasonable to presume that any other number would be equally as good. They make no concession of any character to a conscientious belief and judgment of many mem-

bers of the American Federation of Labor that the intellectual spearhead of the labor movement could be strengthened in dignity or prestige and in practical accomplishment by drafting a greater number of leaders of American labor to sit in conference in the quarterly sessions of the Executive Council.

Section 1 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor and Section 9 of the Constitution say that one of the great objectives of the American Federation of Labor is to unify organized labor in America. And yet the committee comes upon the floor of this convention and lightly waves aside a proposition that is inherently designed to unify and co-ordinate and harmonize the great collective strength of our American toilers. They disregard in their report one of the fundamental principles of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

This resolution is not an anti-administration resolution. It is not a radical resolution, presented by one who desires to do aught than contribute to the greater strength and influence of the organized labor movement. It was introduced as a constructive proposition, entitled, if you please, to consideration upon its merits, and not from the standpoint of disturbing the convenience or the fixed habits of those who might find themselves in opposition to it for these reasons. Concededly, it represents the viewpoint of a number of vice-presidents of the American Federation of Labor who have been active in this convention in crystallizing support against the resolution. In doing so they failed to recognize the fact that while they are proud to serve this great movement in these dignified positions on the Executive Council, they also put themselves in the position of saying that no other representatives can enter these sacred precincts. They are satisfied to be on the Council and they are also undertaking to use their influence to see that none other shall be elected to the Council.

I am one who believes that the prestige and the dignity of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has in recent years waned, for whatever reasons may be ascribed to it. I am conscious of the mutterings of discontent that are permeating the ranks of affiliated organizations now and certain mutterings of discontent which have been expressed by delegates in this convention in caucus, in private conversation on the street corners and in the market places, and this resolution was con-

ceived with a desire to placate the righteous criticisms of those men and to give them a broader place, if you please, in the workings and in the councils of our great labor movement. We have heard those criticisms, all of us. It is beside the question whether they have merit or whether they lack merit. The Executive Council is not now representative in a broad sense of the great mass of the members of the American Federation of Labor.

The Vice-Presidents of the American Federation of Labor, whether one admits it or whether one denies it, in a large sense represent upon the Executive Council the viewpoint and the policies of their own organizations. The combined membership of the organizations identified with the Vice-Presidencies of the American Federation of Labor represent a comparative minority of the membership of the Federation. I can rapidly name off the names and identities of fourteen organizations upon the floor of this Convention whose combined total membership approximates a million who have no representation upon the Executive Council. As a matter of fact, a million and a half of our membership are not directly represented upon the Executive Council. Some of those organizations for long years have held that they were entitled to representation. Their representatives come to this Convention and they entertain a dislike to place themselves in a position where they are compelled to announce their candidacy for office against men who are already incumbents. They are not in a critical attitude toward members of the Executive Council. They respect them as men and they respect them as trade unionists, and they dislike to place themselves in this Convention in a position where their motives can be misconstrued or their acts ill judged, and as a consequence, we have an Executive Council of its present composition.

It is my opinion that an enlargement of the Council and the drafting of many of these able champions of labor upon the floor of this Convention would add to the dignity of the American Federation of Labor, it would add to the prestige of the utterances and the findings of the Executive Council. It would create greater confidence in the rank and file of our membership and it would carry weight and conviction to the American people and the press of our country, that when the statements and the edicts of the Executive Council were given to the world they would represent a broader viewpoint and would represent a

composite judgment of the greater number of the stalwart champions of labor.

I make no plea for any special man to go on the Executive Council. I care not who the man may be selected from this Convention for membership in that important body. I know the distance from the local unions of our trades to the chairs of the local unions and the offices of the various international organizations and the road that you men have traveled who sit here now as the accredited representatives of your people. I am satisfied to rest the case of American labor and its future well-being at any time within the keeping of the loyal representatives of organized labor that are represented on the floor of this Convention from the affiliated organizations and who might be selected upon an enlarged Council. There is not a man in this Convention who if selected by this Convention I would not welcome his face as a member of the Executive Council, because I have respect for his judgment, I have belief in his loyalty and I have belief in his ability and his convictions, and I think that the drafting of a number of our stalwart leaders to increase representation upon the Executive Council would be an act that would be approved by the rank and file of the membership, creating greater confidence, and would cause us to receive increased prestige and respect from the American people.

What are the arguments against the resolution, as a matter of fact—not stated, of course, in the report of the Committee? It just merely states that it has always been this way and accordingly should ever be this way. One of the arguments used upon the floor of the Convention is the fact that this delegate twelve years ago in the Montreal Convention, in some other convention opposed the enlargement of the Executive Council. That is true, but under a different set of circumstances, a different personnel of the Executive Council, and under conditions which in many ways were radically different. By the same token a number of gentlemen who in that convention advocated the increasing of the number of the Executive Council, now, through the vagaries of fate, find themselves on the opposite side of this question today, and yet they go through this Convention criticising this delegate because he changed his mind.

We all change our minds at times, some of us frequently in a twelve-year period. I have changed my mind on this subject. I think now I was wrong. I have thought so for some years. I was a little doubtful of it at

the time, and yet I was persuaded to take the opposite side of the question. Yet surely that does not deprive me of the opportunity of going through life without making amends for a boyish mistake. I suppose I was boyish at that time, I was at least twelve years younger. Speaking of changing minds, this entire Convention changed its mind yesterday as against the action of the Boston Convention and as against the action of the Vancouver Convention on unemployment insurance. We did it because of a different state of facts and because additional experience and greater knowledge brought greater enlightenment to the point where we recognized it as the proper and valid thing to do. So it is with this proposal, and it is quite beside the question to ask for support in opposition to the resolution introduced by Delegate Lewis, merely because twelve years ago he found himself in opposition to the change of the Executive Council.

One of my reasons for being in opposition to that proposed change was because I thought inherently it did not go far enough, and I thought the four men that were contemplated to be put on the Council at that time were not in themselves sufficient if the Council was to be enlarged. I still think the same way on that proposition.

What are the other arguments against the constitutional amendment? One is that it would make the Council unwieldy, that it would be a convention, in the language of some a town meeting. Yet five members of the Executive Council, whom I assume will vote in support of the committee's report on this question, are members of an executive board of directors of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company, which has twenty-five members and has an advisory board of directors of eighty-two members. Yet the president of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company tells me that he does not find his board of directors unwieldy, and, as a matter of fact, he finds it very efficient. Yet I would not be surprised if he was to vote no on this question because this resolution will make the Executive Council unwieldy.

Why, gentlemen, as a matter of fact, there is scarcely a financial institution of any consequence in America that does not have a board of directors larger than the board of directors on the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. Some of the New York banking institutions have as many as sixty, seventy, or eighty members on the board of directors to

transact the rather complicated and detailed financial business of a banking institution. I never heard of any one raising the question before that these boards of directors were unwieldy. Neither can I see that any board of directors of the American Federation of Labor, with twenty-eight members upon it, as this resolution proposes, would be an unwieldy institution.

I happen to be an officer of an organization that has an executive board of from twenty-five to thirty members, according to the vacancies on the board and the conditions existing in the various districts. My own executive board is just as large as I propose in this resolution that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall be, and I am prepared to testify before this convention that the Executive Board of the United Mine Workers of America is not an unwieldy institution, that it is an efficient organization, and I cannot conceive that those international officers now within the sound of my voice, if additional numbers of them were elected on the Executive Council, would of themselves tolerate a set of circumstances or a set of rules by the Executive Council which would result in the Executive Council being unwieldy and incompetent of efficient performance. That argument dies of its own weight.

Another argument used upon the floor of the convention from time to time is that it would cost too much, that we could not support an Executive Council of twenty-eight members in the style in which we have been accustomed to supporting our eleven members. Well, I am sorry if that is true, because it is the last thing in the world that I would want to do to take away any of the emoluments or privileges of office from any of the existing members of the Executive Council. Far be it from that! I notice in the financial report of the Executive Council that it cost about \$11,000 for the sessions of the council last year, exclusive, of course, of printing, stenographic work, supplies and other things. I don't know how that money was expended or what members of the council received it, because I never asked and because I don't care. And yet when I consider the fact that all of the members of the council, insofar as I know, are salaried officers of international unions, I cannot help but think that their compensation as members of the council was adequate.

I don't know whether we could have an Executive Council of twenty-eight go as far afield in holding meetings of the Council as as our

Council now does from time to time and upon occasions. I don't know how much it would cost to maintain an Executive Council with twenty-five vice-presidents and the occasional meetings of the Council.

I do know that under the constitution of the American Federation of Labor the Executive Council is charged with the responsibility or with the privilege of fixing its own compensation. And if we enlarge the Executive Council, which we may not do, apparently, I should expect the Executive Council to hold its expenditures within reasonable limitations without putting an added or increased burden upon the rank and file of the labor movement.

One delegate suggested that it would mean a great deal of assessments upon the membership of the organization to maintain them, but of course he expected to maintain them, I presume, in their usual style, as now. There is a difference of viewpoint there. Roughly, insofar as it comes to my ears, these are the objections to the adoption of the constitutional amendment insofar as I have heard them. To me these objections are of little consequence in comparison to the constructive good to be accomplished through the amendment of the constitution, through creating added satisfaction and increased unity in the rank and file of American labor.

I am one of those who is now dissatisfied, not with the personnel of the Executive Council, but with some of the official acts of the Executive Council and with some of the failures of the Executive Council to act under certain circumstances. I have not paraded my dissatisfaction upon the street corners or in the market places of this country. I am expressing them here now as briefly as I may under these circumstances, without imposing myself too much upon your good will, your patience or your convenience. I am saying it to you in the councils of labor, and were it not for the fact that the country is listening in through the instrumentality of the press, I would say it much more plainly than I am saying it now.

I do not think that the Committee on Laws and the members of the Executive Council who find themselves dissenting from the theory involved in this constitutional amendment can afford to oppose this proposition as a whole or as individuals. I have the privilege of representing my organization here. There are other organizations here equally dissatisfied and who want a broader representation on the Executive Council. I don't think our

Executive Council or our Committee on Laws now organized can accept the responsibility of slapping those organizations in the face through merely reporting to this convention a meaningless jumble of platitudes in the Committee's report.

As one officer of an international union, I would like the opportunity to be in a little closer relationship to the American Federation of Labor. I come to the annual conventions when I can. During the rest of the year I am detached and dissociated from any connection with the American Federation of Labor. I don't know what it is doing nor when it will do it nor whether it will do it at all. I don't know when the Executive Council will meet or where the Executive Council will meet. I have no information upon that subject unless I can extract it from a newspaper, and if it follows, as it oftentimes is true, that I am in a section of the country where the newspapers are not carrying news of the Executive Council's meetings, I do not know it at all until it is all over.

I inquired one time why it was that the officers of international unions were not notified about the time and place of meetings of the Executive Council, because there had been occasions that had I advance notice of a meeting of the Council as to when and where it might be held, I might have arranged my affairs so as to have taken up some special propositions—perhaps not, perhaps so. And I was told there is in existence on the Executive Council an ancient rule that has never been changed that forbids the officers of international unions from being notified of the meetings of the Council. Ye gods! An international officer having to admit that fact on this platform, and an officer of an organization that tries to pay its dues and tax to maintain this combination, whatever it may be.

I came here and I introduced this resolution. I asked unanimous consent to do it because I was not able to get here within the two-day limitation period for the introduction of resolutions. I have been told by some that it was too sudden, that it was fairly astounding, and that the suddenness of my action fairly took the breaths of some of the delegates. I am sorry. I did not mean to alarm anybody. I did not consult anybody because I did not want to place the responsibility upon any one else for helping me to make my decision with reference to the intro-

duction of this basic resolution. No one was embarrassed and no one knew anything about it.

Gentlemen of the Convention, this meeting is being held in troublous times in the history of our movement and in the history of our Republic. It seems to me to be unwise action upon the part of the Committee on Laws and upon the part of the delegates to this convention to say at this hour, that in this emergency those in the American Federation of Labor who are leaders in affiliated unions, who want to take a larger part in the affairs of the labor movement, who feel that they can contribute something to the well-being of our great organization, should be held back and debarred merely because it changes a situation or a state of affairs that has been in existence a long time.

I have no individual criticism to make of any individual on the Executive Council or outside of the membership upon the Executive Council. I am concerned here with an official proposition, a proposition that means something to the organization I represent and a proposition that I think means something to the great labor movement of our entire nation. It seems to me that an Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, charged under the law as it is with broad responsibility, should scarcely be conceded as knowing too much or doing too much or broadening the responsibility upon additional individuals when that great Council, after all, has to do with the well-being of three million workers identified with our movement, that has to do with the formulation of our policies and with the future destinies of our great Republic.

I desire to rise above these small considerations in the discussion of this problem. But I say to you men sitting in the seats of influence now in this convention, that if you blindly vote to support this Committee's report on the basis and for the reasons given, you are not giving proper consideration to the viewpoint of those who dissent from your views and you are not making a contribution toward the unity or harmony or the increased strength and influence of organized labor in America.

Time is fleeting, gentlemen. I intended to say more. The hour grows late. I will not longer impose upon you. I want you to consider this, not as a passing whim of this delegate, not as a suddenly conceived propo-

sition to create embarrassment in any quarter, but as a proposition that deals with the very fundamentals of this movement of ours and one that deserves consideration upon that basis.

I thank you.

President Green: Are there any further remarks?

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: Yes, Mr. Chairman, I rise to oppose the Committee's report. I want to say at the outset, Mr. Chairman, that it is evident to those who are in contact with the rank and file of the trade-union movement that there is a good deal of dissatisfaction and that the labor movement of this country today is beset not only by opposition on the part of employers, but on the outside by the effort on the part of radicals in the country to build another labor movement alongside of the American Federation. I don't believe such a movement could possibly exist in America if the American Federation of Labor itself was more flexible, if there was opportunity for expression and opportunity for leadership in this movement in the high councils of the American Federation of Labor before a man became too old to be useful.

There has been very little change in the Executive Council in the past few years, and it is apparent that the only time a change is to take place is when a man voluntarily retires or dies in his tracks. You know that the last vacancies that have occurred in the Council of the American Federation of Labor have been of such a nature, and then they are filled by the Council themselves, and before the convention meets things are so organized that it is impossible for any one to challenge successfully the man who has been selected by the Council itself.

There are many problems confronting the labor movement in this country that should have the attention of the Executive Council. I do not say they are easy, but rather there is too much work for the eight men that are sitting on that Council now. There are many things we should concern ourselves with that have hardly been taken up in this convention, due to the fact that the younger element of the trade-union movement in America has no place in the councils of the movement.

This Committee, in its report, calls attention to the fact that there has been no change for many years. They neglect to mention, however, that there is change in everything

else, that there is change as to governments and institutions, and yet the American Federation of Labor wants to stand still. This year in our convention we adopted two resolutions that are a departure—one of them to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment, the other in favor of unemployment insurance. If these resolutions are good today, if this policy is good today, it was good two years ago, it was good four years ago, and I cite those two instances to show you that the American Federation of Labor is lagging in establishing a policy.

It was my privilege to read the report of the fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress, and I was pleased to note that they had in their report that the British Trades Union Congress had a program and a policy. How long is it since this convention has gone before the public when its labors have been completed with a program saying, this is what the trade-union movement of America stands for? We come here and we clutter up our records with resolutions, so many of them that no delegate can keep track of them, the record filled with whereases and resolves, and when we get through we have a report of this convention as big as a Sears-Roebuck catalog, and I doubt if it is of much more benefit to the rank and file. And I want to say that that is due to the fact that the Executive Council does not concern itself with those things that beset the trade-unionist and the workers of this country until after the thing is passed, and that policy is maintained because the Executive Council, instead of being an Executive Council, is a council of elders.

Vice-President Ryan: Mr. Chairman, I realize that as a member of the Council I am somewhat in the spotlight, after being excoriated by the two distinguished gentlemen who have spoken upon this question. It is just altogether too bad that we could not have the benefit of their wisdom on the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. As a member of the Executive Council I would like to have it clearly and distinctly understood that I do not feel that I possess all the brains in this great labor movement of ours. I am looking into the faces of many men here who I have reason to know can serve the labor movement as well or possibly a great deal better than I could, but as a member of the Council, along with my colleagues, we have tried to do the best we

could. As for the report that was referred to as being as big as a Sears-Roebuck catalogue, I think that is something that should be resented by the delegates to this Convention. I feel that the Executive Council has brought a constructive and able report here, and as evidence of it it has been adopted almost unanimously by this Convention.

Now, my friends, I am a great admirer of your great comedian, Will Rogers, and he said a few days ago: "This is your onion, you peel it, I am not going to get the tears in my eyes over it, neither." I recognize that the delegates to this Convention are the legislative body of the American labor movement, and if you desire to put fifteen, twenty, twenty-five or twenty-eight men on the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor you have a right to do so. I was one of the men that said I was surprised to note that the resolution provided for twenty-eight men. That is more than double, it is triple the number of men that are on the Council at the present time, but if it is the judgment of this Convention that the amendment to the Constitution offered by President Lewis should be adopted, you have the right and you have the authority and the privilege to do so in rejecting this Committee's report.

I want to say that we pointed out in our report that all the advancement made by our great movement in the last thirty years had been made with the present number on the Executive Council. You recall that a conference of the representatives of organized labor was called before the war, when all the International Presidents were called in by that great leader of ours, Samuel Gompers. Then as a result of a resolution introduced by the United Mine Workers of America in the Los Angeles Convention, a meeting was called in the City of Pittsburgh to consider their problems, when nearly every International officer in this country responded to the call of Brother Lewis' organization. It does not seem to me that it comes with very good grace for Brother Lewis to stand up here and criticize so severely as he did this report.

We heard Brother Lewis' reasons for the amendment to the constitution. We did not agree with him. It is a question now whether you agree with President Lewis or with this Committee, and speaking as one member of the Council I will be a good sport and I will accept your decision, irrespective of what it may be, and still be a trade unionist. I have

had thirty years of service for my international organization, and while I probably have not accomplished or achieved the amount of success that the distinguished President of the United Mine Workers of America has, I am representing an organization which occupies its position in this great Federation of Labor as having done something constructive, too, for the membership I represent.

That is all I have to say on this question. I leave it in the hands of the delegates of this Convention as to whether you believe there is merit, wisdom and advantage to President Lewis' amendment to the constitution or whether you agree with the position taken by my Committee, which was unanimous.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: A criticism that has frequently been offered of the American Federation of Labor and offered in good faith is the statement that in recent years there is too much harmony. I shall endeavor in a few brief moments to express my attitude upon this question without being unduly critical of any member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and I shall endeavor to confine myself to the fundamentals involved in the question.

First, permit me to remove from your minds, if there should exist that thought; that there is any personal interest so far as I am concerned in taking the position I do in opposition to the report of the Committee. In serving the International Typographical Union as its executive officer, and certainly in times such as have existed for the past three years, there is no desire to add to the burden those duties impose, and I would not under any circumstances, if it were offered, accept a place upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. I say this because I have been inclined to believe, by statements that have been made, that a large number of delegates in this Convention are inclined to attribute a personal interest every time a delegate arises to discuss an important question. I submit to you, to those delegates who have attended these conventions during the last decade, that if there has been any attempt upon my part to add to my popularity by appealing to the galleries or by taking the popular and predominant side of a question that I have shown very poor judgment. From the standpoint of my organization we are adequately represented upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. And now that I have endeavored to remove any belief

that there may be a personal or organization interest, I trust that I can discuss my viewpoint upon this question so that the delegates in this Convention will understand it clearly.

In the first place, what is the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor? In my opinion, the name does not indicate the true functions and duties of that body. We have three executive officers of the American Federation of Labor that perform the executive and administrative duties and we have eight vice-presidents who, on stated occasions, are called into meeting with those three executive officers as a policy committee, if you please, outlining the policies of the American Federation of Labor. That policy committee reports to this Convention, and as one of those delegates who can speak from experience it is unnecessary for me to do more than to call to your attention that the reports of that committee are presented to the Convention, and there is a feeling which indicates that every delegate, or at least a large majority of the delegates in the Convention, are obligated to accept these reports. The consequence is that in practice and in fact the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor makes the policies for the American labor movement.

I am not making that statement in criticism of the policy. I consider it as right, I consider it as wise, I consider it as unavoidable, because we who have had some experience know that it is impossible to come into this Convention from the four corners of the North American continent and in two short weeks formulate, outline and adopt wise policies dealing with the problems of so many millions of men and women. Now if the Executive Council or the American Federation of Labor is a policy committee and if it performs the duties as I have so briefly outlined, then I am one of those who believe that it should be representative of the American labor movement, and I will say to you that the more representative it is the more force there is going to be behind its actions and the more effective will be the policies it outlines for adoption in this Convention.

Perhaps it has occurred to the delegates within the sound of my voice, at least those who are interested in the question sufficiently to listen, that this is an important question, that it is a fundamental question, that it should be settled upon that basis without re-

gard to the feelings of individuals, and that it should be settled right.

I have said the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, regardless of its size or number, has no mandatory power that it enforces upon the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. That statement is significant if you analyze it briefly. It simply means that its power lies in recommendation, and its recommendations will be accepted by the organizations and by the rank and file of the workers of this country with better grace and with more force if it is more truly representative of the American labor movement.

I say this without regard to the personnel of the Executive Council as it exists at this time, in the past, or as it may exist at any time in the future. I hold that to be a fundamental statement, a truth that is so true that it cannot be disproved, and now without in any way indicating any organization or any member of the Executive Council, let us see just how representative the Executive Council is at the present time of the American labor movement. We find in the report there are 2,532,261 members affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, and when we eliminate as we must for reasons I will state the three executive officers of the American Federation of Labor, we find the eight vice-presidents of that body represent 706,200 members. That means there are two million members of the American Federation of Labor that are not directly represented upon the body which makes the policies of this organization.

I realize that some delegate, at least in his mind, will make this answer: that these policies are submitted to a convention of the American Federation of Labor for endorsement, and that is true, and I know how true it is. But I also submit to you, you who have had experience in this and preceding conventions, that it is about once in ten or twenty years, regardless of what the policy is that is declared, that there is any reversal of that policy. And again you will answer, they are always right, and I submit to you that no human agency is always right. I have had the experience in this Convention and other conventions of large numbers of delegates who sit upon this floor, after I had expressed a minority opinion, come to me and tell me, "I am in accord with your views," but when it came to a vote I voted alone. That is a condition that is known to some extent

throughout the labor movement, and I say to you that it is a condition that should not exist in the forum of labor.

Perhaps someone will say that if a recommendation comes in from an executive council or policy committee of twenty-five or twenty-eight it will be more difficult to overturn that report if it should not meet the sentiment of the majority of the delegates, and I will agree with you that that is true, but I also stated that it is a sound principle of democracy that twenty-five men or twenty-eight men are more liable to be right a larger percentage of time than are any eleven men chosen from the same body.

I am one of those in agreement with the amendment that has been proposed by the president of the United Mine Workers of America. I am one of those who believe that in this time of great stress, a time such as the labor movement of this country never was confronted with, with problems so complex and so great, that it is a time when we should give consideration to fundamentals involved and we should be willing to depart from the beaten path if it seems wise to do so and make the American Federation of Labor Executive Council or Policy Committee more truly representative of the American labor-movement.

I am rather surprised—and I say this with no feeling of criticism of the position taken by all of the members of the Executive Council as it exists at the present time—I can't conceive that if I were a member of that body and an amendment such as this should come before the convention for consideration, I would take the position that I am of the chosen few who can serve this great organization, that by the votes of the members representing the unions of this country I have been placed in a position where I feel it my duty to close the door and keep all others out. I do not hold that conception of responsibility to an organization. I believe that a place upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor or a place as an officer of a national or international union means the opportunity for service and nothing more, and with that conception of the duties of one so placed, it appears to me that the logic of the situation is so plain that a proposal of this kind would receive the support of at least some of those who are now holding positions upon the Executive Council.

We have had here this afternoon an evi-

dence of the value of an increased Executive Council. Every one who has had experience knows that there is nothing that requires such great sacrifice of interest as a jurisdictional dispute, and we have had the evidence brought before us this afternoon that an agreement had been reached before the Executive Council, and when presented to this Convention there were numerous other organizations affected. I submit to you that if the interpretation of the language as placed upon it by some of the delegates who discussed that question was accepted, the organization I represent would be affected by that decision. I ask would a condition of that kind be so likely to arise if an Executive Council representing a larger number of trades had sat in the meeting and was familiar with the negotiations that had been carried on?

Let us not forget that we still have affiliated to the American Federation of Labor 100 national and international unions, and we have an Executive Council under the present condition that can at no time directly represent the interests of more than 11 of these unions. I appeal to the sound judgment of the delegates in this convention. This is a fundamental question. I do not care about the personal views of this delegate or that delegate. I am appealing to you to give serious consideration to a proposal that has for its purpose making the American Federation of Labor—because the policies enunciated by the Executive Council become the policies of this organization—more democratic, more representative, and I submit to you that that appeal is in accord with the spirit of the times. I ask you to reject the report of the Committee, and if the number that has been suggested in this amendment does not have the approval of a majority of the delegates in this convention, let the Committee bring in a recommendation, one that it can endorse and one that will meet the situation with which we are confronted, and meet it for the benefit and the welfare of the workers of this country.

Delegate Murray, United Mine Workers: Mr. Chairman, I have just a few observations to make concerning the report of the Committee. At the outset I desire to express my opposition to the report. My opposition to the Committee's report is predicated upon the assumption that the amendment originally offered by Delegate Lewis would tend to in-

crease the efficiency of the American Federation of Labor.

If I understand the report of the Committee correctly, the Committee assumes that the American Federation of Labor, insofar as the administration of its affairs go, has reached the millennium of efficiency, it cannot be improved upon, that any constructive suggestions having to do with improved efficiency, looking towards the welfare of the membership of the various organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, cannot be given any serious consideration by this Committee.

Let us see and examine into the facts and find out whether or not a broadening of this responsibility would not tend to increase the efficiency of the American Federation of Labor. President Green, in an address before this convention only a few days ago, declared in courageous fashion that the organized workers of our great country had patiently stood by until their patience had become completely exhausted, and then in the spirit of a fighter declared to our Government and to the various industrial and financial enterprises of our nation that it was his purpose to fight for the relief of this unemployment situation, the establishment of the six-hour day and the five-day week through the process of legitimate strikes if need be.

And, supplementing that brilliant address, in making answer to an editorial appearing in the columns of the New York Times, he stated that he proposed to exercise his very best judgment in the advancement of this great cause, and that his strategy would be to use the stronger organizations in the promotion of the five-day week and the six-hour day enterprises. There is not a delegate in this convention but has a deep appreciation of the grave responsibility that goes with a declaration of that description. Doubtless before these policies become effective, it will require consultations, discussions, with the leaders of the various international organizations to make them become effective.

This is a changed attitude with respect to the policies of the American Federation of Labor. No such declaration has ever been made before in the history of the American Federation of Labor by any of its officers, at least in a convention of the American Federation of Labor. To make possible the successful prosecution of a campaign of that description will require great wisdom and excellent strategy. Why, then, would it not be necessary, in the face of this grave situation, to enlarge the

responsibilities of this Council, give greater comfort, more advice and the benefit perhaps of a greater wisdom to the President of the American Federation of Labor in the prosecution of these great enterprises?

In addition to that, the American Federation of Labor, through the adoption of a resolution with reference to unemployment insurance, has departed from its old original course with respect to questions of that description. Our great labor movement is confronted with new and bigger problems; it is confronted with the problem of prosecuting policies to relieve the needs of some twelve million idle men and women and their dependents; it is confronted with the grave problem of prosecuting its policy with respect to the five-day week and the six-hour day; it is confronted with the grave problem of passing legislation in 48 states having to do with unemployment insurance.

Has the Executive Council reached the millennium of efficiency? Has the Committee in its wisdom decided that it does not need the helpful influences of great leaders in other organizations upon the Executive Council to meet these grave problems? Doesn't it need to consult with them and agree with them by a division of this great responsibility? I think the Executive Council should be encouraged in the introduction of the resolution offered by President Lewis, that they should invite this broadened responsibility, that they should invite the adoption of this amendment, because of the responsibilities lying directly in the pathway of the American labor movement.

I hasten to add now, Mr. Chairman, that insofar as the Mine Workers' organization goes, it has confidence in the Executive Council, it has confidence in President Green, whom we have given to the great American labor movement; but we believe these programs that have been enunciated by this convention need the assistance of men from almost every large and substantial organization in the American Federation of Labor. We believe in the broadening of this responsibility; we believe in encouraging the administrators of our affairs; we believe in helping the President of the American Federation of Labor, and we think that rather than report against the amendment offered by President Lewis to the convention that the committee should have accepted it whole-heartedly and that the Executive Council should, instead of fighting this amendment, be on the floor of this convention seeking its passage.

Delegate Lane, Butcher Workmen: As a member of the committee, I want to state that the business of my international union prevented me from attending the committee meetings. I am not in accord with the committee's report, I am for the resolution as presented, and would like the committee's report corrected with my name as one not voting in favor of the report of the committee.

Delegate Volz, Photo Engravers: I rise in support of the committee's report, and if I had my way, rather than to increase the Executive Council to twenty-five vice-presidents, I should reduce it to five, and I should put those five under such an arrangement that they could devote all their time to the welfare of the workers of this country, and I should supply them with sufficient funds so that they could go around this country to pick up the sentiments and the needs of the workers. Then I should try to provide a condition whereby these men would not be in the pay of their particular organizations nor expected to devote their time to the welfare of their particular organizations.

I feel that in international unions, if a resolution is brought forward or an amendment to change the constitution to increase the number of the Executive Council is proposed, such an amendment will be defeated, because of the fact that all of us recognize that there is more efficiency in a small committee, a responsible committee, than in a large one which is not entirely responsible to those they represent.

I say to you again, if I had my way I would reduce the Council to five, I would provide sufficient funds to enable them to devote all their time to this organization, and provide sufficient funds to allow them to go where it is necessary to find the pulse of the labor movement and to be guided by it.

President Green: The vote occurs on the motion to adopt the report of the Committee.

Delegate Lewis, Mine Workers: I request a roll call on the report of the Committee.

President Green: If there are no objections the roll call will be made.

Delegate Hanson, Teachers' Federation: If we vote yes we are voting against the resolution? Is that it?

President Green: I will explain that. The Committee non-concurs in the resolution. Those who are in favor of the Committee's report will vote Aye, those who are opposed will vote No, and as the roll is called and each organization is called upon to vote, the

vote of each organization will be cast and recorded.

A Delegate: Does it take a two-thirds vote or a majority vote?

President Green: It will take a majority vote on this question, because it is not a vote directly on the amendment.

Vice President Wilson: Doesn't the law require that an amendment to the constitution must have a two-thirds vote?

President Green: Yes.

Delegate Murray: President Lewis' amendment is not before the convention, as I understand it?

President Green: The amendment is not before the convention because the report of the Committee is to non-concur. If the report of the Committee is defeated, the amendment will be before the convention.

Delegate Murray: A majority of the votes of the delegation can defeat the report of the Committee?

President Green: Yes, a majority vote of the convention can defeat the report of the Committee.

Secretary Morrison called the roll on the motion to adopt the report of the Committee, with the following result:

Roll Call on Committee on Laws Report

Yes—Myrup, Beisel, Goldstone, Shanessy, Birthright, Merlino, Crane, Reagan, Horn, Powlesland, Franklin (J. A.), Walter (W. E.), Davis (J. M.), Haggerty (J. B.), Prewitt, Meehan (M.), Obergfell, Kugler, Sullivan (J.), Bowen (W. J.), Price (W. V.), Morrin, McGinn, Dempsey, Ryan (M. F.), Holmgren, Beaudry, Knight (F. H.), Hutcheson, Duffy (Frank), Flynn (T.), McLaughlin (H.), Kelly (Wm. J.), Ornburn, Perkins, Collins (Wm.), George, Flaherty (T. F.), Matlock, Bishop, Sweeney (J. C.), Harrison G. M., Morgan (R.), McTigue, Coulter (C. C.), Zaritsky, Rose, Broach, Bugniazet, Bieretz, Paulsen (C. M.), Cleary (D. F.), Feeney (F.), MacDonald (J. C.), O'Brien (T.), Possehl, Fitzgerald (F. A.), Maloney (W. E.), Walsh (Wm. F.), Nolan (L. J.), Volz, Woll, Schmal, Baer, Redmond, McNamara (J. F.), Morton (J. W.), Zoeklein, Rickert, Wines, Adamski, Doyle (F.), Houck, Maloney (J.), Campbell (W. W.), Greene (M. F.), Lawlor, Cullen (C. W.), Marshall (J.), Rivers, Jones (T. L.), Flore, Heskeith, Kovesleski, Beardsley (S.), McSorley (W. J.), Case (C. J.), Gainer, Finnan, Gorman (W. J.), Duffy (C. D.), Swartz, Kennedy (A. J.), Bruck, Ryan (J. P.), O'Brien (S. P.), Wharton, Fry, Henning, Haggerty (D.), Alifas, Fljozdal, Millman, Carroll (T. C.), Duncan (M.), Finnson, McCarthy (W.), McInerney, Hyues (J. J.), Moriarty (J. T.), Close, Ryan (J. J.), Connolly (T.), McCoy (R. T.), Frey (J. P.),

Weber, Bagley, Weaver, Canavan (E.), Steeper, Petersen (P. F.), Wilson (J.), Collieran, Rooney, Scully (T. A.), Donlin, Wahlbrink, Coefield, Burke (T. E.), Rau, Fallon (W.), Anderson (C.), Duffy (J. M.), Turner (G.), Fallon (A. J.), Mahon (W. D.), Kehoe, Jones (H. H.), Cookman, Egan (W. T.), Jones (G. W.), Gavlak, Furuseth, Olander, Elliott (W. C.), Dempsey (F. J.), Burke (J. F.), Clendenning, Keegan (W. T.), Sumner, Soderberg, Tobin, Hughes (T. L.), Gillespie, McLaughlin (J.), McKenna (J. J.), Goudie, Manion, Perham, Ellison (F. J.), McInroy (R. R.), Burr, Powers, McMahon, Evans (E. L.), Morrison (F.), Hatch (J. H.), Fay (G. V.), McDonough (M. J.), Manning (J. J.), Soderstrom, Hulsbeck, Donnelly (T. J.), Harper (J. A.), Kummer, Hamilton (H. T.), Augustino, Sumner (S.), Sheehan (J. P.), Green (T. V.), Quinn (J. C.), La Force, Marquardt, Nick, Flynn (M. J.), Tracy (E. J.), representing 17,560 votes.

No—Davis (J. E.), Glass (David R.), D'Andrea, Walsh (John J.), Lane, Kelly (Michael J.), Lewis (John L.), Murray (Philip), Kennedy (Thos.), Green (William), Hartneady, Fagan, Boylan, Brennan, Lindelof, Swick, Madsen, Meehan (James), Kaufman, Berry (Geo. L.), Beesten, Stier, Poll, McKay, Mitchell (M. W.), Cullen (P. J.), Hanson (Forence C.), O'Connell (John P.), Rieve, Howard (Chas. P.), Trotter, Simons, Martel, Cline (Roy C.), Gross (John E.), Lewis (J. C.), Watt, Graham (Jas. D.), Kane, (John J.), Ickler, Allen (Ollie), Mills (Clyde M.), Randolph (A. Philip), representing 5,475 votes.

Not Voting—McCallum, Mullaney, Mara, Horan (Jerry J.), Nelson (Oscar F.), Wills, McFetridge, Doyle (James J.), Rosemund, Martin (Thomas F.), Moreschi, Etchison, Tighe, Bacigalupi, Dubecker, Royer, Hannah, Britton, Burke (John P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Suito, Collins (W. M.), Strickland, Burris, Egan (W.), Cashen, Connors (J. B.), Starr, O'Connell (James), Jewell, Scharrenberg, Jarvis, Taylor (T. N.), Lawson (G. W.), Raftcry, Campbell (J. C.), Reed (J.), Iglesias,

Turnbalzer, Reilly (W. C.), Cherry, Taylor (J. A.), Davis (F.), Fox (H. W.), Kutz, Wahl, Lang, (K.), Altman, Watkins (D.), Williams (B.), Ackerman, Parks (J. W.), Koenig, Starkweather, Brooks (W. C.), Doll, Mitchell (H.), Becker (L. F.), Kramer (W. S.), Friedrich, Fritz (A.), Souza, Graham (F. J.), Gates, Myers (A. J.), Rivin, Pierson (A. H.), Hammer (F.), Newbill, Draper (P. M.), Alexander (C.), Uppleger, Switalski, Bower (A. P.), Greenway, Curran (R. H.), Carlson (A.), Welsh (W. S.), Garner (M. L.), Doyle (F. E.), Woodmansee, Wood (R. T.), Covert, Quinlivan, Fox (G. J.), Kromelbein, Saylor, Wells, McGeory, Bohm, Barnes (G.), Gallagher (P.), McElligott, Richardson (G. D.), Scannell, Meyer (J.), Lufano, Thoman, Zander, Holmes (W.), Dukes, Turnbull, representing 1,403 votes.

Secretary Morrison announced the above results of the roll call.

President Green: The report of the Committee is adopted, and the Chair so rules.

Secretary Doyle: This completes the report of the Committee, which is signed by all the members of the Committee, with the exception of Delegate Lane, who did not attend the meetings of the Committee, for reasons he made known to you. I move the adoption of the report as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I move that the election of officers be made a special order of business for 11 o'clock tomorrow morning.

The motion was seconded and carried.

At 7:05 o'clock p.m., the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock a.m., Friday, December 2nd.

Tenth Day—Friday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio,
December 2, 1932.

The Convention was called to order by President Green at 9:30 o'clock.

Absentees: McCallum, Shanessy, Birthright, Mara, Bowen, Horan, Nelson, Wills, McFetridge, George, Flaherty, Matlock, Bishop, McTigue, Zaritsky, Rose, Doyle (J. J.), Tighe, Bacigalupi, Dubecker, Royer, Fljozdal, Hannah, Burke (J. P.), Sullivan (H. W.), Sultor, Mahon, Egan (W. T.), Collins (W. M.), Strickland, Burris, Furuseth, Cashen, Connors, Hatch, Fay, Jewell, Scharrenberg, Jarvis, Taylor (T. N.), Lawson, Raftery, Reed, Turnblazer, Reilly, Cherry, Taylor (J. A.), Davis (F.), Fox (H. W.), Kutz, Lang, Watkins, Williams, Parks, Koenig, Starkweather, Brooks, Mitchell (H.), Becker, Kramer, Friedrich, Fritz, Souza, Gates, Myers, Sheehan, Rivin, Pierson, Hammer, Newhill, Draper, Alexander, Upplerger, Switalski, Bower, Greenway, Curran, Carlson, Welsh, Garner, Doyle (F. E.), Woodmansee, Fox (G. J.), Allen, Kromelbein, Saylor, Wells, McGeary, Bohm, Barnes, McElligott, Richardson, Scannell, Meyer, Thoman, Zander.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Morrison for an announcement.

Secretary Morrison: I have been requested by President Berry, of the Printing Pressmen, who had to leave the Convention, to ask that John Schneider be seated in his place.

President Green: If there are no objections the request will be granted.

The Chair now recognizes Brother Perkins and Brother Woll for the purpose of making the report of the Committee on International Labor Relations.

Delegate Perkins: The Secretary will make the report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Vice-President Woll, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

Pan-American Labor Relations

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption, Pages 115 and 116, your Committee reports as follows:

Military and political revolutions, together with economic depression prevailing in various countries of Pan-America have added to the oppression and tyranny to which Labor in South

America is subjected. Labor in many countries is being denied the right to properly organize in trade unions or to strike to acquire economic justice, and to otherwise gain civil rights.

Some of these people suffering from oppression have requested, in the name of humanity, that the Pan-American Federation of Labor should suggest and foster good will and promote civil intervention from the people of the United States in order to promote the establishment of justice and freedom in their respective countries.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor has attempted, to the best of its ability, to respond to these and other appeals presented to it. In this regard attention is directed to the fact that while on the one side there has been conducted venomous propaganda on the part of combined big interests against the good will and sentiments for liberation felt by organized labor of the United States in behalf of those oppressed people; on the other side these same combined big interests have secured for themselves a free hand in the economic and political destinies of Pan-American countries of South America, doing it to further their own interests, at the expense of the people and the prestige of the nation.

Your Committee urges and recommends that the representatives of the American Federation of Labor on the Council of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and the officers of the American Federation of Labor continue to render every possible assistance and service to the wage-earners and their trade unions in all Pan-American countries and to this end recommend approval of the report of the Executive Council on this subject.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Preparatory Technical Conference on the Shorter Workday, Geneva, Switzerland, January, 1933

Resolution No. 90—By Delegate E. E. Miliman of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees.

WHEREAS, The central and historic policy of the American Federation of Labor has always been to promote the shortening of the hours of work; and

WHEREAS, It is the purpose of such policy to secure the enjoyment of a larger leisure and a higher cultural life for the masses of labor; and

WHEREAS, Such a policy is made economically sound by the necessity of maintaining purchasing power to take off the market the increasing stream of production made possible by technological improvement; and

WHEREAS, The shortening of hours of labor has become during this depression an emergency measure as manifested in the "Share-the-Work movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled favors the full and active participation of the American Government in the Preparatory Technical Conference on the Shorter Workday, which is being called by the International Labor Office at Geneva, Switzerland, in January, 1933, for the purpose of sifting out the best experience of the different countries in applying the shorter working week, and for the purpose of arriving at the most suitable form of concurrent national action that will result in the most practical way to apply the shorter workweek; in short, for formulating an international program on the reduction of hours of work that will become a part of the subsequent international economic conference which is being called in London and in which the American Government has already agreed to participate; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we favor the appointment of a representative of the American labor movement as a joint representative and member of the American delegation to said Preparatory Technical Conference on the Shorter Workweek.

This resolution directs attention to the fact that the American Government has elected to be represented in the Preparatory Technical Conference on the Shorter Workday which is being called by the International Labor Office at Geneva, Switzerland, in January, 1933.

Your Committee is in sympathy with the thought expressed that labor of America should be represented on such governmental commissions and directs that the officers and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. do all within their power and influence to secure such representation. It should be understood, however, that in urging such labor representation we do not directly nor indirectly commit our organization nor the American Government to any conclusions reached or to become in any way involved with the International Labor Office. With this understanding, we recommend reference of this resolution to the Executive Council.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Representation of United States in International Labor Office

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate E. E. Milliman of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor conceived and promoted the idea of a greater participation of the workers in governmental affairs following the war; and

WHEREAS, The representatives of the American labor movement participated in the establishment of the International Labor Organization, with the late president of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers, presiding over the Commission on International Labor Legislation, a part of the Peace Conference of 1919; and

WHEREAS, The American delegates to that Commission were largely responsible for the declaration of fundamental labor principles sponsored by the Peace Conference, such as that labor should be entitled to fair and humane conditions of work, that it should have the right to combine and associate, to be consulted on measures that affect its welfare, and to be free to render work and service voluntarily; and

WHEREAS, The International Labor Organization during more than a decade of service has secured international agreements abolishing child labor, shortening the working day and week, providing the benefits of workmen's compensation and other humane conditions of employment, and thus, by raising standards in other countries, has protected the standards of American workers from competition with cheap foreign labor; and

WHEREAS, The International Labor Organization has steadfastly held to dealing with economic issues and has not involved itself in any entangling alliances with the political organization of labor, and has addressed itself directly to economic problems and issues, and has constantly stipulated for consulting the worker in all measures of social legislation; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled at Vancouver, B. C., in 1931, requested the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to study the advisability and practicability of having the American Government maintain an official observer at the International Labor Office in Geneva in order to see that industrial and labor conditions in America are properly understood and interpreted at that office, and in view of the "growing interdependence of men and nations" and the "accomplishments to date of organized world-wide movements in the interest of human betterment," therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor urges such action on the part of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and that the Executive Council request the American Government to maintain a permanent attaché or representative of the Department of Labor at the International Labor Office at Geneva, Switzerland, to carry on active co-operation with the International Labor Organization.

Your Committee recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Woll: That concludes the report of the Committee on International Labor Relations, which is signed by:

GEORGE W. PERKINS, Chairman;
MATTHEW WOLL, Secretary;
JAMES WILSON,
ANDREW FURUSETH,
MARTIN LAWLOR,
D. J. TOBIN,
GEORGE L. BERRY,
W. D. MAHON,
J. J. HYNES,
WM. L. HUTCHESON,
JOHN COEFIELD,
EDWARD J. GAINOR,
ALBERT ADAMSKI,
MICHAEL GREENE,
WM. J. BOWEN,
JOHN J. MANNING,
JOSEPH V. MORESCHI,
JOSEPH P. RYAN,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
E. E. MILLIMAN,
J. A. FRANKLIN,
WILLIAM GREEN.

Secretary Woll moved that the report of the Committee as a whole as acted on by the Convention be approved.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Committee is discharged with the very sincere thanks of the Convention.

Sermon By Most Reverend Joseph H. Albers,
D.D., J.C.D., Auxiliary Bishop of
Cincinnati

In St. Louis Church, Cincinnati, Nov. 27, 1932.

To Delegates to the American Federation of
Labor Convention:

I welcome the delegates of the American Federation of Labor to St. Louis Church this morning. You have come to assist at the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, to pay your tribute of worship to the God who rules heaven and earth, to acknowledge your dependency upon Him and to ask for the blessings of which you and your families stand in need.

The state, under whatever aspect we regard it, is made up of families, and families are made up of individuals born into them. A human individual is a person, endowed with rights that are definite and inalienable. He has likewise correlative duties. He is answerable in the court of his own conscience, and in domestic, civil and religious society for the proper exercise of those rights and for the fulfillment of his duties. Through the family the individual is incorporated into the state, and the strength of the state is precisely the strength of the homes that constitute it.

Membership in the domestic society of the family does not destroy the rights of the indi-

vidual. Nor does the organization of families into the state mean that their rights are abrogated. The family is prior to any state. The state has no power to abrogate these native rights. It becomes, rather the duty of the state to safeguard the inalienable rights of the individual and those of the family.

The philosophy of the moment, however, is that the individual and the family have only those rights which are conferred upon them by the state. This is not only false in principle, but if allowed to dominate must ultimately develop into a tyranny that will destroy the state itself.

We have merely to consider the innumerable laws that have been put upon our statute books to realize the present trend toward Absolutism. We know of the tyranny of absolute and monarchical governments in past ages. There is a growing and subtle danger in the assumption that the state is justified in making any law it chooses. When a bill is being prepared to go through our legislative processes it should be put to the test as to whether it is law or mere legislation. We have a great deal of legislation, much of which is not really law.

The Catholic Church has long been dealing with law. She has examined every code of laws that has come from the mind of man—all the laws that preceded her, as well as the most modern enactments. The church defines law as an ordinance of reason for the good of the community, promulgated by those in whom legitimate authority is vested. The good sense of our people expressed in public opinion, ultimately approaches the church's conception of law. It can not be admitted, of course, but individuals, or even groups, shall assume the responsibility of deciding whether an enactment is legislation or law. But in a democracy like ours, the public should take a greater interest in bills presented in legislatures, and should make use of every legitimate means to curb the present mania for legislating.

Every proposed law should be measured in terms of the general interest of the community.

It must be clear to your Federation how necessary and advantageous are just laws for labor and for our whole economic structure. Your Federation has two immortal documents that constitute the Magna Charta of your rights and duties. One is "The Condition of Labor," by Leo XIII, and the other is "After Forty Years," by Pius XI. These deserve your most serious study. Among your leaders should ever be found capable exponents of the unchangeable principles and truths contained in them. Coming years, with their numberless new inventions, may change the conditions of labor; but the principles of justice never can change. The principles enunciated in these documents will never change.

You must continue to insist upon your rights, always mindful, however, of the rights of others. This struggle for justice has been faced in every century of the world's existence and will continue to be waged until the end of time. The Church has been longest in the fight, and she has been the greatest arbiter of the centuries.

You must also recognize your obligations, as Catholics, not only to perform faithfully every

duty, but to give evidence of your convictions, of your training and of your faith. As Catholics, you believe in giving to every man his due, and this through a supernatural motive. You believe that a God of justice will ultimately reward every just man and punish every act of injustice. A cry for justice must be heard throughout the whole world. Justice will solve today every economic problem. You are especially interested in the justice due the laborer. With fear must one think of the characterization of Holy Writ, which classifies with murderers those who defraud the laborer of his hire: "He that sheddeth blood and he that defraudeth the laborer of his hire are brothers." (Eccles. 34-27.) Again, St. James says: "Behold the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which by fraud has been kept back by you, crieth, and the cry of them hath entered into the ears of the Lord." (Ep. James, v. 4.) These are terrifying pronouncements of the Holy Scripture! If one believes in the inspiration of the Word of God as the Catholic Church does, need we wonder that she is the staunch defender of the working man, insisting that justice be done him?

May God's blessings descend upon you! May His justice, tempered with His charity, ever abide with you!

President Green: The Chair now recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, Vice-President Woll.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Vice-President Woll, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

Sheep Shearers

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate James D. Graham, of the Montana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Sheep Shearers during the depression have suffered reductions in wages amounting to 50 per cent in the past three years; and

WHEREAS, The Wool Growers' Associations have been importing alien labor from South of the Rio Grande to compete against the organized Sheep Shearers and thus enforce the wage cuts; and

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement can give much assistance to the Sheep Shearers' Union in their efforts to organize and secure remedial legislation in the Western States, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pledge its moral support to the Sheep Shearers' Union of North America in all efforts to organize and advance the welfare of its members.

Your Committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 94.

The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice-President Woll: The Committee now wishes to introduce a resolution referred to in our report of yesterday, which originates in the Committee and is an expression of thanks and has no reference to any mysterious things, as reported in the press:

Resolution of Thanks

Resolution No. 96—By Committee on Resolutions:

WHEREAS, The hearty welcome which the Fifty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor has received from the Cincinnati (Ohio) Central Labor Council and the consideration shown for the comfort and convenience of the Convention have been most pleasing and gratifying; and

WHEREAS, The trade unionists of Cincinnati have been most active in providing for the comfort of the delegates, their wives and guests, and this generous hospitality has added greatly to the pleasure and effectiveness of the Convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention, in behalf of the delegates and officers and the members of their families accompanying them, and also in behalf of all guests and visitors, tender most hearty thanks to the trade unionists and other citizens of Cincinnati, and to the following:

Hon. Russell Wilson, Mayor of Cincinnati.

Hon. George White, Governor of Ohio.

Very Rev. R. Marcellus Wagner, Director Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati.

Members of Musicians' Local Union, No. 1.

Personnel of the Netherland Plaza Hotel.

And be it further

RESOLVED, That we express our appreciation to the clergy of Cincinnati and vicinity for the spirit of good will and cordiality which prompted them to extend the freedom of their pulpits to a large number of delegates and officers of the Federation, and that we also extend our thanks to the press for the courteous and generous manner in which they have given publicity to the proceedings of the Convention, and to the citizens generally for the fine spirit manifested by them toward the delegates and visitors to the Convention.

The resolution was adopted by unanimous vote of the Convention.

Vice-President Woll: That completes the report of the Committee on Resolutions, which is signed by:

MATTHEW WOLL, Chairman.
VICTOR OLANDER, Secretary.
GEORGE W. PERKINS.
A. A. MYRUP.
J. A. FRANKLIN.
JOHN L. LEWIS.
THOMAS L. HUGHES.
JOHN POSSEHL.
P. J. MORRIN.
J. L. WINES.
CHARLES P. HOWARD.
CLARENCE E. SWICK.
M. J. COLLIERAN.
W. V. PRICE.
JOHN SULLIVAN.
J. C. LEWIS.

Committee on Resolutions.

Vice-President Woll moved the adoption of the Committee's report as a whole as acted on by the Convention.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Trotter, Typographical Union: The question arises on the adoption of one section of the Committee's report. This Convention adopted the report of the Committee upon unemployment insurance. Will that be sufficient to insure that the Executive Council will prepare a model bill for the guidance of the various states dealing with that measure, or will it debar a motion from the floor to instruct the Council?

Vice-President Woll: As the Chairman of the Committee understands, the Executive Council has reported to this Convention that it is rather difficult to prepare a model bill that will meet all of the requirements, constitutional as well as economic and legislative, in the several states. The Executive Council has outlined principles that should govern in the formulation of such legislation as may be feasible and practicable in the several states, and it is my understanding that the Executive Council and the executive officers stand prepared to co-operate with the officials of the State Federations of Labor in the preparation of such bills.

It may be that in some states constitutional amendments will be first required and there may be other legal phases that must be inquired into, and a model bill covering all of the sovereign states in the United States and also in the various provinces in the Dominion of Canada will have to be carefully examined into. My understanding is that the Council and the officers will confer with the officers of the State Federations of Labor and of the various Provinces of the Dominion of Canada for the purpose

of arriving at a model bill that will, in a general way, fit the requirements of all States and Provinces.

President Green: I should like to supplement what Vice-President Woll has just stated by making a brief statement. It is the purpose and intention of the Executive Council to submit to the State Federations of Labor the outline of an unemployment insurance bill as reported to this Convention by the Executive Council and call upon the different State Federations of Labor to prepare an unemployment insurance bill which will embody within it all the principles and all the sections contained in the report of the Executive Council. In this report there may be some states where, because of constitutional inhibitions, it will be necessary to follow what we call the plant reserve plan. Each state must determine that question for itself. Then there are other states where it is quite possible, because the organic law of the state will permit, that a bill embodying the classification and the merit rating system can be applied. That will be for each state to determine, but incorporated in the bills should be the recommendations made by the Council to protect union membership, to place the cost of unemployment insurance upon industry, and to provide for the payment of as large an amount of unemployment insurance benefits as is possible under the circumstances.

The Executive Council and the officers of the American Federation of Labor will co-operate fully and completely with State Federations of Labor in the preparation of such bills. We will supply that help through the services of our experts, those who are sympathetic with us and those who will give their services and their help in the preparation of bills embodying within them the recommendations of the Executive Council. That is the course we will pursue.

The motion offered by Vice-President Woll was unanimously adopted.

President Green: That completes the report of the Committee on Resolutions. The Committee is discharged with the sincere thanks of the Convention.

So far as I am able to recall, that completes the report of all the committees of the Convention. All of the committees have acted upon the matters referred to them. These matters have been referred to the Convention and the Convention has acted upon all reports of the committees.

The Chair desires to express to all these committees the sincere thanks of the Convention for the splendid, constructive service the members of these committees have rendered to the Convention. We appreciate very much the fine service they have all rendered.

Then other committees, special in character, appointed for the purpose of performing some special task—I want, in behalf of the Convention, to thank all of these committees for the service they have rendered. To the committee composed of Brother Adamski and Brother Tracy, who did a fine piece of soliciting work, I want to express, in behalf of the Convention, our sincere thanks.

Under the head of Miscellaneous Business, is there any one who desires to bring some matter to the attention of the Convention? If so, you may have the privilege of doing so, or of making any announcements on any matter that you desire to bring to the attention of the Convention.

If not, we will proceed to the regular order of business. The election of officers was set as a special order of business for 11:00 o'clock today. We have concluded our other business and I presume there is nothing in the way to prevent us from proceeding now to take up the regular order of business.

Delegate Steeper, Musicians: I move that we now proceed to take up the special order of business set for 11:00 o'clock.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Green: The Chair asks if Brother James Maloney, President of the Glass Bottle Blowers' organization, is in the hall. If he is, will he please come forward?

Delegate Bugnizet, Electrical Workers: I notice that many of the delegates are not present who probably expected to be here when the special order of business was taken up at 11:00 o'clock. I think it would be unfair to those delegates to proceed with the election.

President Green: We decided yesterday that the election of officers and the selection of a convention city would be made a special order of business for 11:00 o'clock today. With that understanding, a number of the delegates and officers have made arrangements to be here at that time. The Chair appreciates fully the point raised by Delegate Bugnizet, and will sustain the point raised and continue the Convention in session until 11:00 o'clock when the election of officers will take place. In the meantime we have some correspondence to be read in which

invitations are extended to the officers and delegates to select certain cities or city in which to hold our next convention.

Secretary Morrison read communications from the following cities:

Washington, D. C., letters from Harry King, President Washington Chamber of Commerce, and Curtis Hodges, Executive Director Washington Board of Trade.

Savannah, Ga., letters from Hon. Thomas M. Hoynes, Mayor, and Peter P. Pierpont, President Savannah Chamber of Commerce.

St. Louis, Mo., letters and telegrams from Clarence H. King, President St. Louis Convention Bureau, and Charles H. Hatfield, General Manager; K. F. Niemoeller, Manager, Associated Retailers; Carl E. Raessler, President Hotel Association; W. B. Weisenberger, President St. Louis Chamber of Commerce; E. H. McReynolds, President Advertising Club; Phillip O. Viall, President Gavel Club of St. Louis and St. Louis County; William H. Schneider, Convention Manager Hotel Jefferson; F. A. Paget, Manager Coronado Hotel, and B. F. Chase, Assistant Manager The Hotel Chase.

Secretary Morrison: Mr. President, that completes the reading of the telegrams and communications I have on file at the present time.

President Green: The communications read will appear in the report of the proceedings of today's convention.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Beverage Dispensers: We desire to advise the Convention that the hotels in St. Louis do not employ members of our international union.

Delegate Redmond, Fire Fighters: I would like to say in considering the Convention city that the cities mentioned, with the exception of St. Louis, have no organized Fire Fighters. St. Louis has organized its fire fighters. They have one of the best organizations in the United States. It has been my pleasure in the last two years to visit many cities in this central location and I have formed twenty-one locals in this district. Where city officials are not favorable to organization, pressure is brought to bear to keep the firemen from organizing. If the firemen are organized the city officials are bound to be fair and impartial.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

At 11:00 o'clock, President Green called to the Chair Delegate James Maloney, President

of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.

Upon taking the Chair, Delegate Maloney said: As you have been advised, the hour has arrived that was set aside yesterday for the election of officers. The Chair now declares that nominations for the office of President, now held by William Green, are in order, and the Chair recognizes President John L. Lewis, of the United Mine Workers.

Delegate Lewis: Mr. Chairman, gentlemen of the Convention—It is fitting that the representatives of labor in the annual Conventions of the American Federation of Labor should pause under a special order of business for the purpose of selecting officers for the ensuing year. It causes the attention of the labor world and of the citizens of our country to be concentrated upon the acts of the Convention, and brings home to them that the individuals elected and selected by organized labor for places of responsibility are men in whom labor has confidence, men who are able to articulate the aims and objectives of organized labor to present the viewpoint of the toilers of the land.

First, we elect a President of the American Federation of Labor. It is entirely fitting that in such connection we should select one of whom we have knowledge as to his deeds, as to his capacity, as to the services he has rendered in the days that have gone by. It becomes now my proud privilege to present to this Convention the name of such a man, a man whose name has become a household word in the homes of the representatives of labor, and a man whose name is recognized as standing for loyalty, fitness and capacity in the councils of the nation and in the councils of the civilized world.

Years ago in the great Commonwealth of Ohio, a young man came from the ranks of organized labor and by his services to organized labor in his home state he endeared himself to the workers and he made a name for himself by his services to his own organization, The United Mine Workers of America. He as elected by the citizens of the state as a representative in the State Legislature, he was elected by the citizens of the state as representative in the Constitutional Convention of that great commonwealth, and he made a name for himself that was recognized in the councils of the United Mine Workers of America in a national Convention and was elected year after year as Secretary-Treasurer of that organization.

His services to his union, his services to the American Federation of Labor, and his services to the people of America as a whole can not be set forth in mere words at this moment. His services are a monument to the perpetuity of the ideals of labor. Such a man is the present President of the American Federation of Labor. He took the reins of government at a time, after the passing of that revered champion of labor, Samuel Gompers, and he has conducted his office with the utmost fitness, with the greatest of diplomacy, and under the most difficult conditions.

Now, Mr. Chairman, it gives me this morning, as a representative of that organization to which I belong, the greatest happiness to rise here and present to this Convention for its next President that great champion of human rights, that great defender of the principles of liberty, William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor.

(All the delegates arose and applauded the nomination.)

Chairman Maloney: William Green has been nominated. Are there any other nominations? If not, the Chair will declare the nominations closed on the name of William Green, and will entertain a motion that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for his election.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the ballot of this Convention for William Green for President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Chairman Maloney: Secretary Morrison, complying with the motion just put and carried, having cast the ballot of this Convention for William Green, the Chair now declares him re-elected to this position for the ensuing term.

President Green: My very dear friends, I am deeply touched by this demonstration of your official approval of the humble service which I have endeavored to render the cause of labor and the nation as a whole. It is difficult for me to find words with which to express my appreciation of the very fine tribute which the President of the United Mine Workers of America paid me in presenting my name to this Convention and for the very fine tribute which you have paid me by re-electing me to the position of President of the American Federation of Labor. I am deeply sensible of the very great honor you have again be-

stowed upon me and I feel that it is very difficult for me to repay the debt I owe.

I am sure that every one of us in this Convention has served with a feeling of very deep responsibility, because we realize we are passing through a great emergency and we face the future conscious of that fact, and as we go forward step by step we know that we shall meet with increasingly difficult problems and with renewed responsibility.

But, my friends, it seems to me that the great American labor movement has a special service to render, that it occupies a place of responsibility as it has never occupied that place before, but the nation is looking to labor and the American Federation of Labor to help these millions of idle workers who are unemployed in this great hour of our emergency, and it is our desire and our purpose to render that service. Every ounce of energy we have, every effort we can put forth will be exercised in an endeavor to render intelligent, constructive service to the men and women who are idle and to the people of the nation as a whole. At the same time I am fully conscious of our great difficulties, what a fight it will be, how trying it will be, the demands that will be made upon every one of us, but, my friends, we must translate the militant spirit of this Convention into action and we must find ways and means by which that translation can be brought about. My chief desire and my greatest ambition is to serve—serve the cause of labor, to do all that lies within my power to promote the welfare of those whom we have the honor to represent. The demands made upon our strength and our minds and our intellects are indeed very great. It sometimes drives us almost to the point of desperation, but we are encouraged by the consciousness of the fact that we are engaged in a noble cause, in a holy cause, in a great crusade for the men and women who are suffering so long and so patiently.

And it is our purpose to go out this year, carry on as we have never carried on before, and mobilize the economic strength of the nation and apply the rule of reason and plead for co-operation and secure it wherever we can. But where such co-operation can not and will not be extended, it is our purpose to utilize every legitimate power at our command to achieve the aims and purposes of organized labor.

Now, my friends, I want to express to you my gratitude for this fine tribute you have

paid me, for this manifestation of confidence and faith. Having set this high standard as you have demonstrated it here this morning, I realize I have a great task before me, but with your help and with your service and God willing, we shall go forward and make this movement a real, vital, effective, militant force in the economic, social and political life of the nation.

President Green in the Chair.

President Green: The next selection will be that of First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor. The Chair calls for nominations.

Delegate Kelly, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners: Mr. Chairman and Delegates: With the selection of William Green to again lead this great organization, there devolves upon us another duty of surrounding him with a cabinet that will do all in their power to help in accomplishing the purposes for which this organization has been organized. The man I have in mind for the First Vice-Presidency is no stranger to the delegates of this Convention. It was just thirty years ago that I attended the first American Federation of Labor Convention, at New Orleans, and at that convention I became acquainted with the man I have in mind. He has attended every Convention of this Federation from that time until the present. He is not an ornament to the Federation, he is one of the workers, one who can be depended upon at all times and in any emergency to do his share of the work that is confronting the organization. He has been honored by his own organization in being its Secretary continuously for over thirty years, and never once in that time has the finger of suspicion been pointed against him. Always he has been found as a loyal organization man and has done his duty faithfully to that organization. So I can see no person better fitted for the position of the First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor than Frank Duffy, General Secretary of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, whose name I present to you for this office.

Delegate Flynn, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners: Mr. Chairman, I rise to second the nomination of our General Secretary, Frank Duffy.

No other candidates were nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Morton, Firemen and Oilers, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for Frank Duffy. The Secretary complied with the in-

structions, and Frank Duffy was declared re-elected First Vice-President for the ensuing term.

President Green: The Chair now calls for nominations for Second Vice-President.

Delegate Manning, Union Label Trades Department: Mr. Chairman, I think we were all deeply impressed with the address of President Lewis in nominating President Green for the great office which he honors. I think we are all quite agreed that, despite the eloquence of that address, the character, ability, intelligence and determination of our worthy President were not fully described, and I think, with all due respect to the acts of this Convention up to this time, all the important significance that might be attached to each action, we have now arrived at the point where to carry out the action of the Convention for the workers of this nation we must elect men to work with the President who will have every confidence of this Convention and who can be depended upon to render intelligent, intensive co-operation to the work in hand.

It is with that thought in mind that I rise to present to this Convention the name of a man who never seeks the spotlight, but is always willing to follow the leader conscientiously and intensively; a man who has rendered faithful service to this organization for the last fifteen years as one of its Vice-Presidents. I offer to you the name of T. A. Rickert, of the United Garment Workers of America, for the office of Second Vice-President.

Delegate Altman, Buffalo Central Labor Union: I desire to second the nomination of T. A. Rickert for the office of Second Vice-President.

No other candidates were nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Burke, Plumbers and Steamfitters, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for T. A. Rickert. The Secretary complied with the instructions, and T. A. Rickert was declared the duly elected Second Vice-President for the ensuing term.

President Green: The Chair now calls for the nomination of candidates for Third Vice-President.

Delegate Olander, Seamen: The qualities of leadership essential among those entrusted with the guidance of our great labor movement are of course manifold. Courage, determination and firmness are necessary. There must be patience, too, and tolerance. There must be strength and aggressiveness, tempered with diplomacy and good judgment. There must be

resourcefulness in our movement and intellectual power untainted by snobishness.

I offer in nomination now, Mr. President, the name of one amongst us who possesses these qualities and virtues of leadership to a very marked degree. I nominate for re-election as Third Vice-President Matthew Woll, of the International Union of Photo Engravers.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for Matthew Woll. The instructions were complied with, and Vice-President Woll was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

President Green: The Chair now calls for nominations for the office of Fourth Vice-President.

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers: I have always felt that it was a very happy privilege to be permitted to participate in a vocal way in the nomination of the officers of this great Federation. In a moment I expect to present to you the name of a distinguished son of the great city of Cincinnati, an orator and an able and aggressive member of this Federation, one who has served you long and faithfully, and when he greets you at the opening of our Convention with a hearty handclasp and you look into his honest, fearless countenance, you realize instinctively that he is a leader of men, one that you can place full confidence and trust in.

At this time, Mr. Chairman, my mind goes back in fancy to the great city of Boston, where we held our Convention about two years ago, and there comes to mind what his honor, the distinguished Mayor of that city, said, during his opening address, that the Federation had traveled a long and lonesome road. And, if I may be permitted here this morning to paraphrase for a moment that sentiment, I would say that the officers of this great Federation, ever since its inception, have traveled not only a long and lonesome road, but a rough one as well. Perhaps approximately a year from now, when we go to Washington to dedicate the monument to that great soul that conceived and nourished and fought and suffered for this great movement, we will realize then as we look into the distance, as we listen to the praises of the speakers who will stand on the platform there of these men who have gone on the Great Adventure, we will realize that other men in other days and other times will extol the virtues of those great men who are our leaders today.

So, Mr. Chairman, it is a very happy privilege indeed and a great honor to be permitted to present to you and to place in nomination the name of that sterling trade unionist and distinguished citizen of this great city, the President of the Pattern Makers' League of North America, James Wilson.

Delegate Adamski, Garment Workers: I wish to second the nomination of James Wilson.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Hesketh, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for James Wilson. The instruction was complied with and James Wilson was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

President Green: Nominations are now in order for Fifth Vice-President.

Delegate Burke, Plumbers and Steamfitters: I regard it is a privilege and a most distinctive honor to place in nomination for Fifth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor my old loyal shopmate, the present incumbent in office, John Coefield, President of the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States of America—the finest bunch of mechanics in all the world.

Delegate McDonough, Building Trades Department: I desire to second the nomination of President Coefield, but I wish to take issue with Secretary Burke, of the Plumbers, as I feel that the Plasterers are the most skillful and the best mechanics and artists in the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Case, Lathers: I move that the Secretary cast the unanimous vote of this Convention for Brother Coefield. I want to say, in addition to what the previous two speakers have said, that I happen to belong to an organization of real mechanics, and I do not believe there are any better mechanics in this world than the Lathers.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon the motion offered by Delegate Case, the instruction contained in the motion was complied with and John Coefield was declared duly elected Fifth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

President Green: Nominations are now in order for Sixth Vice-President.

Delegate Possehl, Steam and Operating Engineers: Mr. Chairman, may I again, as an engineer, enjoy the privilege of presenting to this Convention the name of a man whose militancy and whose wealth of knowledge of the labor movement, as well as the valuable service he has rendered to the labor movement in the

years gone by, is worthy of the consideration of the delegates of this Convention. I present to you the name of Arthur O. Wharton, President of the International Association of Machinists.

Delegate Walsh, Steam and Operating Engineers: I wish to second the nomination of Arthur Wharton for the office of Sixth Vice-President.

Delegate Haggerty, Machinists: I desire also to second the nomination of Arthur Wharton for Sixth Vice-President.

Delegate Burke, Pulp and Sulphite Workers: I desire to second the nomination of Arthur Wharton.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Henning, Machinists, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for Arthur O. Wharton. The instruction was complied with, and Vice-President Wharton was declared unanimously elected.

President Green: Nominations will now be received for the office of Seventh Vice-President.

Delegate Weaver, Musicians: Mr. Chairman and Delegates: There is a doctrine which prevails among men which treats of the eternal fitness of things. This doctrine finds timely and impressive exemplification in the career of the one whose name I am about to submit for your consideration and approval. He was born in a country across the sea, in an atmosphere which was tintured with the domination of royalty, yet notwithstanding his native environment he was born with the precepts of democracy indelibly inscribed upon the tablets of his mind and heart.

At an early age he envisaged that strange white light, which lies beyond the tempestuous billows of the Atlantic, and seemed to read above that far distant horizon line a new meaning in the words of liberty, opportunity, equality and justice. At the age of 9 years, in this direction he made his way. The "Divinity which shapes our ends, rough-hew them how you will," guided his footsteps to the city of Cincinnati. He came here as a musician. He was speedily transferred from the ranks of the amateur to those of the professional musicians, and in due time occupied a commanding position with the great Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra of that day. But while he could read and play and interpret the music of the masters, above the majestic harmonies of Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Bach, he seemed to hear what Wadsworth has termed "the still,

sad music of humanity;" and for a third of a century he has been studying ways and means for the translation of those plaintive notes into the symphonic beauty of a higher, better, cleaner, more wholesome and more abundant life for his toiling fellow men.

But that is not all of the picture. In Cincinnati, "in the calm dew and freshness of the morning" of young manhood's holiest dream, he met, wooed and won the young woman of his heart's desire, who was to walk with him in unwavering fidelity, mutual helpfulness and idyllic love down along the pathway of the years.

And so, Mr. President, here in this city of Cincinnati, beautiful for situation, seated like ancient Rome upon her seven hills, amid the scene of many of his personal triumphs and the inspiration of many of his dreams, it will be an invocation of the doctrine of the eternal fitness of things, to nominate for the office of Seventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, Joseph N. Weber, President of the American Federation of Musicians, formerly of Cincinnati, but now of New York.

Delegate Flore, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I desire to second the nomination of Joseph N. Weber.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Petersen, Musicians, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for Joseph N. Weber for Seventh Vice-President. The instruction was complied with and Joseph N. Weber was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

President Green: The Chair now calls for nominations for Eighth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Bieretz, Electrical Workers: Business of an extremely urgent nature has required President Broach to leave the Convention for Washington. As a result of this and in conformity with instructions, it becomes my pleasant privilege to place in nomination as a candidate for Eighth Vice-President the choice of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. He is a man who is known to the delegates of this Convention. He is known because of his qualifications. He is a man who, because of his devotion to the cause of humanity, his boundless energy in the cause of trade-unionism and his beneficial performance in the cause of both has earned for himself the respect and esteem and appreciation of trade-unionists everywhere. He possesses the ability

to smile when the road is rough and the faculty to sound a note of caution when the pace is fast—coasting is easy—but when there are dangers and sharp turns ahead.

Because of this, our confidence in our International Secretary, we submit his name, believing that we are offering a contribution in the form of a mental balance wheel in that well-trying and well-trained piece of human mechanism, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. This nomination comes, Mr. Chairman, from an organization whose ambition is to be deservedly known as the greatest organization of real trade-unionists. I submit the name of G. M. Bugniazet for the office of Eighth Vice-President.

Delegate Morton, Firemen and Oilers: I desire to second the nomination of Brother Bugniazet.

Delegate Davis, Boiler Makers: I just want to second the nomination of Brother Bugniazet.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for G. M. Bugniazet, for the office of Eighth Vice-President. The instruction was complied with, and G. M. Bugniazet was declared duly elected for the ensuing year.

President Green: The Chair now calls for nominations for Treasurer, and recognizes Delegate Knight, Assistant to the President of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen.

Delegate Knight: It is not my purpose in arising to call your attention to the service of the delegate I have in mind, as it is as well known by the organized workers of this country as it is to myself. Therefore, I place before you, for I hope favorable consideration, the name of the President of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America, to succeed himself as Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term, Martin Francis Ryan.

Delegate Holmgren, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen: I might state first of all that I have been reminded by some of our distinguished fellow workers of the building trades that the highly skilled men are composed of steamfitters and plumbers, and then, strangely, here comes the lathers to cover up and the platers to finish the job, and it is pretty hard to tell whether it is skilled or not, and then comes the painter and paper hanger to cover the job. However, you will all have an opportunity to test the skill of the Brotherhood

of Railway Carmen, for they build, maintain and safeguard the delegates coming to and going home from this Convention so long as they patronize a union railroad.

I therefore desire at this time to second the nomination of one of the biggest men, mentally and in size, in the Convention, Martin Francis Ryan.

Delegate Hanson, Teachers' Federation: I rise to do myself the honor of seconding the nomination of Martin Francis Ryan.

Delegate Horn, Blacksmiths: I also wish to second the nomination of my old friend, Martin Francis Ryan, of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. I am very intimately acquainted with the Carmen, because the Blacksmiths make the tools they work with.

Delegate Davis, Order of Sleeping Car Conductors: I, too, want to second the nomination of this distinguished man. I represent the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Conductors, and as you return home, if you go tonight, you will find that you will have a very comfortable bed to sleep in. I suggest that you buy a section. The Pullman Car Conductors will see that in all your travels you are made comfortable.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Rosemund, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for Martin Francis Ryan for Treasurer for the ensuing year. The instruction was complied with, and Treasurer Ryan was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

President Green: The Chair now calls for nominations for Secretary.

Delegate Howard, Typographical Union: Mr. President, brother trade unionists, delegates to this Convention—History has proved the truth of the statement that there arises out of the masses a man to lead in each and every crisis. This morning we have recognized, through the re-election of the President of the American Federation of Labor, the truth of that statement. It is equally true that to maintain the balance of things human there arise those men, not only to meet a crisis, but men to meet a series of crises. The man whose name I desire to present this morning as Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, is one of those to whom I have referred.

Those who have served the cause of labor in this country realize that it requires, not only individual sacrifice, but that there are times when organizations are called upon to make

contributions to the great American labor movement. The organization for which I have the honor to speak has made such a contribution to the American Federation of Labor, and it would be presumptuous upon my part to attempt in words to add to the record of the man who has made this great contribution. It is only for those who during recent years have come into this great movement that I briefly say to you that the man I am about to nominate again for this responsible position for the ensuing term first came to the American Federation of Labor from the International Typographical Union before many of us began service in the trade to which we have devoted our lives.

Since 1896, this man has rendered service to this organization. It would be impossible with weak words to add to that record of service, a string of jewels, of which each year is one, of which there are now thirty-six, and it is a pleasure to present to this Convention the name of Frank Morrison for Secretary for the ensuing term.

(All the delegates arose and applauded the nomination.)

No other candidate was nominated and upon motion of Delegate Martel, Typographical Union, the President was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for Frank Morrison for Secretary. The instruction was complied with and Secretary Morrison was declared unanimously elected.

Secretary Morrison: Mr. President and delegates to this Convention—I want to express to you my sincere appreciation for your vote of confidence. It is true that in this great city, in 1896, I was elected Secretary of the American Federation of Labor when we had but 256,000 members. I remember I used to say that if I lived to see, as Secretary, a million members it would be a great satisfaction to me. But I watched the Federation grow from 256,000 to one million, two million, three million, and four million at its peak during the war. I have watched the flood tide rise and fall, but when it fell it would rise again to a still higher peak.

This great labor movement will survive every test, because no power on earth can destroy an organization that has for its purpose the betterment of the conditions of the workers of the world.

I recall in my early days in 1893 when we had bread lines and men sleeping in the public buildings of Chicago. I felt that such a condi-

tion should not exist, and I said I wanted to live to see the time when two fears were taken out of the hearts and minds of the men, women and children of our country; that is, the fear of old age and the fear of unemployment. And it is gratifying to me that I have lived to see old-age pensions being inaugurated in the states and provinces of the United States and Canada. And it is gratifying to me, too, to find this splendid Convention declare in favor of bringing about a condition that we shall either have work or compulsory unemployment insurance to take away the last fear from the hearts of men, women and children.

This has been an unusual Convention. It would be well for members of organized labor if they could read the proceedings of this Convention, the ideals that were brought from across the water by our Fraternal Delegates, and the splendid speeches of the delegates advocating various reforms.

I like to be patient because, no matter what rebuff a reform may receive, the seed is sown and as time passes there will emerge from this American Federation of Labor the legislation that is necessary to carry on this splendid labor movement and bring about conditions that will bring more sunlight and happiness to the homes of the workers and the people of the United States and Canada.

I want to thank you for your confidence, and I will say to you that I will give my utmost energy to carry on the work that has been marshalled and arranged for by the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: The Chair now calls for nominations for Fraternal Delegates to the British Trades Union Congress. There are two to be elected. One will be elected on the first ballot and the second one on a succeeding ballot.

Delegate Coefield, United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters: I rise at this time to place in nomination for Delegate to the British Trades Union Congress a man who has served his own International Union for over 25 years in an official capacity, a man who is known to every delegate in this Convention as one well read, well posted on the American labor movement and economics in general. There is nothing I can say for the man I intend to nominate that is not already known by the delegates in this Convention, and I therefore nominate Thomas E. Burke, Secretary-

Treasurer of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: For the past few months our international organization has had a candidate in mind as delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. This morning we came to the conclusion that the election of officers has been so harmonious that we did not wish to disturb the harmonious feeling. We will not present a candidate at this time, but we will next year, and I take great pleasure in seconding now the nomination of Brother Burke.

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers: I trust I am not trespassing too much upon the patience and consideration of the delegates this morning, but I do want to second the nomination of my dear friend Tom Burke. I have been privileged to know him for a number of years, and I recognize fully his great qualities of mind and heart. I am sure that if he is elected by this Convention he will not only serve with distinction, but with honor to himself and to this great Federation.

Delegate Connell: For the past 30 years I have known Brother Burke. His editorials in the Journal of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters are a tribute to his understanding of this labor movement. The Convention can send no finer delegate to the Trades Union Congress than Thomas E. Burke. He has the knowledge of the past and he will make an excellent delegate.

Delegate Martel, Typographical Union: I rise to place in nomination for Delegate to the British Trades Union Congress one of my fellow townsmen who was a candidate for delegate to this Convention and an officer of one of the international organizations that has had very strenuous times. This gentleman comes from the labor capital of the United States. I therefore nominate Mr. Dennis Lane, Secretary of the Meatcutters and Butcher Workers' International Union.

Delegate Lane: I rise to respectfully decline the nomination in favor of my good friend Brother Burke, of the Plumbers. I have the fullest consideration of the friends who would have supported me in this race, and I am withdrawing in favor of Delegate Burke.

No other candidate was nominated and upon motion of Delegate Altman, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for Thomas E. Burke for Delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. The

instruction was complied with and Delegate Burke was declared unanimously elected.

Delegate Burke: It really is impossible to find words that are adequate to serve me. I sincerely appreciate the great honor you have given me by electing me Fraternal Delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. I am deeply sensible of the responsibilities of the great mission entrusted to my care, but I assure you I will to the best of my humble ability carry out your wishes.

President Green: Nominations are now in order for a second Delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Delegate Lindelof, Painters: I have the privilege of presenting to the delegates of this Convention one of our members of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators as a candidate for Delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. I assure you that he is a man who has served with ability for a great many years. He is qualified by his experience to represent the American Federation of Labor, not only in Great Britain, but in any other place. He has been an asset, not only to the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators, but also to the labor movement in general. Not only in the labor movement have his qualifications been outstanding, but for many years he served in the Legislature of the state of Illinois, and in all that time he worked for organized labor. He has been able to do a great deal of good for the laboring men of that state by assisting in securing legislation that is of value to the members of the great American Federation of Labor.

You men who have been attending conventions know him and I know that his qualifications are outstanding. I therefore request that you honor him and honor the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators by nominating and electing as a Delegate to the British Trades Union Congress, Christian M. Madsen, of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators.

Vice-President Woll: On behalf of one who, because of serious illness in his family, and a well-founded desire to return to his home and beloved ones, I rise to second the nomination of Christian Madsen. I know if he were here he would tell you of the utmost esteem in which Christian Madsen is held in the councils of the labor movement of Chicago, as well as of the state of Illinois, and he wishes the Convention to know that the labor movement as a whole in that city and state will appreciate the election of Brother Madsen.

To that I am happy to add my personal tribute, for I well recall my first entry into the labor movement as a delegate to the Chicago Federation of Labor, when in that Council Delegate Madsen not only took an active but a most loyal and constructive attitude. So, too, with my contact with him in the conventions of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, where he demonstrated that he understands the fundamentals of the labor movement, and I take great pleasure, with Delegate Olander, in seconding the nomination of Delegate Madsen.

Delegate Weber, Musicians: I wish to go on record as seconding the nomination of Brother Madsen.

Delegate Hesketh, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I am proud of the privilege of being able to vote for Brother Madsen as one of our Delegates to Great Britain. I anticipated having that pleasure a year ago at Vancouver, B. C. Today I know I will have the pleasure. We had a name to propose at this time, and I want to thank the delegates who proffered their support to our delegate. We may be a trifle discouraged, but we will not show it, and you will find us here at the next Convention working as loyally for the movement as we have done in the past.

No other candidate was nominated, and upon motion of Delegate Hesketh, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for Christian M. Madsen, for delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. The instruction was complied with and Delegate Madsen was declared unanimously elected.

Delegate Madsen: I want to assure you that I deeply appreciate the honor that has been conferred upon me. It is the greatest honor that has ever been conferred upon me in my life in the labor movement, and I assure you I will do the best I can to represent the great American Federation of Labor in a suitable manner. I deeply appreciate all the kind words that have been said about me in this Convention, in the lobbies and everywhere by my old friends from Chicago and Illinois. I did not realize that I had so many friends from the early days of the movement when we worked together in Chicago and in the state.

President Green: The Chair now calls for nominations for Fraternal Delegate to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

Delegate Lawlor, United Hatters: I desire to place in nomination for Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress a dele-

gate to this Convention who, though young in years, is old in experience in the trade-union movement. He has served our International Union as Traveling Representative for quite a number of years. His work and his worth as a representative of our union attracted the attention of the trade-union movement of the city of New York, and five or six years ago he was drafted by the trade unions of New York to serve in the capacity of Secretary of the Central Body of that great trade-union center.

I am sure that the delegates from New York who are present in this Convention will agree with me when I say that he has performed the duties of that important body with very great credit to the Central Body of New York. I desire to place in nomination the name of James C. Quinn, Secretary of the Central Labor Union of the city of New York, an outstanding member of the United Hatters of North America, for Fraternal Delegate to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

Delegate Haggerty, Bookbinders: I desire to second the nomination of Brother Quinn.

Delegate Volz, Photo Engravers: As an active delegate to the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City for many years and knowing of the activity and the ability of the Secretary of that Council, I also wish to second the nomination of Brother Quinn as Fraternal Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

No other candidate was nominated, and on motion of Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for James C. Quinn for Fraternal Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. The instruction was complied with and James C. Quinn was declared unanimously elected to that position.

Delegate Quinn, New York Central Labor Union: I desire at this time to say to the delegates to the Convention that it is one of the greatest honors that can be conferred upon a delegate to receive the unanimous vote of this Convention as a delegate to represent the American Federation of Labor to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. I want to express my appreciation and thanks to the delegates and officers of this Convention.

CONVENTION CITY, 1933

President Green: Nominations are now in order for the Convention city in 1933.

Delegate Mills, Washington (D. C.) Central Labor Union: Mr. Chairman, with a full knowledge of responsibilities of the city entertaining the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Washington extends a very cordial invitation to meet with us in 1933. Washington, during the past two years, has not been affected to the extent of other cities in this industrial crisis, but during the last year, since the reduction in wages of Federal employes, Washington has felt some of the effects. We realize the responsibilities involved, but we extend this invitation in the hope that the delegates to the American Federation of Labor will understand the problem of the local unions constituting the Central Labor Union in the city of Washington. Our inability to entertain as we would like to entertain during prosperous times does not detract from the cordiality we will extend to the delegates, and we hope the delegates today will be as unanimous in their selection of Washington as the Convention City as they have been in the selection of the officers of the American Federation of Labor.

Washington is the most beautiful city in the United States. When you come to Washington in 1933 you will see the partial completion of the Federal buildings in The Mall, which I believe will be one of the most beautiful groups of buildings occupied by any Government in the world. You will find when you come there a beautiful monument which has been built, through the contributions of the members of organizations represented in this body. We feel that the delegates to this Convention, wherever they might go, and the members of the entire labor movement will be glad and anxious to be present at the unveiling of the monument to Samuel Gompers.

That is one of the reasons that we extend this invitation to come to Washington. You will find there one of the most highly organized communities in the country, possibly not from the standpoint of the number of members of labor unions, but in the support of the labor unions by the people of that community. Those of us who have lived in Washington for a number of years are proud of that city and we want the delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention to know what type of people we have in Washington, we want you to enjoy the hospitality which I feel sure you will receive. But I hope the delegates will understand the situation confronting the local unions in that city as to entertainment. We

will not be able to give you the entertainment we would like to give you, but you will find in the city of Washington that hospitality which has been so ably advertised—the old Southern hospitality.

We extend to you a very cordial invitation and hope you will accept it and come to Washington in 1933.

Delegate Morrin, Iron Workers: I am very glad to be able to agree with the previous speaker and second the nomination of the city of Washington for the next Convention. A large number of telegrams and letters have been sent in here from my home city of St. Louis requesting the next Convention, but realizing the advisability of holding the next Convention in Washington, especially at the time of the dedication of the Gompers Memorial, I join in the hope that the next Convention will be held in that city. However, when consideration is given to the 1934 Convention, I would urgently request that St. Louis be given consideration at that time.

St. Louis has a ten-year building program involving \$87,000,000 in a civic center, and every one of these buildings have been erected under union conditions and by union labor. Among those now being built is a \$5,000,000 auditorium which will be completed next fall, and it will be located within a few blocks of the principal hotels of the city.

It is my hope and the hope of many trade unionists of the city of St. Louis that we will be able to hold the 1934 Convention in that city, where we can show you a monumental record of buildings built under union conditions. I hope and trust that the next Convention will go to Washington and the one in 1934 will go to St. Louis.

Delegate Beisel, Bakery Workers: I believe the nomination of Washington for the next Convention is the proper thing, but as a member of the trade-union movement of the city from which I come, I feel I would not be doing my duty if I did not inform the delegates here in regard to conditions in the city of St. Louis. I have had in mind for years to help bring the Convention of the American Federation of Labor to St. Louis. I had the honor to attend the Convention that was held there some twenty-two years ago, and I know the conditions that prevailed at that time. We would be proud to have the American Federation of Labor meet in St. Louis again, but I realize that the plan is to have the next Con-

vention meet in Washington for certain reasons that I am heartily in favor of.

When you decide to hold your Convention in St. Louis I know you will meet in a city that has one of the best local movements in the American Federation of Labor. Many of the national officers and organizers have expressed that same opinion hundreds of times. We are proud of our movement and we will be proud to have the Convention of the Federation again, and we will be making the fight for it again in 1934, because we want you with us.

Delegate Holmgren, Railway Carmen: I rise to second the nomination of Washington, D. C., as the next Convention city and especially to say a good word for our little town down by the lake, Chicago. In the absence of Alderman Oscar F. Nelson, of the Chicago Federation of Labor, I ask every delegate to try and make a stopover in Chicago and get a slant at the greatest World's Fair that the world will ever see. That will be from the month of May to October. I am not boosting just because the newspapers have stated that twenty-one new breweries are opening, I don't want to use that as an argument, but, brothers, the World's Fair is there and I assure you that when you leave Chicago and land in Washington, D. C., you will know that you have been to two Conventions.

Delegate Flore, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I think it quite befitting that I say just a few words in connection with this matter. St. Louis has a wonderful trade-union movement, a very active trade-union movement, and we feel that if the Convention in 1934 comes to the city of St. Louis we will be able to organize the hotels there, or at least one of the good hotels—not just for the time of the Convention, as has been stated here, because that is not our ambition or our desire.

The Iron Workers did give our organization considerable support during their Convention. They saw to it that their affairs were handled by union waitresses and cooks as nearly as they possibly could and we are grateful to them, we are grateful to any national or international union that does the very best it possibly can to secure union service wherever they may go. We have no criticism to offer here or any other place. We know there are many difficulties to come in contact with in securing union service as you go along. It is not only in our industry, we find it in every other in-

dustry. None of them are 100 per cent perfect.

We have no objection to the Convention going to St. Louis in 1934, and I think the labor movement of St. Louis and the labor movement of the state of Missouri and our good friends who are today from that state will help us between now and then to organize some hotel that will be fitting for the American Federation of Labor Convention to meet in.

I want to leave that thought, because I would very much dislike for the thought to be broadcast in this Convention that the labor movement in St. Louis has not done everything they possibly could to be helpful to our International Union in the organization of our trades in that city.

Delegate Duffy, Brotherhood of Operative Pottery: Mr. President and members of this Convention, I have listened quietly to all that has been said in this Convention. I have not attempted until this moment to raise my voice on any question. In view of the fact that something has been said about holding conventions in hotels manned by members in good standing of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, is there anything foreign or anything out of order in my suggesting at this time to keep in mind that there is a labor organization that has been affiliated with this body since the nineties, who depend upon the ability of their employees to sell their products as a means of earning a decent livelihood, and that product is dishes. At this time I want to suggest to the representatives of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and to the officials of all other national and international unions that they show some interest in the matter of having their food served upon union-made dishes, and I leave that thought with you.

Delegate McInroy, Railroad Telegraphers: During the discussion relative to the holding of our next convention considerable has been said that I might say has gone a little beyond repartee, and I would like to make a motion that all derogatory remarks that have been exchanged during this discussion be expunged from the records of these proceedings.

Delegate Lewis, United Mineworkers: I second that motion.

The motion was carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The question recurs on the vote on the convention city.

Delegate Hesketh, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I move the Secretary be authorized

to cast the unanimous ballot for Washington, D. C., for the 1933 convention city.

The motion was seconded and carried. The instruction was complied with, and Washington, D. C., was declared the 1933 convention city.

President Green: We are approaching the close of our Convention. The Chair desires to announce that a meeting of the Executive Council will be held in Parlor G of this hotel tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Now may the Chair take advantage of this closing moment to say to you that I sincerely hope we will return to our homes inspired and encouraged by the work of this wonderful Convention. We have fought our battles here like strong trades-union men. We have stood up for our opinions and our convictions. Every question has been decided in accordance with the democratic policies of this great organization.

But may I ask that you appreciate the value of unity, of fraternity, and of brotherhood as I appreciate it. Let us not go from this Convention carrying with us any tinge of bitterness, but let us subordinate all our feelings and go from here determined that we shall serve in the ranks of labor, wherever it may be. Our national and international unions are officered by strong, outstanding trade unionists, trained men, and it is to them we must look for co-operation and for support, and I hope that we shall go from here carrying with us a most friendly feeling and delightful memories of a pleasant visit at this Convention.

May the Chair take advantage of this opportunity to answer publicly a question that has been repeatedly asked me. I have been asked on numerous occasions whether or not I intended to accept any political appointment. I want to answer now that under no circumstances will I accept political appointment or political preferment. My distinguished predecessor, the great Samuel Gompers, in my judgment set a precedent that Presidents of the American Federation of Labor, myself included, whoever may be selected, should uphold and follow. During his tenure of office he was asked to accept appointment to certain political positions, and in every instance he replied: "I am President of the American Federation of Labor. No greater honor can be conferred upon me. I therefore decline to consider it."

Now, my friends, I am endeavoring to follow that same policy. I recognize that men in our movement have a perfect right to aspire to appointments that carry with them great honor, and we urge such appointments, but in my

judgment the President of the American Federation of Labor occupies a position of trust and confidence that he must respect and appreciate, and it occurs to me that the men and women of labor should always understand that when they select a President they have a perfect right to remove him at will, but the President has no right to leave them by accepting political preferment.

We have been here as actors upon the stage, the stage of this Convention, but I am sure we realize that we are all moved forward in the great stream of life, carrying us on its current like chips to the inevitable end—that is, the end of life. Some day new actors will come. They will take their places upon this stage and will play their part. Some time we will reach that inevitable end, when the lights will grow dim and the voices of the singers will be low, when the golden bowl will be broken and the pitcher will be broken at the fountain, when we will go out to sea, seeing, as I hope, our Pilot, face to

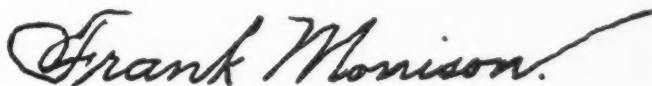
face, and let it be with the consciousness that our lives have been well spent and our work has been well done.

I covet harmony and co-operation. Let us practice and emphasize the principles of fraternity and brotherhood. Let us go forward a united army in the cause of labor for the realization of our ideals.

I thank the management of this hotel for the splendid conditions they provided us and for the service rendered. I express my appreciation to Brother Kummer, the Central Body, and the labor movement of Cincinnati for the service and the courtesy and the help they have extended to us. I thank the officers and delegates for their co-operation and support in carrying forward the work of this Convention.

Now, having reached the end, I declare the Fifty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor adjourned sine die.

The Convention was adjourned sine die at 1:15 o'clock p. m. Friday, December 2, 1932.



Secretary,
American Federation of Labor.



Assistant Secretary of Convention.

INDEX.

A

	Page
Ackerman, F. A.	392
Adamski, A.	443, 447
Addresses of welcome.	1-7
Adult education project, Des Moines, Iowa.	277
Adult education, public school system defective.	277, 278
Agreements, wage, should expire on same date, Resolution No. 22.	138, 139, 379
Albers, Jos. H. Auxiliary Bishop of Cincinnati, sermon.	440, 441
Alifas, N. P.	349-351, 361, 394, 395, 396
Allen, Ollie.	205, 245, 246, 250, 317-319, 368, 369, 370
Altman, Victor.	446, 450, 451
Ambassador Hotel, Atlantic City, N. J., invitation for the next convention, telegram.	13
American Federation of Labor Building Trustees' report.	56, 151
American Federation of Labor Legal Information Bureau.	111, 112, 123, 283
American Federation of Labor publications	93, 123, 282
American Federationist.	93, 123, 151, 282
Monthly Survey of Business.	93, 123, 282, 283
Weekly News Service.	93, 123, 282
American Legion, Commander Louis A. Johnson, address.	12, 13, 117-121
Anderson, Mary, Director, Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor.	158, 159
Anti-trust laws.	72, 123, 370, 371, 398
Appropriations Committee, H. R., proposing that representatives of labor serve as delegation to oppose economy proposals.	361
Atlantic City, N. J., invitation for holding 1933 convention.	207

B

Bacharach, Harry, Mayor of Atlantic City, telegram.	207
Baltimore Federation of Labor, President Henry F. Broening, telegram announcing adoption by Baltimore City of six hour day and five day week in municipal building projects.	206
Bankers' domination of industrial policies, address of John P. Frey.	229-232
Banking and credit, government control, Resolution No. 31.	141, 142, 377, 378
Banking institutions, government ownership, Resolution No. 7.	125, 376-378
Banking, legislation for regulation of, Resolution No. 46.	146, 377, 378
Banks, savings, and building and loan associations, Resolution No. 54.	168, 377, 378
Beer, draught, Resolution No. 64.	171, 365-370
Belsel, Peter.	211, 214, 228, 453
Benefit services of national and international unions.	86-91, 122, 304
Bieretz, E. D.	424, 448
Blumberg, George, U. S. Senator-elect, Brooklyn, N. Y., telegram.	148
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, General Executive Board, invitation for 1934 convention.	279
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers—Pulp and Sulphite Workers.	80, 122, 302, 303
British Trades Union Congress, policies outlined in report of A. F. of L. fraternal delegates Joseph A. Franklin and E. E. Milliman.	252-258
Bryn Mawr College, Department of Social Economy, Mildred Fairchild, Susan M. Kingsbury, telegram.	123
Bugniatet, G. M.	443
Bugniatet, G. M., re-election to office of Eighth Vice-President.	448
Building and loan associations, and savings banks, legislation for regulation, Resolution No. 54.	168, 377, 378
Building trades workers, Federal safety legislation, Resolution No. 93.	226, 227, 408, 409

INDEX

457

	Page
Burke, John P.	302, 303, 447
Burke, Thomas E., elected fraternal delegate to British Trades Union Congress	450
Burke, Thomas E.	446, 447, 451
Butte, Montana, open shop fight	384

C

Calumet waterways, Resolution No. 14	135, 136, 234, 235
Carroll, T. C.	284
Case, Charles J.	216, 447
Central and state bodies, affiliation of local unions, Resolution No. 2	123, 124, 298-301
Chain stores employees, organization, Resolution No. 65	171, 209
Chattanooga, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council, invitation for holding 1933 convention	181
Chicago, Ill., City and school employees, Resolution No. 33	142, 383
Child health clinics	261
Child Labor Amendment to U. S. Constitution	73, 262
Child labor statistics	73, 261
Child welfare	72, 73, 123, 261
Children's Coats and Reefer Makers' Union, International Ladies Garment Workers, telegram	407
Cigar Makers—Tobacco Workers	81, 122, 303
Clarke, William P.	309, 380, 381
Classification legislation for government employees	61, 123, 233, 234, 258, 259
Classification, Personnel, Board, recommending representation of labor on	233, 234
Cline, Roy C.	269
Coal, bituminous industry, provisions of Davis-Kelly bill	100-103, 122, 372, 373
Coal, union-mined, urging patronage, Resolution No. 3	124, 376
Coefield, John	450
Coefield, John, re-election to office of Fifth Vice-President	447
Colorado Labor Institute	98, 270
Columbia Broadcasting System, cooperation commended	271
Committee members, President Green expresses appreciation for services rendered	443
Committees:	
Adjustment	122, 424, 425
Auditing	148-151
Building Trades	122
Credentials	7-11, 13, 148, 158, 252, 260, 311
Education	122, 148, 261, 276, 279, 282
Executive Council Report	121, 302, 409
Industrial Relations	122, 309
International Labor Relations	122, 438
Labels	122, 227
Laws	121, 425, 426
Legislation	122, 232
Local and Federated Bodies	122, 298
Organization	121, 122, 207
Resolutions	121, 158, 278, 312, 340, 361, 384, 407, 441
Rules and Order of Business	12, 13, 14
Shorter Workday	122, 284
State organizations	122, 301
Communism, Resolution No. 87	179, 407
Company union, Pullman Co.	399, 400
Connors, James B.	213
Convention, 1933, invitations for holding	13, 181, 207, 260, 279, 407, 443
Convict labor, state legislation necessary to make Hawes-Cooper Act effective	71, 72, 123, 232, 233
Corporations' denial of labor's right to organize must be corrected either voluntarily or by legislation	315
Credit and finance production control	319
Credit unions incorporation, legislation enacted	58, 361
Culinary workers, organizing, Resolution No. 18	137, 208

	D	Page
Davis, J. E.....		449
Davis, J. N.....		448
Davis, J. J., U. S. Senator, address.....		7, 152-156
Deceased members, memorial.....		156
Defense fund for A. F. of L. directly affiliated local unions.....		47
Dempsey, John.....		204
Doak, W. N., Secretary of Labor, address.....		7, 260, 272-276
Doak, Mrs. W. N.....		272
Donnelly, Thos. J.....		157, 166, 205, 247, 248, 358-360, 405, 406
Duffy, Frank.....		207, 210, 212, 213, 223
Duffy, Frank, re-election to office of First Vice-President.....		445
Duffy, James M.....		454
Dukes, Charles, fraternal delegate, British Trades Union Congress, address.....		187-191, 323, 324
Dukes, Mrs. Charles, acknowledges gift.....		324, 325
E		
Eagles, Fraternal Order, President Henry J. Berrodin, telegram.....		204
Economy law.....		57, 59, 60, 122, 361, 362
Economy law, repeal, Resolution No. 71.....		173, 241, 242
Education, relation to economic recovery.....		265, 266
Educational activities of Workers' Education Bureau.....		97, 98, 269-271, 276-278
Educational policies.....		95, 96, 263, 264
Egan, William.....		309, 310
Eighteenth Amendment, U. S. Constitution proposing repeal, Resolution No. 15.....		136, 363-370
Election of:		
convention city.....		437
fraternal delegates.....		437, 450-452
officers.....		437, 443-450
Elks' Lodge, Cincinnati, tender facilities of clubrooms to delegates.....		13
Employment, state, services under Federal co-ordination.....		31
Engineers—Firemen.....		79, 80, 122, 302
Engineers on dredgers, extension of Public Health Service facilities, Resolution No. 83.....		177, 239
Engravers, Friendly Society, request for A. F. of L. charter, Resolution No. 82.....		176, 177, 402
Executive Council meeting at close of convention, time of holding announced.....		454
Executive Council, proposing increase in number of members, Resolution No. 95.....		260, 425-437
Executive Council's report.....		19-116
A. F. of L. Building Trustees' financial report.....		56, 151
A. F. of L. Legal Information Bureau.....		111, 112, 123, 283
A. F. of L. publications.....		93, 123, 282
American Federationist.....		93, 123, 151, 282
Monthly Survey of Business.....		93, 123, 282, 283
Weekly News Service.....		93, 123, 282
Anti trust law.....		72, 123, 370, 371
Benefit services of national and international unions.....		86-91, 122, 304
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers—Pulp and Sulphite Workers.....		80, 122, 302, 303
Child Labor Amendment to U. S. Constitution.....		73, 262
Child labor statistics.....		73, 261
Child welfare.....		72, 73, 123, 261
Cigar Makers—Tobacco Workers.....		81, 122, 303
Classification legislation for government employees.....		61, 123, 233, 234, 258, 259
Coal, bituminous industry, provisions of Davis-Kelly bill.....		100-103, 122, 372, 373
Convict labor, state legislation necessary to make Hawes-Cooper Act effective.....		71, 72, 123, 232, 233
Credit unions incorporation, legislation enacted.....		58, 361
Defense fund for A. F. of L. directly affiliated local unions.....		47
Economy Law.....		57, 59, 60, 122, 361, 362
Educational activities of Workers' Education Bureau.....		97, 98, 269-271, 276-278
Engineers—Firemen.....		79, 80, 122, 302

Executive Council's Report—Continued:

	Page
Federal employees, A. F. of L. opposes lowering of working standards.....	57, 59, 60, 75, 361, 362
Federal Employees, National Federation of, withdrawal.....	82-85, 303, 304
Federal employees, personnel classification legislation.....	61, 123, 233, 234, 258, 259
Financial report.....	45-47, 148, 151
Five-day work week, report upon number working.....	89-91, 304
Five-day work week for per diem government employees, legislation secured.....	58, 123, 284, 285, 361
Five-day work week on government work, bills introduced in Congress providing for.....	63, 123, 284, 285
Flint Glass Workers—Glass Bottle Blowers.....	80, 81, 122, 303
Gompers, Samuel, Memorial.....	48, 100, 123, 150, 283
Government Employees, American Federation of, issuance of charter reported upon.....	82-85, 122, 303, 304
Government, U. S. Departments reorganization.....	63, 123, 362
Government, U. S., functions and costs.....	74-79, 122, 371, 372
Hatters—Cap Workers.....	160, 161, 307, 308
Hod Carriers—Pavers and Rammermen.....	80, 122, 303
Immigration, legislative measures dealing with.....	61, 62, 122, 362
Incorporation Act, trade union, repealed.....	64, 123, 232
Injunction law.....	58, 65-70, 123, 361, 362, 363
Injunction relief measure similar to Norris-La Guardia bill, state and central bodies urged to secure enactment by state legislatures.....	70, 362, 363
Kellogg Pact, A. F. of L. attitude.....	73, 123, 371
Label, union, law providing protection against counterfeiting in District of Columbia.....	58, 64, 123, 361
Labels and cards endorsed by A. F. of L., list of organizations using.....	54
Labor Department, U. S.....	64, 362
Labor institutes arranged under auspices of Workers' Education Bureau.....	97, 98, 269, 270
Labor press.....	93, 94, 283
Labor press, investigation by special committee.....	93, 94, 123, 283
Labor, special days.....	92, 123, 279, 280
Labor Day.....	92, 93, 123, 279, 280
Labor Sunday.....	92, 93, 123, 279, 280
Labor's Memorial Day.....	92, 93, 123, 279, 280
"Lame-duck" amendment to U. S. Constitution, submitted to states for ratification.....	63, 123, 301, 302
Legal Information Bureau, A. F. of L.....	111, 112, 123, 283
Legislative measures enacted, urged by A. F. of L.....	57, 58, 361
Machinists—Carpenters agreement.....	81, 82, 122, 409-422
Membership, A. F. of L.....	49-51
Mine Workers, United, support pledged to secure enactment of Davis-Kelly bill.....	100-103, 122, 372, 373
Musicians, immigration exclusion law enacted.....	58, 61, 62, 361, 362
Old age security legislation.....	64, 123, 362
Organizing work.....	92, 123, 207
Pan-American labor relations.....	115, 116, 123, 438
Patent laws adjustment.....	113, 122, 373, 374
Political policy.....	159, 160, 361, 374
Printing Pressmen—Photo Engravers—Lithographers, conferences held dealing with jurisdiction dispute.....	79, 122, 302
Puerto Rico, change of name.....	58, 123, 361
Puerto Rico, report of Free Federation of Workingmen.....	113-115, 123, 301
Radio in Education, National Advisory Council, series of labor addresses.....	98-100, 186, 271, 276-277
Railway Workers problems, report of Railway Employees Department.....	103-111, 122, 373
Louisiana and Arkansas Railroad case.....	106, 107, 373
Old age retirement legislation.....	111, 373
Railroads consolidation.....	110, 111, 373

Executive Council's Report—Continued:	Page
Six hour workday bill.....	109, 110, 111, 373
Stabilization of employment program.....	104, 105, 107, 110, 373
Wage deduction agreement.....	103, 104, 373
Relief legislation for unemployed.....	58, 59, 122, 361, 362
Sales tax opposed by A. F. of L.....	62, 63, 123, 234
School, public, system.....	94-97, 123, 263, 264
Educational policies, recommendations of Executive Council.....	95, 96, 97, 123, 263, 264
National Education Association survey covering effects of depression retrenchments.....	95, 96, 123, 263, 264
Statistics relating to costs and enrollment.....	94-97, 123, 264
Secretary's report.....	45-54, 149-151
Stove Mounters—Auto Stove Company—Cleveland Cooperative Stove Company.....	82, 123, 309, 310
Summary of E. C. report.....	14-17
Teamsters—Railway Clerks.....	80, 122, 303
Theatrical Stage Employees—Electrical Workers.....	80, 122, 303
Treasurer's report.....	55, 149, 150
Unemployment.....	20-39, 122, 312-321
Cooperation essential to balance wages and production.....	30, 313
Deficit in buying power.....	28, 313
Economic conference, national, recommending.....	37, 313, 320
Economic planning.....	32-37, 319, 320
Failure of buying power.....	22, 23, 313
Income distribution.....	23, 24, 313
Low wages mean low profits.....	28, 313
Losses from 1929.....	28-30, 313
Our outgrowth work-week.....	30, 31, 285, 315
Principles of relief.....	37, 38, 320, 321
Unemployment in U. S.....	20, 21, 313, 314
Unemployment relief funds.....	38, 39, 320, 321
Uses of excess income.....	25, 26, 313
Worker security program.....	31, 32, 319, 320
Workers' income loss.....	22, 38, 313
Unemployment insurance.....	39-44, 122, 325-339, 340-360, 442
Vocational Rehabilitation Act extended.....	58, 361
Volstead Act, modification.....	71, 123, 363-370
Voting strength of affiliated unions.....	52, 53
Wage and hours of labor standards, established by national unions.....	88-91, 304
Wilson, Woodrow, Memorial fund.....	48, 150
Workers' Education Bureau, review of activities.....	97-100, 123, 269-271, 276-278
Workmen's Compensation Insurance, urging enactment by state legislatures of exclusive state-fund plan.....	63, 122, 304-307

F

Fairchild, Mildred, Department of Social Economy, Bryn Mawr College, telegram.....	123
Federal Employees, A. F. of L. opposes lowering of working standards.....	57, 59, 60, 75, 361, 362
Federal Employees, favoring thirty years voluntary retirement legislation, Resolution No. 68.....	172, 239, 240
Federal Employees, legislation to restore working conditions, Resolution No. 56.....	168, 169, 241
Federal Employees, National Federation of, withdrawal.....	82-85, 303, 304
Federal Employees, personnel classification legislation.....	61, 123, 233, 234, 258, 259
Federal Employees, personnel classification legislation, Resolution No. 86.....	178, 179, 233, 234
Feeney, Frank.....	413, 414, 419
Financial report.....	45-47, 148-151
Finger printing, protesting practice of U. S. Civil Service Commission, Resolution No. 72.....	173, 174, 242, 243
Finnan, M. J.....	216
Fire fighters, A. F. of L. organizers to assist, Resolution No. 10.....	125, 207
Fire fighters' eight hour day, Resolution No. 12.....	126, 127, 296, 297

INDEX

461

	Page
Fire fighters, opposing wage reduction, Resolution No. 11.....	125, 126, 378, 379
Fire fighters, statement praising attitude of St. Louis, Mo., City Officials toward organization of.....	443
Fire Prevention Week educational campaigns, endorsing, Resolution No. 9.....	125, 378
Five day week and six hour day, proposing U. S. constitutional amendment, Resolution No. 51.....	167, 244-250
Five day week, universal adoption, favoring.....	285-296
Five day work week for per diem government employees, legislation secured.....	58, 123, 284, 285, 361
Five day work week on government work, bills introduced in Congress.....	63, 123, 284, 285
Five day work week statistics.....	89-91, 304
Flaherty, Thos. F.....	232, 238, 244
Flore, Edward.....	223-225, 365, 366, 448, 453
Flint Glass Workers—Glass Bottle Blowers.....	80, 81, 122, 303
Flynn, M. J.....	306, 307, 404
Flynn, Thomas.....	445
Food industry employees department, A. F. of L., proposing formation, Resolution No. 19.....	137, 208, 209
Foot ball game, St. Xavier's University—Haskell Indian School, announcement.....	166
Franklin, Joseph A., A. F. of L. fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress, report.....	252-258
Fraternal delegates, addresses:	
British Trades Union Congress.....	12, 158, 166, 187-195
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	12, 158, 166, 195-198
Presentation of badges and gifts.....	158, 166, 322-325
Fraternal delegates, reports of:	
A. F. of L. delegates to British Trades Union Congress.....	252-258
A. F. of L. delegate to Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	161, 162
French, M. L., appointed Assistant Secretary of Convention.....	12
Frey, John P.....	229-232, 339, 340-344, 354, 389, 405
Fur Workers' International Union, President Pietro Lucchi, telegram.....	206
Furuseth, Andrew.....	232, 234, 235, 236, 238, 243, 244, 246, 247, 293-295, 336

G

Gainor, Edward J.....	204, 250, 261, 286, 287
Glass, David R.....	258, 259, 369
Gompers, Samuel, Memorial.....	48, 100, 123, 150, 283
Government agency to shape labor policies, disapproved.....	320
Government Employees, American Federation of, issuance of charter reported upon.....	82-85, 122, 303, 304
Government Employees, A. F. of L. opposes lowering of working standards.....	57, 59, 60, 75, 361, 362
Government Employees, favoring thirty years voluntary retirement legislation, Resolution No. 68.....	172, 239, 240
Government Employees, legislation to restore working conditions, Resolution No. 56.....	168, 169, 241
Government Employees, personnel classification legislation.....	61, 123, 233, 234, 258, 259
Government Employees, personnel classification legislation, Resolution No. 86.....	178, 179, 233, 234
Government Employment standards, improved, Resolution No. 69.....	172, 240
Government U. S., Departments, reorganization.....	63, 123, 362
Government U. S., functions and costs.....	74-79, 122, 371, 372
Government, U. S., intervention for American citizens in foreign countries, Resolution No. 78.....	175, 396, 397
Graham, James D.....	248, 249, 252, 305, 376, 384, 405
Grand Island, Neb., Central Labor Union, Roy M. Brewer, Secretary, telegram.....	204
Green, President.....	4-7, 117, 121, 152, 156, 158, 162, 166, 186, 187, 195, 198-200, 203, 216, 229, 271, 272, 276, 277, 280, 282, 289-293, 309, 310, 322, 323, 345-349, 354, 355, 370, 383, 417-419, 422-424, 436, 442, 443, 454, 455
Green, President, address upon report of Committee on Shorter Workday to be printed in pamphlet form.....	296
Green, William, re-election to office of President.....	444-445

	Page
H	
Haggerty, Daniel.....	7, 148, 252, 260, 311, 447
Haggerty, John B.....	452
Hanson, Florence Curtis.....	261, 374-375, 449
Hatters—Cap Makers.....	160, 161, 307, 308
Hatters vs. Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, Resolution No. 85.....	177, 178, 307, 308
Henning, R. A.....	309, 447
Hesketh, Robert B.....	447, 451, 454
Hod Carriers—Pavers and Rammermen.....	80, 122, 303
Holmes, W., fraternal delegate, British Trades Union Congress, address.....	191-195, 322, 323
Holmes, Mrs. W., acknowledges gift.....	324
Holmgren, J. O.....	448, 449, 453
Horn, Roy.....	393, 396, 449
Hotel and catering establishments, unionizing, Resolution No. 17.....	136, 137, 207, 208
Hotel and Restaurant Employes, organizing work in Chicago, President Flore answers newspaper attack.....	223-225
Hotel and Restaurant Employes' Union, members not employed by St. Louis, Mo., hotels, announcement.....	443
Howard, Charles P.....	288, 289, 315, 339, 351-354, 366, 425, 432-434, 444, 449
Hynes, John J.....	419, 420
I	
Ickler, Philip.....	338
Iglesias, Santiago.....	204
Immigration, legislative measures.....	61, 62, 122, 362
Income and inheritance taxes.....	319
Income tax act, 1932, amendments, Resolution No. 50.....	167, 238, 239
Incorporation act, trade union repealed.....	64, 123, 232
Injunction law.....	58, 65-70, 123, 361, 362, 363
Injunction relief measure similar to Norris-LaGuardia bill, state and central bodies urged to secure enactment by state legislatures.....	70, 362, 363
Installment buying, Resolution No. 79.....	175, 397, 398
International Labor Office, representation of United States, Resolution No. 91.....	180, 439, 440
Investors, protective service for.....	319
Invocation, Rev. R. Marcellus Wagner.....	1
Iowa State Federation of Labor, officers commended for cooperation with Des Moines adult education project.....	277
J	
Jeter, A. H., Long Island City, N. Y., telegram endorsing shorter work-day declaration.....	311
Johnson, Louis A., Commander of the American Legion, address.....	12, 13, 117-121
K	
Kahn, Mrs. Florence P., Member of Congress, telegram.....	226
Kellogg Pact, A. F. of L. attitude.....	73, 123, 371
Kelly, Wm. J.....	445
Kennedy, Thomas.....	321, 336-338, 354, 355, 420
Kindergarten, National Association, Bessie Locke, Executive Secretary, telegram.....	148
Kingsbury, Susan M., Department of Social Economy, Bryn Mawr College, telegram.....	123
Knight, F. H.....	448
Koveleski, E.....	209, 443, 446, 448, 450, 452
Kugler, A. J.....	366, 367
Kummer, Adolph, Chairman Convention Arrangements Committee, address.....	1, 2
Kruck, Harry, appointed Sergeant-at-Arms of Convention.....	12
L	
Label League, Cincinnati, announcement of label show.....	195
Label, union, Committee on Labels, report and discussion.....	227-232
Label, union, law providing protection against counterfeiting in District of Columbia.....	58, 64, 123, 361

INDEX

463

	Page
Labels, union, and cards, endorsed by A. F. of L., list of organizations using.....	54
Labor Department, U. S.	64, 362
Labor Department, U. S., invitation to President Green to attend laying of cornerstone of new building.....	206
Labor institutes arranged under auspices of Workers' Education Bureau 97, 98, 269, 270, 278	
Labor political party, independent, Resolution No. 5.....	124, 376
Labor press.....	93, 94, 283
Labor press, investigation by special committee.....	93, 94, 123, 283
Labor, special days.....	92, 123, 279, 280
Labor Day.....	92, 93, 123, 279, 280
Labor Sunday.....	92, 93, 123, 279, 280
Labor's Memorial Sunday.....	92, 93, 123, 279, 280
'Lame Duck' amendment to U. S. Constitution, submitted to states for ratification.....	63, 123, 301, 302
Lane, Dennis.....	436, 450
Lane, Dennis, candidacy for fraternal delegate to British Trades Union Congress.....	311, 312
Lathers' delegation, change.....	298
Laundry Workers' delegate, agreement reached on protest of Teamsters.....	11
Laundry workers, to promote organization, Resolution No. 67.....	171, 172, 209
Lawlor, Martin.....	451, 452
Lea, Congressman Clarence F., Santa Rosa, California, telegram.....	148
Lee, H. D., Mercantile Co., commending labor policies of, Resolution No. 88.....	179, 407, 408
Legal Information Bureau, A. F. of L.....	111, 112, 123, 283
Legislative enactments, sponsored by A. F. of L.....	57, 58, 361
Lewis, John L.....	260, 401, 402, 426-431, 436, 444, 454
Licenses, federal, for corporations engaged in interstate commerce, with specific requirements as to accounting.....	319, 320
Licensing of business firms and corporations by Federal Government, E. C. directed to study question and prepare bill, Resolution No. 47.....	146, 147, 386, 387
Lindeloof, Lawrence P.....	451
Linville, Henry R., President, American Federation of Teachers, telegram.....	12
Local unions should develop educational opportunities, report of Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.....	299-301
Lorton, Va., Reformatory, protesting employment of prisoners on work requiring skilled labor, Resolution No. 48.....	147, 387, 388

M

Machine displacement of labor, address of Spencer Miller, Jr.....	181-186
Machine era, wages and hours of labor must be progressively adjusted to balance production and consumption.....	284-296, 316
Machinery, automatic, proposing tax, Resolution No. 23.....	139, 379, 380
Machinists—Carpenters agreement.....	81, 82, 122, 400-422
Machinists—Carpenters agreement, protest of building trades, Resolution No. 20.....	137, 138, 400-422
Madsen, Christian M., elected fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.....	451
Mahon, W. D.....	204, 287, 288
Maloney, James.....	424, 425, 443, 444, 446, 450
Manion, E. J.....	317
Manning, John J.....	214, 446
Marble Workers, change in delegation.....	250, 251
Martel, Frank X.....	210, 211, 215, 301, 321, 355, 390, 391, 404, 405, 431, 449, 450
Martin, Thos. F.....	379
Mass, St. Louis Catholic Church, letter announcing arrangements.....	226
McDonough, M. J.....	411-414, 447
McInroy, R. R.....	454
McMahon, Thomas F.....	244, 262
McNicholas, Archbishop John T., Archdiocese of Cincinnati, address, 151, 152, 162-166, 204	
Meat Cutters' delegation, change.....	206

	Page
Michigan Labor Institute.....	97, 98, 270
Meehan, James.....	226
Membership, A. F. of L.....	49-51
Metal Trades Council, Cincinnati, announcement of meeting.....	251
Miller, Victor J., Mayor of St. Louis, Mo., telegram.....	207, 260
Miller, Jr., Spencer, Secretary of the Workers' Education Bureau, address.....	166, 181-186, 204
Milliman, E. E., A. F. of L. fraternal delegate to British Trades Union Congress, report.....	252-258
Mills, Clyde M.....	387, 388, 403, 404, 452, 453
Mine Workers, United, support pledged to secure enactment of Davis-Kelly bill.....	100-103, 122, 372, 373
Mississippi Labor Institute.....	98, 270
Molders' delegation, changes.....	203, 206
Molders' protest attitude of Richardson and Boynton Company, Dover, N. J., Resolution No. 58.....	169, 310
Mooney case, Resolution No. 30.....	141, 382, 383
Mooney case, Resolution No. 75.....	174, 382, 383
Morrin, P. J.....	414-417, 453
Morrison, Frank.....	250, 390, 391
Morrison, Frank, re-election to office of Secretary.....	449, 450
Morton, Joseph W.....	445, 448
Murray, Philip J.....	434, 435, 436
Musicians, immigration exclusion law enacted.....	58, 61, 62, 361, 362
Musicians' Union No. 1, members, entertain at opening session.....	1

N

Nashville Labor Institute.....	98, 270
National Economy League.....	392, 393
Navy Yards, U. S., construction and fabrication of vessels and material for national defense should be done in, Resolution No. 49.....	167, 388, 389
Navy, U. S., urging maximum strength in accordance with London Naval Treaty, Resolution No. 77.....	175, 393-396
Negro workers, trade union recognition, Resolution No. 81.....	176, 216-223
Nevin, Judge Robert N., address.....	260, 261, 278, 280-282
Newport, R. I., Central Labor Union communication.....	298
New York Times editorial, President Green answers.....	422-424

O

O'Connell, John A., Secretary, San Francisco Labor Council, telegram.....	12
O'Connell, John P.....	215, 381, 382
Oil industry, protective tariff, Resolution No. 55.....	389, 390
Olander, Victor A.....	312, 376, 390, 391, 446, 451
Old-age pension legislation, Resolution No. 57.....	169, 390
Old-age security legislation.....	64, 123, 362
Otte, Albert, appointed Messenger of Convention.....	12
Organizing work.....	92, 123, 207

P

Pan-American Federation of Labor.....	438
Pan-American labor relations.....	115, 116, 123, 438
Panama Canal employees, extension of retirement provisions to benefit widows of, Resolution No. 26.....	140, 237, 238
Panama Canal employees, leave privileges, Resolution No. 24.....	139, 140, 236, 237
Panama Canal employees, thirty-year retirement act, Resolution No. 25.....	140, 237
Patent laws adjustment.....	113, 122, 373, 374
Pequot products, urging patronage, Resolution No. 28.....	141, 381, 382
Perham, H. B.....	204
Perkins, George W.....	438
Perry, James DeWolf, presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, U. S. A., telegram.....	158

INDEX

465

	Page
Petersen, P. F.....	448
Philippines, Independence, Resolution No. 45.....	146, 385, 386
Political, A. F. of L. non-partisan policy.....	159, 160, 361, 374
Poll, George.....	216, 295, 296, 306, 317, 374
Possehl, John.....	447
Post Office Clerks, Local No. 96. Memphis, Tenn., telegram of greetings.....	13
Potters, Delegate James M. Duffy, asks support of union products.....	454
Powers, Frank B., report of Fraternal Delegate to Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	161, 162
Printing Pressmen's delegation, change.....	438
Printing Pressmen—Photo Engravers—Lithographers, conferences dealing with jurisdiction dispute.....	79, 122, 302
Prevailing wage law to be made applicable to the Panama Canal, Resolution No. 27.....	140, 141, 238
Prohibition legislation, report of Committee on Resolutions and discussion.....	363-370
Puerto Rico, change of name.....	58, 123, 361
Puerto Rico, rehabilitation plans, Resolution No. 92.....	207, 408
Puerto Rico, report of Free Federation of Workmen.....	113-115, 123, 301
Pullman Porters injunction fight, Issuance of appeal for financial assistance directed, Resolution No. 80.....	176, 398-402

Q

Quinn, James C., elected fraternal delegate to Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	452
--	-----

R

Racketeering.....	397, 398
Radio advertising, limiting, Resolution No. 53.....	168, 389
Radio in Education, National Advisory Council, series of labor addresses.....	98-100, 186, 271, 276-277
Radio labor lecture series, urging cooperation for greater publicity, Resolution No. 4.....	124, 268, 269
Radio labor lectures, mechanical transcription, announcement.....	279
Rager, Fritz, Secretary, Chamber of Labor, Vienna, Austria, address.....	225, 226
Railway Conductors, Lodge No. 486, Covington, Ky., communication.....	384
Railway Workers problems, report of Railway Employees Department.....	103-111, 122, 373
Louisiana and Arkansas Railroad case.....	106, 107, 373
Old age retirement legislation.....	111, 373
Railroads consolidation.....	110, 111, 373
Six hour workday bill.....	109, 110, 111, 373
Stabilization of employment program.....	104, 105, 107, 110, 373
Wage deduction agreement.....	103, 104, 373
Randolph, A. Philip.....	223, 398-401
Reconstruction Finance Corporation, action on application of Pennsylvania for loan.....	321
Reconstruction Finance Corporation, loans to provide employment for workers, Resolution No. 42.....	145, 385
Recreational centers.....	261
Redmond, John P.....	443
Reformatory, Lorton, Va., protesting policy of employing prisoners on work requiring skilled labor, Resolution No. 48.....	147, 387, 388
Relief agencies, issuance of names of unemployed union members to, Resolution No. 89.....	179, 180, 408
Relief legislation for unemployed.....	58, 59, 122, 361, 362
Reno, Miles, Ottumwa, Iowa, telegram endorsing shorter work week declaration.....	311
Reno, Nev., Board of County Commissioners, telegraph invitation for next convention.....	13
Retail Clerks Union, Butte, Mont., strike against wage reduction.....	384
Revenue Act, 1932, proposing amendments to, Resolution No. 50.....	167, 238, 239
Rickert, Thomas A., re-election to office of Second Vice-President.....	446
Rolph, Jr., James, Governor of California, telegram.....	206
Rose, Alex.....	295
Rosemund, C. L.....	449
Rowlinson, George H. President, Oregon State Laundry Owners' Association, telegram endorsing six hour day declaration.....	311
Rural delivery mail service, Resolution No. 66.....	171, 239

	Page
Rutgers Labor Institute.....	97, 269, 270
Ryan, Martin Francis.....	431, 432
Ryan, Martin Francis, re-election to office of Treasurer.....	448
S	
Sales tax opposed by A. F. of L.....	62, 63, 123, 234
Salt Lake City, Utah, invitation for 1933 convention.....	407
Savings banks and building and loan associations, legislation for regulation of, Resolution No. 54.....	168, 377, 378
Savannah, Ga., Trades and Labor Assembly, invitations for 1933 convention.....	279, 443
School attendance, compulsory, Resolution No. 83.....	177, 262, 263
School financing, legislation to be introduced in Congress providing for nation-wide investigation.....	266
School, public, educational facilities, protesting against curtailment, Resolution No. 36.....	143, 263-266
School, public, system.....	94-97, 123, 263, 264
Educational policies, recommendations of Executive Council.....	95, 96, 97, 123, 263, 264
National Education Association, survey covering effects of depression retrenchments.....	95, 96, 123, 263, 264
Statistics relating to costs and enrollment.....	94-97, 123, 264
School year, projecting, Resolution No. 37.....	143, 263-266
School support in period of retrenchment, Resolution No. 61.....	170, 267, 268
Schools, financial support, Resolution No. 32.....	142, 267, 268
Schools, junior high, Chicago, Ill., abolishment proposed by Sargent Committee.....	374, 375
Schools of trade union philosophy, Resolution No. 6.....	124, 125, 279
Schools, public, causes of increased costs, Resolution No. 35.....	143, 269
Schools, public, educating the community to support, Resolution No. 62.....	170, 267, 268
Schools, summer, for workers in industry.....	185, 277
Schools, urging provisions for raising revenue for adequate educational systems for children of school age, Resolution No. 38.....	143, 144, 266-268
Sea, Treaty on Safety of Life, Resolution No. 43.....	145, 385
Seamen, King bill, to extend application of Exclusion laws, Resolution No. 44.....	145, 146, 235, 236, 362
Seamen on government vessels, extension of public health service facilities, Resolution No. 52.....	167, 168, 239
Secretary's report.....	45-54, 149-151
Share-the-work movement.....	285
Shaw, John Arthur, President, American Federation of Government Employees, introduced to convention.....	276
Sheep shearers, to assist, Resolution No. 94.....	252, 441, 442
Shorter work-day and work-week, proposing legislation for compulsory enforcement, Resolution No. 1.....	123, 296
Shorter Work-day Committee, report to be distributed in pamphlet form.....	284-296
Shorter work-day, preparatory technical conference, Geneva, January, 1933, Resolution No. 90.....	180, 438, 439
Shorter work-week for women workers, legislation to enforce, Resolution No. 73.....	174, 316, 393
Simons, John.....	249
Six-hour day, universal adoption, favoring.....	285-296
Smith-Kasson Co., Cincinnati, Ohio, invitation to lady visitors.....	13
Social service agencies.....	261
South Bend, Ind., Central Labor Union, delegate Mary L. Garner, seated.....	260
Spanish War veterans, pensions, Resolution No. 63.....	170, 171, 391-393
St. Louis, Mo., invitations for holding 1934 convention.....	181, 207, 260, 279, 340, 443, 453
St. Louis, Mo., statements relative to status of union members.....	443, 453
State Federations of Labor delegates, conferences announced.....	157, 166
Steeper, Harry J.....	443
Stock selling, urging legislation to regulate, Resolution No. 79.....	175, 397, 398
Stove Mounters—Auto Stove Company—Cleveland Co-operative Stove Company.....	82, 123, 309, 310

INDEX

467

	Page
Street and Electric Railway Employees, conditions affecting, statement of President W. D. Mahon.....	287
Summer schools for women workers.....	185, 277
Sumner, Charles.....	302
Swartz, L. E.....	298, 355-357
Sweat shop products, legislation to prohibit Government purchasing, Resolution No. 74.....	174, 243, 244

T

Tariff for the oil industry, Resolution No. 55.....	168, 389, 390
Teachers, public school, effects of retrenchment policies.....	263
Teachers salary cuts, Resolution No. 60.....	169, 390, 391
Teamsters—Railway Clerks.....	80, 122, 303
Technocracy, address of Spencer Miller, Jr.....	181-186, 204
Textile industry, employment of children.....	262
Thanks for courtesies and hospitality extended to the delegates, wives and guests of the convention, Resolution No. 90.....	441, 442
Theatrical Stage Employees—Electrical Workers.....	80, 122, 303
Tipping system opposed by Pullman Porters organization.....	399
Tracy, E. J.....	443
Trade union cooperation essential to progressive economic development.....	316
Treasurer's report.....	55, 149, 150
Trotter, W. R.....	210, 211, 264, 265, 442
Turnbull, W. V., fraternal delegate, Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, address.....	196-198, 324

U

Unemployed, occupational retraining for.....	277, 278
Unemployed union members, issuance of names to special relief agencies, Resolution No. 89.....	179, 180, 408
Unemployment.....	20-39, 122, 312-321
Cooperation essential to balance wages and production.....	30, 313
Deficit in buying power.....	28, 313
Economic conference, national, recommending.....	37, 313, 320
Economic planning.....	32-37, 319, 320
Failure of buying power.....	22, 23, 313
Income distribution.....	23, 24, 313
Low wages mean low profits.....	28, 313
Losses from 1929.....	28-30, 313
Our outgrown work-week.....	30, 31, 285, 315
Principles of relief.....	37, 38, 320, 321
Unemployment in U. S.....	20, 21, 313, 314
Unemployment relief funds.....	38, 39, 320, 321
Uses of excess income.....	25, 26, 313
Worker security program.....	31, 32, 319, 320
Workers' income loss.....	22, 38, 313
Unemployment, emergency program, Resolution No. 40.....	144, 145, 384, 385
Unemployment insurance, recommending principles for guidance in framing state measures.....	39-44, 122, 325-339, 340-360, 442
Unemployment insurance, Resolution No. 8.....	125, 325-339, 340-360, 442
Unemployment insurance, with report of international officers of the United Mine Workers, Resolution No. 13.....	127-135, 325-339, 340-360, 442
Unemployment insurance, Resolution No. 29.....	141, 334-339, 340-360, 442
Unemployment insurance, Resolution No. 39.....	144, 334-339, 340-360, 442
Unemployment insurance, Resolution No. 59.....	169, 335-339, 340-360, 442
Unemployment insurance, Austrian system described in address of Fritz Rager, Secretary Chamber of Labor, Austria.....	225, 226
Unemployment relief measures, trade union.....	86-91, 304, 315
Union Health Center, Educational Department, Pauline Newman, Director, telegram.....	406

	Page
United States Employes Compensation Commission, favoring continuance as independent governmental agency, Resolution No. 70.....	172, 173, 240, 241
Utah State Federation of Labor, telegram of greetings from officers.....	13

V

Virgin Islands Civic Association, Executive Secretary, Andrew C. Pedro, telegram.....	181
Vocational schools, competing in commercial field.....	269
Vocational education and guidance, Resolution No. 34.....	142, 143, 268
Vocational Rehabilitation Act extended.....	58, 361
Vocational retraining of unemployed workers.....	277, 278
Voluntary principles must be safeguarded in determining industrial remedies.....	313, 320
Volz, E. J.....	285, 302, 402, 425, 436, 452
Volstead Act modification, report of Executive Council.....	71, 123, 363-370
Volstead Act modification, Glass Act, Resolution No. 16.....	136, 364-370
Volstead Act modification, Resolution No. 21.....	138, 364-370
Volstead Act, modification, Resolution No. 41.....	145, 364-370
Voting strength of affiliated unions.....	52, 53

W

Wage and hours of labor standards established by national unions.....	88-91, 304
Wage agreements, all, should expire on same date, Resolution No. 22.....	138, 139, 379
Wage law, prevailing, to be made applicable to the Panama Canal public works, Resolution No. 27.....	140, 141, 238
Wage reductions, opposing, Resolution No. 11.....	125, 126, 378, 379
Walters' Union No. 2, Brooklyn, N. Y., telegram.....	123
Walsh, William P.....	447
Wandering boys and girls, problem.....	263, 264
War propaganda.....	389
Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union, delegate, Clyde M. Mills, invitation for 1933 convention.....	260
Washington, D. C., elected city for 1933 convention.....	452-454
Washington, D. C., Hotel Association, Arthur J. Arnett, President, invitation for 1933 convention.....	298
Washington, D. C., Invitations for 1933 convention.....	298, 443
Watt, Robert J.....	305, 306, 344, 345
Weaver, Chauncy A.....	227, 250, 447, 448
Weber, Joseph N.....	354, 451
Weber, Joseph N., re-election to office of seventh Vice-President.....	447, 448
Welch, Congressman Richard J., California, telegram.....	206, 207
Wharton, A. O.....	213, 215, 249, 250, 261, 357, 358, 391, 410, 411, 417, 420-422
Wharton, A. O., re-election to office of sixth Vice-President.....	447
White, George, Governor of Ohio, address.....	3, 4
Whitney, A. F., President, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, address.....	152, 195, 201-203
Wilson, James.....	234, 271, 302, 304
Wilson, James, re-election to office of fourth Vice-President.....	447
Wilson, Russel, Mayor of Cincinnati, address.....	2, 3
Wilson, Woodrow, memorial fund.....	48, 150
Wines, light, be added to A. F. of L. recommendations for modification of Volstead Act, telegrams requesting.....	148, 206, 226
Woll, Matthew.....	312, 367, 368, 387, 388, 390, 391, 395, 442, 451
Woll, Matthew, re-election to office of third Vice-President.....	446
Women and children in industry, legislation to prohibit Government from purchasing products of sweat shops, Resolution No. 74.....	174, 243, 244
Women's Trade Union Auxiliaries, Federation, request for representation by fraternal delegate, Resolution No. 76.....	174, 210-216
Workers' Education Bureau, review of activities.....	97-100, 123, 269-271, 276-278
Workers' Travel Association.....	186
Workmen's compensation insurance, exclusive state-fund, Resolution No. 84.....	177, 403-406
Workmen's compensation insurance, urging enactment by state legislatures of exclusive state-fund plan.....	63, 122, 304, 307

